

1900

1900

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
FOR  
1900



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,  
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

MDCCC.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.



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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with  
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

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THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

# I.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . . a	ओ . . . . . o	उ . . . . . t	ब . . . . . b
आ . . . . . d	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . th	भ . . . . . bh
इ . . . . . i	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . d	म . . . . . m
ई . . . . . i	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . dh	य . . . . . y
उ . . . . . u	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . n	र . . . . . r
ऊ . . . . . ū	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ए . . . . . e	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ऐ . . . . . e	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
औ . . . . . ō	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
अ . . . . . i	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
इ . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ई . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ

° (Anusvara) . . . . . m

° (Anundāsika) . . . . . ॐ

: (Visarga) . . . . . ḥ

x (Jihvāmālīya) . . . . . ḥ

× (Upadhmanīya) . . . . . ḥ

§ (Aragraha) . . . . . '°

Udatta . . . . . ˆ

Scarita . . . . . ˆ

Anudatta . . . . . ˆ

## II.

### ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ک . . . . k	آ . . . . a
elsewhere . . . . َ or ِ	ل . . . . l	ی . . . . i
ب . . . . b	س . . . . s	م . . . . m
ت . . . . t	ش . s or sh	ن . . . . n
ث . t or th	ص . . s or s	و . . w or v
ج . j or dj	ض d, dz, or z	د . . . . h
ح . . . . h	ط . . . . t	ي . . . . y
خ . h or kh	ظ . . . . ' z	و . . . . au
د . . . . d	ع . . . . ʿ	wasla . . . . ʾ
ذ . d or dh	غ . g or gh	VOWELS.
ر . . . . r	ف . . . . f	hamza َ or ِ
ز . . . . z	ق . . . . q	silent t . . . . ḥ
		letter not pronounced . . . . ʔ

#### ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ . . . . p	ک when pronounced as g . . . . k	ت or پ . t	ت . . . . ts
چ . c or ch	گ . . . . g	د or د . . d	د . . . . ḍ
ژ . z or zh	گ . . . . ḡ	ر or ر . . r	ر . . . . ṛ
گ . . . . g			ک . . . . ksh
پ . . . . p			
ز . . . . z			





# JOURNAL

01

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Śrāvastī*. By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

IN a recent paper Dr. Bloch has made a valuable contribution to knowledge by publishing an edition and translation of the inscription on the colossal statue found at Sāhet-Māhet by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1862-63. When Dr. Bloch published this paper he had not read my essay entitled "*Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī*." I have since sent him a copy of my paper, but he still adheres to the view expressed in his. I may therefore deal with Dr. Bloch's statement of opinion as if he had expressly considered my views and had rejected them. I propose in the following pages to defend my position.

The inscription, which is imperfect at the beginning, is translated as follows by Dr. Bloch:—

"(During the reign of —, in the year —, season —, half-month —, on the) 19th (day), on this date (specified as) above, (this statue of) a Bodhisattva, (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of, the Tripitaka, (and) fellow-wanderer of the monk Puṇḍra-(mitra), has been set up in *Qrāvastī*, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e. Buddha) used to walk,

in the Kōsamba-kuṭī, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Śarvāstivāda School."<sup>1</sup>

The inscription unquestionably states that this statue was set up in Śrāvastī. For my present purpose, namely, the discussion of the position of Śrāvastī, I am not concerned with any other information to be deduced from the record. The image having been set up in Śrāvastī, and having been found in Sāhet, a section of the ruins of Sāhet-Māhet, the conclusion necessarily follows that, if the image when found was in its original position, Sāhet must be Śrāvastī.

Dr. Bloch fully recognizes the necessity of establishing the proposition that the statue when found was in its original position. He also recognizes, though by no means fully or adequately, the fact that the apparent testimony of the inscription as to the position of Śrāvastī is contradicted by the unequivocal testimony of Fa-hian early in the fifth century and of Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century.

In continuation of the arguments adduced in my essay entitled "Kāśāmbī and Śrāvastī"<sup>2</sup> I now undertake to show that (1) there is strong reason to believe that the statue had been moved from its original position before its discovery, and (2) that the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims as to the geographical position of Śrāvastī is far more emphatic than Dr. Bloch will allow, and is absolutely irreconcilable with the supposed evidence given by the inscription. Of course, if the statue was not found in its original position the inscription is irrelevant to the question as to the position of Śrāvastī, and the Chinese pilgrims' concurrent testimony remains unshaken and must be accepted. I shall take the opportunity of recording some observations based on two recent visits to Sāhet-Māhet,<sup>3</sup> and of showing the absolute futility of the reasons, apart from

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B. for 1898, vol. lxxvii, part 1, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> J.E.A.S., July, 1898, p. 503.

<sup>3</sup> I was Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division, which includes the Gonda and Bahraich Districts, from the end of November, 1898, to the end of July, 1899, and was on tour for nearly three months. My official duties were heavy, and left me little time for archaeological work. This paper has been written at intervals, and is consequently, I fear, somewhat wanting in literary finish.

the statue, for believing Sāket-Māhet to be Śrāvastī. A few words, in conclusion, on the general credibility of the Chinese pilgrims, and the extent to which we are at liberty to reject their testimony, will not be out of place.

Cunningham succeeded in satisfying himself that Sāket-Māhet must be Śrāvastī by a series of fallacious arguments, and arbitrary alterations of the Chinese pilgrims' texts.

Fa-hian proceeded from Kanauj to Ā-le, which I have proved to be Jogikot in the Unāo District. Thence he went south-east to Shā-che. According to the Chinese text the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che is ten *yojanas*. According to the Korean text it is three *yojanas*, which seems to be the more probable. Both texts agree in making Shā-che to be south-east from Ā-le. Its site must, therefore, be either in the Unāo District or in the Rāi Bareli District.

But Cunningham insisted on identifying Shā-che with Sāketa, which is said to be used in the Rāmāyaṇa as a synonym for Ajodhya.<sup>1</sup> There is no warrant for the identification of Shā-che with Sāketa. Ajodhya (close to which city I am now writing) is about 80 miles from the possible southern position of Shā-che, and about 115 miles from the possible northern position of that place.

Cunningham saw the difficulty, and, as usual, in order to remove it, altered the pilgrims' text. He next identified the Visākhā of Hiuen Tsiang with the Shā-che of Fa-hian, and having persuaded himself that Shā-che, Sāketa, Visākhā, and Ajodhya were all one and the same place, he proceeded to ascertain the position of Śrāvastī. Again the distances would not fit, and Cunningham had no hesitation in arbitrarily altering Hiuen Tsiang's "500 *li*" to "the nearest round number of 350 *li*, or 58 miles, to bring it into accordance with the other [statement]. Now," he proceeds, "as this is the exact distance from Ajodhya of the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti, called

<sup>1</sup> "Reports," i, 320. Cunningham quotes a verse professing to be in the Rāmāyaṇa, but gives no reference. Fergusson long ago ("Archæology in India") proved that Sāketa and Shā-che were not identical, and that neither of the Chinese pilgrims visited the Hindu town of Ajodhya. No Buddhist remains at Ajodhya are known.

At Kasi, in which I discovered a colossal statue of Buddha<sup>1</sup> with an inscription containing the name of Śrāvastī itself, I have no hesitation in correcting Hiuen Tsang's distance from 500 *li* to 350 *li* as proposed above."

A more perfect example of argument in a circle it would be difficult to find.

Cunningham's discussion as to the position of Śrāvastī contains many other unsound observations, but the above quotation is sufficient to show that the real reason for asserting the identity of Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī is the inscribed statue, and nothing else.

The case is parallel to that of Kasiā. The discovery there of the statue of the Dying Buddha caused Cunningham to jump to the conclusion that Kasiā must be Kusinagara, and that conclusion having been once arrived at, all topographical facts had to be forced to suit it.<sup>2</sup>

Whenever Sir Alexander Cunningham had formed an *a priori* opinion as to the identity of any modern site with an ancient site, he found no difficulty in making more or less plausible identifications of particular mounds with buildings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and his draughtsmen and surveyors were not slow to support his opinions by fancy plans and sketches.

The result of this discussion is that Cunningham's arguments as to the position of Śrāvastī, which rest on the fundamental error identifying Shā-che with Ajodhya—an error bolstered up by arbitrary alterations of texts—use, so to speak, more than worthless. When criticised they really render it extremely improbable that Śrāvastī could be in the position assigned to it; that is to say, it is highly improbable that arguments manifestly fallacious should have chanced to lead to a right result.

Opposed to these figments of Cunningham's ingenuity we have the positive statements of two sober writers, who

<sup>1</sup> It is a statue, not of Buddha, but of a Bodhisattva.

<sup>2</sup> "The Remains near Kasi, in the Gorakhpur District, the Sacred Site of Kusinagara, the Scene of Buddha's Death." By Vincent A. Smith, F.R.S. Fellow of the University of Allahabad. (Allahabad, 1896.)

both visited Śrāvastī, were intensely interested in it, and had no conceivable motive in making false statements as to its position. There is, unfortunately, an admitted error in all the texts of Fa-hian concerning the position of Śrāvastī relatively to Shā-che, but concerning its position relatively to Kapilavastu both the pilgrims substantially agree. Now the position of Kapilavastu is, for geographical purposes, fixed. It is not easy to decide which particular mounds of ruins belong to Kapilavastu, and which to the towns of Konāgamana and Krakucanda. But we know that Kapilavastu forms part of the group of ruins some ten or twelve miles in a westerly direction from Rummīn Doh, or the Lumbini Garden,<sup>1</sup> of which the position is absolutely certain.

The Chinese travellers define the position of Śrāvastī in relation to the fixed point of Kapilavastu as follows :—

Fa-hian reckons 12 *yojanas* south-east from Śrāvastī to the town of Krakucanda Buddha, thence less than a *yojana* north to the town of Kanakamuni Buddha, and thence less than a *yojana* east to Kapilavastu. The nett result is that Kapilavastu is located about 12 or 13 *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from Śrāvastī.

Hsien Tsiang mentions the *stūpa* containing the relics of the entire body of Kāśyapa Buddha near Śrāvastī, and says that "from this point going south-east 500 *li* or so, we come to the country of Kapilavastu."

500 *li* divided by 6 (the commonly assumed value of the *li* being one-sixth of a mile) gives 83½ miles. 12 *yojanas*, at 7 miles to the *yojana*, give 84 miles. 12 *yojanas* of Fa-hian are, therefore, equivalent to about 500 *li* of Hsien Tsiang. The equivalent of either expression is in English miles rather nearer to 90 than 84 miles. The *yojana* seems to be generally rather more than seven miles, and rather less than six *li* go to a mile.

<sup>1</sup> Although hurried researches have been made in the Kapilavastu region during February and March, 1909, by Mr. P. C. Mukherji and Major Weddell, I. C. S. Mr. Mukherji's report will be published under my supervision. Major Weddell is understood to be preparing an independent report.

Each pilgrim, therefore, place Śrāvastī from 84 to 90 miles in a north-westerly direction from Kapilavastu. The trend of the mountains rigidly limits the direction in which a pair of compasses can be applied to the map. As I have already shown, the required position for Kapilavastu is where the Rāptī issues from the mountains to the north-east of Nepālgunj. Dr. Vost and I went there, and saw very extensive, and very ancient ruins of a large city, including two *stūpas*, and we heard of many more ruins which we were unable to visit. Having found the remains of an extremely ancient city of great size exactly in the place where, according to the concurrent testimony of both pilgrims Śrāvastī stood, we logically inferred that the ruins which we discovered must be those of Śrāvastī. How can the inference be disputed? I have shown that Cunningham's geographical arguments are invalid. The concurrent testimony of the Chinese travellers, confirmed by observation, should not be rejected except for good reason. Where is such reason? There is none but the statue.

Dr. Bloch, though living in Calcutta, with every map in India at his disposal, oddly remarks that he is unable to make out with certainty the distance of Kapilavastu from Set (Sāhet)-Māhet. There is no difficulty or mystery about it.

Sāhet-Māhet is distant in a north-westerly direction about eleven miles from the town of Balrūmpur (now a railway station), and nine miles from the Balrūmpur camping-ground. It stands on the banks of the Rāptī on the boundary of the Gendā and Bahraich Districts, part of the ruins being in each district. From Sāhet-Māhet to the site of Kapilavastu is about fifty-five miles. Sāhet-Māhet is about W.S.W. from Kapilavastu. The distance is certainly between fifty and sixty miles. I cannot be more precise, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing the ruins of Kapilavastu from those of the towns of Krakucanda and Konāgamana and the ten unnamed [deserted] towns in the region, which are mentioned by Hsien Tsang. Now a distance of about fifty-five miles cannot possibly be made to agree with the distance of about ninety miles stated by both pilgrims.

Inasmuch as Sāhet-Māhet is a little south of west from Kapilavastu, no ingenuity can reconcile that fact with the concurrent testimony of both pilgrims that Śrāvastī was north-west from Kapilavastu, if Sāhet-Māhet be identified with Śrāvastī.

All this was so obvious to me that I did not take the trouble to develop the statement in "Kausāmbī and Śrāvastī," and was content to say briefly that Set (Sāhet)-Māhet could not possibly be the real site of Śrāvastī, because it is "too near Kapilavastu and in the wrong direction."

As people seem slow to accept the plainest facts which conflict with a traditional belief I must rub in the facts.<sup>1</sup> I repeat that both Chinese pilgrims, writing at an interval from each other of more than two centuries, reckoning from slightly different points, one counting in *li* and the other in *yojanas*, agree in saying that Śrāvastī was nearly ninety miles north-west from Kapilavastu. Owing to the trend of the mountains, the only possible position for Śrāvastī that accords with the pilgrims' evidence is that discovered by Dr. Vost and me. Unless both the pilgrims purposelessly lied about the position of a place which they both visited, Sāhet-Māhet, which is south instead of north of west from Kapilavastu, and is only about fifty-five miles distant, instead of about ninety miles, cannot possibly be Śrāvastī. There is no conceivable reason why the two pilgrims should have lied in the matter. The different modes in which they calculated the distance, and the agreement of the results, preclude the hypothesis of textual error. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that the pilgrims' statements cannot be true, their evidence must be believed, and Śrāvastī must be where I place it. There is no such evidence, unless it be that of the statue.<sup>2</sup> I now

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hoey has recently avowed his continued belief in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī.

<sup>2</sup> I am, of course, aware that Dr. Hoey derives the name Set, which he uses in preference to Sāhet, from some form of Śrāvastī. But such derivation cannot be proved, and, I think, phonologically impossible. If independent proof of the identity existed, some confirmation might be obtained from Dr. Hoey's conclusions. That gentleman points out that in certain elements the Buddhist legend of Vṛkṣakṣa agrees with a fairy tale which he heard at Sāhet-Māhet.

...proceed to show that the so-called evidence of the ruins is worthless.

The ruins of Sāhet-Māhet consist of two principal parts. There are also numerous scattered mounds in the neighbourhood, some of which I shall notice when describing my personal observations on the spot. The two principal parts of the ruins are the walled city, now known locally as Māhet, and the group of buildings known as Sāhet, a short distance from the south-west corner of the city. Cunningham believed Sāhet to be the site of the Jetavana. When excavating here he found a small temple with very thick walls, the dimensions of which he states as follows:—

Interior . . . .	7½' square.
Exterior . . . .	19' × 18'.

A statue of a standing figure broken off a few inches above the ankles was found leaning against the back wall. When the statue had been moved, and the floor of the temple cleared, "it was seen that the pedestal of the statue was still standing erect in its original position. The floor was paved with large stones, and immediately in front of the pedestal there was a long flat slab 3½ feet by 1½ foot, with a pair of hollow footmarks in the centre and two sunken panels on each side. At the back of the incised feet towards the pedestal there was a rough hollow, 3½ feet long by 4 inches broad, which, judging from what I have seen in Burma, must once have held a long stone or metal frame for the reception of lights in front of the statue. But all this arrangement was certainly of later date than the statue itself, for on opening up the floor it was found that

and that a *stūpa* in which a begging-pot, alms bowl, and a porcelain bowl containing ashes were found, may be the *stūpa* of Śāriputra, in which such relics were cherished. But there is no inscription to confirm the identification, and similar relics might occur in many *stūpas*. As a matter of fact, memorials of Śāriputra were numerous. "In places where priests reside they make towns in honour of Śāriputra, of Mūdalaputra, of Ananda" (Fa-hian, ch. xvi). The name of Śāriputra occurs in an inscription found in the Kāśī ruins (Arch. Rep., vol. xiii, pl. iv). As to the name of the place, I did not hear the form

Everyone whom I met used the form Sāhet-Māhet (सहैत माहैत). The *s* is the cerebral, and I think that the *a* vowels are long, but as to the other points I am not quite certain.



the Buddha's feet concealed the lower two lines of an inscription, which fortunately had been thus preserved from injury, while the third or uppermost line had been almost entirely destroyed."

The statue was a colossus. Cunningham strongly supposed it to be that of Buddha the Teacher, and fancied that it was the statue actually seen by Hiuen Tsiang. Dr. Bloch has shown that it is a statue of a Bodhisattva.

Cunningham gives the height as 7 feet 4 inches. Dr. Anderson gives the height as 11 feet 8 inches.<sup>1</sup> The discrepancy is a good illustration of the difficulty experienced in obtaining accurate statements of fact. The inscription on the pedestal is in characters of the Northern Kṣatrapa type, and may be roughly dated at the beginning of the Christian era, either a little earlier or a little later. The statue itself, of course, dates from the same period. The material is Mathurā sandstone, and must therefore have been carried a distance of about 300 miles. The direct distance from Mathurā to Sāhet-Māhet is about 270 or 280 miles.

The particulars given above show that the statue as it was found at Sāhet had been reverenced by some person who cared nothing about the inscription and who probably could not read it. The greater part of the inscription was carefully covered up by a slab engraved with a representation of Buddha's feet. This slab was let into the stone floor which had to be opened up before the slab could be extricated, or the inscription revealed. It is, therefore, obvious that both the floor and the slab are of later date than the inscribed statue, and that when the statue and slab were imbedded in the floor the inscription was of no importance or interest to the builder. Now, if the statue really occupied its original position in 'Buddha's Walk' in Brāvastī, is it conceivable that the inscription should be thus covered up? It is quite inconceivable that the original

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, "Reports," I, p. 339; xi, pp. 84, 86. Anderson, "Catalogue of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum," part I, p. 402. The slab with the impressions of Buddha's feet is described on p. 193.

dedicator, Bala, should have concealed his own inscription. Why should any later worshipper have gone to the trouble of covering up the inscription on an image occupying such an exceptionally sacred position? But if we assume that the image was brought from Śrāvastī and was set up at Sāhet centuries after its original dedication, and when the characters of the inscription were no longer legible, the assumption exactly fits the facts. The Rāptī river, which flows past both Śrāvastī and Sāhet, afforded a ready means of transport. The distance is only about 50 miles, and the statue could have been brought down by a country boat in a few days. The difficulties in the original transport of the stone from the neighbourhood of Mathurā were incomparably greater.

I think that this hypothesis of transport must be adopted because, as I have shown, we are bound to accept the testimony of the pilgrims unless it is controverted by incontestible archaeological facts. The facts which were supposed to contradict the pilgrims do not really controvert them in the least, while the theory of removal of the statue explains the fact of the concealment of the inscription, which is inexplicable on the assumption that the statue occupies the position in which it originally was dedicated.

I think it possible that the removal took place as late as the eleventh or twelfth century, in the time of the Buddhist revival under the Pāla kings. Dr. Hoey found at Sāhet a long Buddhist inscription dated V.S. 1276 = A.D. 1219-20.<sup>1</sup>

At Kasiā, in the Gorakhpur District, too, there is a fine mediaeval Buddhist group, Māthā Kuar, belonging to the time of the Pāla kings.

<sup>1</sup> Hoey, "Set Mahet" (extra number of J.A.S.B. for 1892, p. 57). The inscription has been edited by Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* for 1888, vol. xvii, p. 61), whose version Dr. Hoey has with some boldness undertaken to amend. Dr. Hoey gives the date as 1176. Dr. Hoey, though a firm believer in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī, which he never questioned, was by no means certain that the statue was found in its original position. He says: "The large statue found in 12 by General Cunningham may have been there from a very ancient date" (p. 46). He shows that the buildings have been frequently altered and added to.

I cannot see any improbability in the removal of the statue. Old statues from ruins are constantly picked up by villagers, dubbed with orthodox names, and put into temples. Why should not a Pāla king or somebody else move an exceptionally valuable statue from the Śrāvastī jungles when easy water carriage was available?

I, therefore, am convinced that the inscribed statue found at Sāhet was not found in its original position, and that there is no difficulty in believing that it may have been removed from the true site of Śrāvastī and set up where it was discovered as late as A.D. 1200, when nobody was able to read the ancient inscriptions.

The concurrent testimony of the two Chinese travellers as to the position of Śrāvastī remains unshaken and must be accepted. That testimony places Śrāvastī in the position of the ancient city discovered by Dr. Vost and me.

To prevent any possible misconception, I had better repeat that we did not profess to ascertain the *exact* site of Śrāvastī, or to identify any building. We cannot yet tell whether the ruins which we saw belong to the main city itself, or to its suburbs, or to dependent towns. But I have no doubt that the position of Śrāvastī and the Jetavana has been determined within a limit of a very few miles.

Dr. Vost has drawn my attention to the observation which we noted that the tract below the hills near the ruins is called Udain, and that this name may well be a reminiscence of Rājā Udayana, whose name is connected both with Kausāmbī and Śrāvastī.

The Rājā of Nānpūra tells me that he has seen at Mahādeo or Mahādeva, in the forest, a *stūpa*-like structure larger than the one which we saw at Intawū. I have no doubt that further exploration will reveal many more ruins, but I understand that the tract is almost entirely covered with dense jungle, and is a favourite tiger-shooting ground. Exploration, therefore, will present serious difficulties.

I now turn to the discussion of the name and topography of Sāhet-Māhet. Dr. Hoey prefers to call the first element of the name Set. No doubt both forms are in use, but

I only heard the form Sāhet. The final consonant in both elements of the name is the cerebral *t*. I think that the *a* in both Sāhet and Māhet is long. But Hindī spelling is very lax and irregular.

I confess that I feel grave doubts as to Sāhet-Māhet being a genuine place-name at all. The locution means, as Cunningham duly noted, 'topsy-turvy,' or 'upside down.' Last February, when visiting the ruins of Dogām, or Dūgam, near Nūmpāra,<sup>1</sup> one of the villagers actually used the expression *sāhet-māhet* as an adjective, when explaining how Dogām had been overthrown by the curse of the local holy man (*adhet-māhet hogayā*). I have therefore a suspicion that the ruins reputed to be those of Śrīvastī were originally known to the country people as the 'topsy-turvy' place. The assignment of one-half of the expression to the walled town and of the other half to the ruins of the religious edifices on the south is, I suspect, fictitious. The people now call the walled town Māhet and the ruins outside they call Sāhet. In Cunningham's map the name Sāhet is given to the walled town and Māhet to the outer ruins. I do not know whether this discrepancy is due to a blunder or not. However that may be, I doubt greatly if Sāhet-Māhet is a genuine place-name.<sup>2</sup>

Sāhet-Māhet, like many other Buddhist sites, is regarded as sacred by the Jains, who believe that their third patriarch, Sambhūnāth, was born there. He is known locally as Sobhnāth. His image has been carried off. Dr. Hoey removed images of seven of the patriarchs from this spot

<sup>1</sup> Dūgam is the local pronunciation. See Captain Vost's article on "The Dūgam Mint" in J A S B for 1895, vol. lvi, pt. 1, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the case of Bāngarmau. "According to the legends of the people, Newal was a large and flourishing city, under a rāja named Nala, when the Mussalmans first invaded the country. Sa'iid Ala-ud-din bin Ghanaum came from Kanauj to Newal, and wished to settle at Bāngarmau; but the rāja ordered him to go away, and sent his servants to drive him out. On this the saint cursed him, when the city was immediately turned upside down, leaving only *moonds*, which are seen at the present day. So firmly do the people believe this story that they affirm that all relics of the old city, no matter of what kind, are always turned up upside down. Hence the old site is generally known as *Aundā Kāra*, or 'Topsy-turvy town'" (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. xi, pt. 48). I think it probable that Sāhet-Māhet is merely an equivalent for *Aundā Kāra*, that is to say, a nickname rather than a name.

to Gaudā. The Jain name for the site is Sāvitrī. This name was heard by Cunningham. The tabellidār who accompanied me happened to be a Jain, and gave me notes collected by his father concerning the holy places of Jainism, which record the name of Sāhet-Māhet as Sāvitrī nagar. The word Sāvitrī apparently means 'the sun.'<sup>1</sup> It cannot be phonetically connected with either the Sanskrit Śrāvastī, or the Pālī form Savatthi, or the Sinhalese Sewet.<sup>2</sup> The Hindū name of the place is said to be Chandrikāpurī. But I am sceptical as to the genuineness of this name also. The Brahmans' legends about every holy place in India always provide it with a name, or a set of names, supposed to have belonged to it in ancient times, which names are, I think, generally imaginary.<sup>3</sup> The Jain name Sāvitrī, or Sāvitrī nagar, is, I believe, a genuine name. The superficial resemblance to Śrāvastī, though curious, is nothing more. The original position of Dr. Hoey's slab dated 1276 V.S. is not known. The inscription on it mentions a place named Jāvriṣa, or Ajāvriṣa, but there is nothing to show where that place was.

According to Major Waddell's Tibetun guidebook, of uncertain date, the city of Śrāvastī was known as Kosalapuri. The writer says that "now traces only remain of the fort." Nobody could call the massive and conspicuous ramparts of Māhet "traces of a fort." He also says that "on either side of the eastern gate of the city there is a long stone of about fifteen fathoms." No object of the kind has ever been heard of at Māhet, where the principal gates are on the south and west. I doubt if there is any gate on the eastern side. The writer of the guidebook places Kapilavastu eight or nine days' journey eastward, and so far agrees with the Chinese pilgrims.<sup>4</sup> Nobody could spend eight or nine days

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit *sāvitrī* (m.), सावित्र, means 'the sun,' and *sāvitrī* (fem.) सावित्री, means 'a beam of light,' and is also a proper name (Benfey).

<sup>2</sup> For this statement I have the authority of Dr. Grierson.

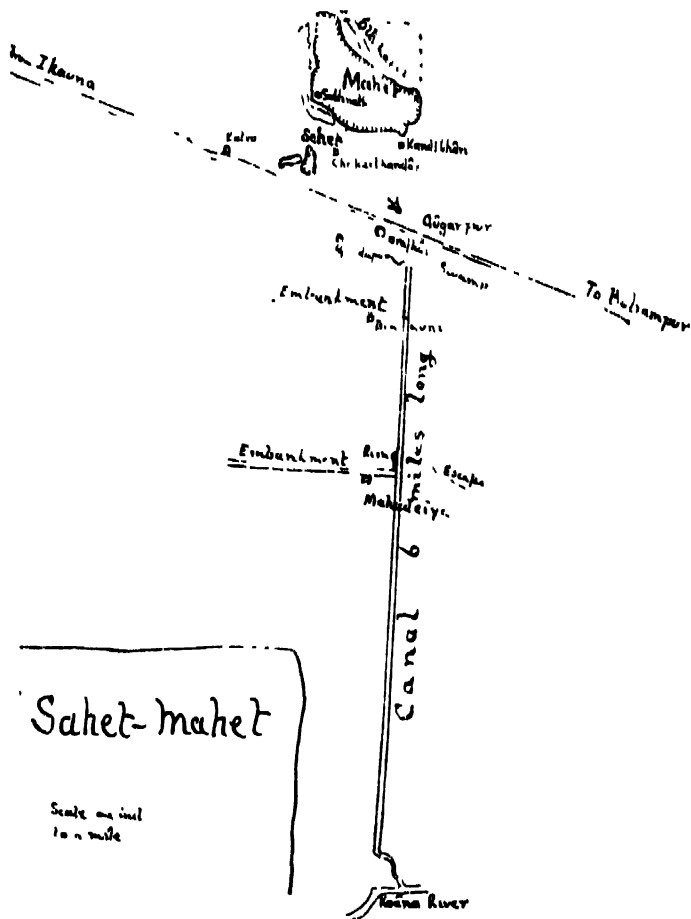
<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hoey gives some doubtful reasons for supposing that Chandrikāpurī is a blunder for Champakpurī (Bhāgalpur). (p. 5)

<sup>4</sup> J.A.S.B. for 1896, part i, p. 276.

going from Sāhet Māhet to Kapilavastu ; the distance is four days' easy marching.

The annexed tracing from the map of the Gondā District shows the position of the Sāhet-Māhet ruins and the relative size of the fortified town and of the Sāhet remains. The extreme length of the walled town, now called Māhet, is just a mile and a half. The remains at Sāhet, although extensive, do not seem to me to cover sufficient ground to justify the application to them of the description of the Jetavana and its surroundings. The buildings there were extremely numerous, and must have covered a great area. The tracing displays very clearly an interesting feature of the locality which has been strangely overlooked by previous visitors, the great canal connecting the Rāptī and Kuāna rivers. The walled town was protected in old days on the north, and perhaps also on the east, by the Rāptī, which used to flow under the ramparts, and has cut away a portion of them. The walls in the eastern portion of the northern face are lower and weaker than the fortifications on the north-western and western side. Major Jaskaran Singh, of Balrāmpur, who accompanied me on the occasion of my second visit in March, 1899, believes that these lower walls are comparatively late substitutes, perhaps dating from the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, for parts of the original fortifications cut away by the river. The country people say that masonry is found far out in the bed of the river, of which the stream has now moved a couple of miles away. The city was originally probably of a nearly rectangular shape, as indicated by the dotted line inserted in the tracing. The western rampart is still about forty feet high. The southern and western faces in which the gates were situated were protected by a broad moat supplied with water from the Rāptī. This moat is now for the most part rice-swamp, though clearly traceable. It communicated, as indicated by the arrow in the tracing, through ponds with the great canal six miles long running south to the Kuāna river. The Rāptī and Kuāna were thus connected. The canal was cut perfectly straight, the main bank being on the east side. Opposite the village of

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Binauni, and about half a mile or a little more from the Ikaunā-Balrāmpur road, a massive dyke, with a silted moat on the south side, runs westward, and is said to extend for about three miles more or less distinctly visible.<sup>1</sup>

At a distance of about two miles from the road there is a second parallel dyke, which begins close to the village of Mahādēiyā and extends westwards for about three miles to the Piṭāiya Nāla. The moat or canal running alongside the southern dyke is on the northern or inner side of the dyke. A great portion of the large area enclosed by these dykes is under water in the rains. The south-eastern portion near Mahādēiyā is known as the Beṇā Tāl.

Opposite Ailāwā, and about 200 yards more or less from the point where the Mahādēiyā dyke joins the canal, a wide outlet for the waters of the Beorū Tāl into the canal was provided, and was guarded on its southern side by a large brick building of circular outline projecting into the tal. From this point to the head of the Mahādēiyā dyke there are traces of brickwork the whole way. The village of Binauni, which itself stands on a considerable mound of ruins, is situated just south of the inner or northern dyke.

Major Jaskaran Singh, who kindly took me over these remarkable works, was full of stories of Arjuna and the Pāṇḍavas, and firmly believes that the northern dyke with its moat on the south or outside was the exterior line of defence of the town, while the southern dyke with its moat on the north or inside was the entrenchment of the besieging Pāṇḍava host. He regards the Beorū Tāl and adjoining lands as the battlefield. I am disposed to regard the whole system as being rather a system of drainage than one of fortification.

The village of Gundāpur (said to be equivalent to Govindapur) is built on a rectangular mound about ten or twelve feet above the surface of the fields, which is, I believe, the site of a monastery. A mound close to the

<sup>1</sup> The cross dykes and the hamlets of Binauni and Gundāpur were not marked on the map from which I took my tracing, which therefore shows their position approximately. The canal is clearly marked on the map.

village, a little north of west, seems to be a *stūpa*, and a very low circular mound a little further west is probably an extremely ancient *stūpa*. The bricks at Gundāpur are of large size, about 15" × 9½", such as were used in Aśoka's time. Another mound about half-way between Gundāpur and Sūhet also looks like a small *stūpa*. There are also some remains at Katrā on the Ikaunā road about three-quarters of a mile from Sūhet.

The country to the south of Māhet is noticeable for the extraordinary number of small ponds. Major Jaskaran Singh plausibly suggests that these are the spots from which earth was taken to make the vast quantity of bricks required for the various buildings. Although I do not believe in the identity of Sūhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī, I note that Fa-hian mentions the "ponds of water clear and pure" as one of the elements which constituted "the lovely scene" still presented by the Jatavana when he visited it.

The great gateway of the town, leading into what Dr. Hoey calls Broad Street, directly faced the huge *stūpa* of Orājhūr. Dr. Hoey persuaded himself that this building was a "terraced palace," but it is undoubtedly a large *stūpa*, as stated by Cunningham. The little building on the north side of the road known as Panahiyā jhūr, in which Dr. Hoey excavated "3 concentric rings of brick wall," and which he fancifully calls "a cockpit," is doubtless the base of a *stūpa*.

The inner structure of *stūpas* varied greatly, and many various devices were adopted by builders to secure stability and at the same time to economize masonry. I did not happen to see the Panahiyā jhūr.

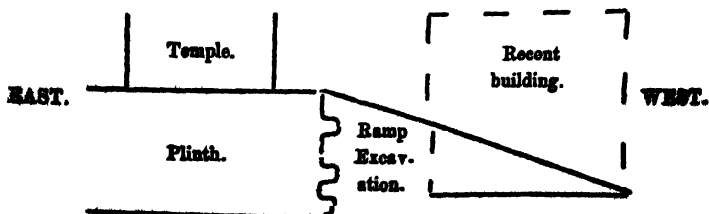
In the walled town, now called Māhet, the two most remarkable ruins are the so-called Pakkā and Kaohha Kuṭia.<sup>1</sup> The northern ruin, or Pakkā Kuṭi, was identified by Cunningham as the Angulimālya *stūpa*, but Dr. Hoey correctly observes that beyond the size and prominence of the mound there is no ground for this identification. Dr. Hoey drove a gallery through the basement right from

<sup>1</sup> The word *kuṭi* is applied to the residence of a fakir, or holy man. Both the mounds in question have been occupied by fakirs.

one side to the other, and ascertained that the building is constructed of compartments formed by brick walls filled in with earth. He whimsically seeks to identify this solid mass with the "Hall of the Law." The building is obviously, as Cunningham rightly observed, a *stūpa*. The circular courses are quite distinctly traceable on the western side. If there is a deposit, Dr. Hoey's tunnel failed to hit it, probably missing the true centre by a few feet. The division into compartments is merely a device of construction.

The Kachha Kuṭi, about 25 feet in height, is called the *stūpa* of Sudatta by Cunningham, whereas Dr. Hoey thinks it was a private residence, or the house of Sudatta. The partial excavation made by Dr. Hoey shows that the building stood on a massive brick rectangular plinth, highly decorated with mouldings and panels, which latter contained terracotta statuary. The entrance was to the west. The approach was by a ramp, or slope, paved with brick set on edge, of which a small portion still remains. A more recent building has been thrown right across the lower portion of this ramp. Accordingly, where the north and south sides of the ramp were partially excavated the excavations produce the false impression of being chambers, owing to their being closed in by the comparatively late mass of brickwork on the west and the plinth on the east.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See photographs on view at the Society. A man is standing on the pavement. The annexed diagram explains my meaning.



The Jain Tahsildār who accompanied me at once said that the plinth looked like that of a Jain temple, and he is probably right. The building was certainly either a temple or a *stūpa* resting on a decorated rectangular plinth. The nature of the upper structure cannot be made out. It has been modified by the fakirs who have taken up their residence there. The herring-bone brick pavement made of bricks set on edge "may have been," remarks Dr. Hoey, "either a graduated approach to a building or a roof covering a passage into one" I opened enough of it to satisfy myself that it is a graduated approach or paved ramp.

Dr. Hoey selected another mound near as being the Angulimāya *stūpa*. The great discrepancy between his fanciful identifications and the equally fanciful identifications of Cunningham, shows that neither explorer was on solid ground. Both firmly believed in the identity of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī, and, having plenty of mounds to choose from, allowed their fancy to play and made a selection of particular mounds as the equivalent of particular ancient buildings.

When working at the Sāhet mounds, Dr. Hoey (p. 51) came to the conclusion that the lowest level seen by General Cunningham was about fifteen feet above the original ground-level, and remarked that this fact shows how much excavation has to be done before we are entitled to speculate on the identity of particular ruins with the Gandha Kuṭi or Kosambha Kuṭi of the Buddhist books.

Enough, I think, has been said to establish the proposition that not a single building in either Sāhet or Māhet has been satisfactorily identified with any building of Śrāvastī. The so-called identifications are mere guesses, more or less plausible, not justified in any instance by proof. They all rest on the *a priori* assumption that Sāhet-Māhet and Śrāvastī are identical. That assumption rests mainly on the inscription of the Bodhisattva statue, and has been feebly supported by clearly fallacious geographical arguments, unscientific etymologies, and unsubstantial conjectures.

The general conformation, extent, and position, of the ruins at Sāhet-Māhet, do not agree with the pilgrim's description of Śrāvastī.

Hsuen Tsang says:—"The kingdom of Śrāvastī is about 6000 *li* in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits (*area*). The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts give a circuit of about 20 *li*. There are several hundreds of *sanghārdmas*, mostly in ruins. . . . There are 100 Deva temples. . . . To the south of the city 5 or 6 *li* is the Jetavana. . . . By the side of the *stupa* commemorating the slaughter of the Sākya, and not far from it, is a great lake which has dried up. . . . To the north-west of the capital 16 *li* or so, there is an old town" with a *stupa* to the south, and another to the north containing relics of the entire body of Kāśyapa Buddha. (Beal, ii, 1-13.)

Fa-hian places the Jetavana about 1,200 paces from the south gate of the city, and mentions that there were ninety-eight monasteries according to tradition around the Jetavana *vihāra*. He places the town and *stupa* of Kāśyapa 50 *li* to the west of the city.

Cunningham, when describing the well-preserved ramparts of the walled town Māhet, was conscious of the discrepancy between the facts and the description, and tried to get round the difficulty. "The whole circuit of the old earthen 'ramparts,'" he writes, "according to my survey, is 17,300 feet, or upwards of 3½ miles. Now this is the exact size of 20 *li* or 3½ miles which Hsuen Tsang gives to the palace ["royal precincts," Beal] alone; but as the city was then deserted and in ruins he must have mistaken the city for the palace. It is certain at least that the suburbs outside the walls must have been very limited indeed, as the place is almost entirely surrounded with the remains of large religious buildings, which would have left but little room for any private dwellings. I am therefore quite satisfied that the city has been mistaken for the palace; and this mistake is sufficient to show how utterly ruined this once famous city must have been at so distant a period as

the seventh century, when the place was visited by Hiuen Tsiang."<sup>1</sup>

Now the walled enclosure of Māheṭ (see sketch-map) is the ruin of a complete town, not of a palace or royal precincts. The great street leading from the main gate opposite Orājhār, which Dr. Hoey conveniently calls Broad Street, was clearly the main street of the town. The citadel or palace was evidently in the west end, where no excavations have been attempted, and the jungle has not been cleared. The town was complete in itself. It is not accurate to say that it was almost entirely surrounded with the remains of large religious buildings. No such buildings ever existed on the north side, the river face. On the east there are no ruins at all near, except a single *stūpa* or temple on the bank of the *tal* or shallow lake beyond the camping-ground, and about a mile from the town. To the west there are no remains to speak of. Orājhār, Sāheṭ, Gundāpur, Binauni, and practically all the outlying remains, are on one side only of the town, namely the south. But it is true that there are no signs of the existence of anything that can be called a town outside the walls.

To suit Hiuen Tsiang's description we should have a wide undefined area of city ruins extending to a long distance from the walled 'royal precincts.' There is nothing of the sort at Sāheṭ-Māheṭ. But when Dr. Vost and I walked over the ruins near our camp at Bālāpur, the remains were so worn down by time that we had to look carefully at the ground and watch for minute fragments of brick to ascertain when we were within the limits of the old town. The little that we saw presented an appearance of very great antiquity, and the remains were certainly undefined in extent. The remains at Sāheṭ-Māheṭ may be concisely described as those of a strongly fortified town of moderate size, with extensive religious establishments on the south in a space enclosed by great dykes.

Cunningham's hypothesis that Hiuen Tsiang mistook the palace for the town seems to me undeserving of serious consideration.

<sup>1</sup> "Reports," vol. i, p. 331.

The ruins at Sāhet, even if we include those at Gandāpur, Binauni, and other places not included in Cunningham's survey, do not seem to me at all large enough to agree with the descriptions by the pilgrims. The town gate opposite Sāhet is quite a minor one, the main gate is far to the east, and faces Orājhār. The next most important gate is that on the west side.

As to the distance of the Jetavana, the actual distance of Sāhet from the ramparts agrees sufficiently well with Fa-hian's estimate of 1,200 paces, but is much too short for the estimate of the more accurate Hiuen Tsiang, who gives the distance as five or six *li*, that is to say, about a mile. If the site of Śrāvastī is ever surveyed I believe that the ruins of the Jetavana and its surroundings will be found covering a very large area about a mile from the main city gate.

As to Kāśyapa's town and *stūpa* the pilgrims differ seriously in their statement of the distance. Cunningham follows Fa-hian's lead, and fixes on Tandwa as the site. I cannot stop to discuss this identification beyond remarking that it is unconvincing.

Two details in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative seem to me to indicate that Śrāvastī was near the foot of the mountains. After describing the fate of Devadatta and the other sinners who were swallowed up by the earth, he says: "These three ditches are unfathomable in their depth; when the floods of summer and autumn fill all the lakes and ponds with water, these deep caverns show no signs of the water standing in them." Such a phenomenon might well occur at the foot of the hills. It cannot be made intelligible when the description is applied to the ordinary ponds south of Māhet.

The other indication is given by the story of the blinded robbers. "At this time Tathāgata was in the *vihāra* of the Jetavana, and hearing their piteous cries he was moved to compassion, and caused a soft wind to blow from the Snowy Mountains [Himālaya]" and heal them. This legend indicates the proximity of the mountains.

In another publication I have remarked that "there is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of Hiuen Tsiang's account of places which he personally visited, and when his account is inconsistent with local facts, an identification based on an attempt to force the facts into agreement with the account must be rejected." On the other hand, arbitrary emendations of the pilgrims' texts in order to make them agree with the local facts of places assumed to be identical with those visited by the pilgrims are equally uncritical and unsatisfactory.

For Fa-hian, besides the old versions of Rémusat and Laidlay, we now have the versions of Beal, Giles, and Legge. The translation by Professor Legge is from a Korean text, the other translations are from Chinese texts. The testimony of Fa-hian cannot safely be called until these versions have been compared, and that which appears to be the best has been selected. For Hiuen Tsiang we have the translations of Beal and Julien. The earlier version of the great French scholar is a very useful check on the renderings of Mr Beal. Occasionally, even when all available critical sources open to a student ignorant of Chinese have been exhausted, the conclusion becomes inevitable that there is an error in the text. That error may be due to an original blunder of the observer, to mistakes in transcription of the Chinese text, or to imperfect interpretation. But I believe that such errors are few. Fa-hian is undoubtedly very lax in his indications of direction, and when he says "east" he may mean any direction east of a north and south meridian. This laxness of expression must be allowed for, and when Fa-hian says "east," while the more precise Hiuen Tsiang says "north-east," the statement of the more precise writer should ordinarily be preferred.

In statements as to distance both pilgrims are generally, so far as I have observed—and I have studied large parts of their writings with great minuteness—equally trustworthy. Fa-hian counts by *yojanas*, Hiuen Tsiang counts by *li*. When both writers, using these different forms of expression, agree substantially in the result, we are bound to accept



that result as correct unless there is the clearest evidence to prove it wrong.

Concerning the position of Sārvastī relatively to Kāśyapa-vastu, the two pilgrims, as proved above, agree in this manner, and must not be disbelieved until the critic can give some plausible explanation for the agreement of the two writers in error, and can produce conclusive evidence that the error exists.

At Benares, Rājgir, Baṛāgāon (Nālanda), and many other places, the identification of which is certain, the accuracy of the observations of the pilgrims, and especially of Hiuen Tsiang, has been proved in innumerable instances. A very striking confirmation of the accuracy of both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang has been afforded by the recent discovery and exploration of the Lumbini Garden (Rummin Deī). The local details agree admirably with the pilgrims' descriptions.

Dr. Stein's hurried tour with the Buner Field Force has proved that even when the scantiest allowance of time was available for exploration the itinerary of Hiuen Tsiang served as an accurate guidebook and permitted of the satisfactory identification of all the principal sites.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, I repeat, sound principles of criticism require us ordinarily to accept the statements of each of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang, in the first instance, as they stand. In the case of Fa-hian the two texts, represented by three versions, should be compared, and the best selected as his testimony. When Fa-hian differs, or appears to differ, from Hiuen Tsiang, the apparent difference should be closely examined to see if it cannot be reconciled. I can cite cases in which such divergences, which at first sight appear large, can be reduced to very narrow limits. If the difference is irreconcilable, the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang is generally to be preferred. But, in order to be certain what his testimony is, it is

<sup>1</sup> "Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force," by M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal Oriental College, Lahore. 8vo; pp. 82, with eight plates. (Lahore: printed at the Punjab Government Press, 1908. R. 1-3-2.)

able to check the version of Beal by that of Julien. When the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang" disagrees, as it often does, with the "Records of Western Countries" (Si-yu-ki), the testimony of the "Records" is to be preferred. When these strict principles of criticism are applied I venture to say that the number of legitimate and necessary emendations in the text either of Fa-hian or of Hiuen Tsiang will not be large. Arbitrary emendations made to suit preconceived theories are wholly inadmissible.

*Punjab, June 25, 1899.*

#### POSTSCRIPT.

After I had passed for press the proofs of my paper, I happened to come upon the record of the transport of a heavy image, probably in the twelfth century, over a distance of about seventy miles, which affords a striking parallel to the event which according to my belief occurred at Sāhet-Māhet.

At a place called Lonār, nearly twelve miles south of Mahkar in the Buldānā District of Berār, there is a group of temples adjoining a remarkable salt lake. The sanctuary of the finest of these temples is occupied by an erect statue of Viṣṇu, described as standing on a "pedestal apparently original," which image is said to have been brought from Nāgpur at very great cost. The Lonār temples are believed to date from the twelfth century.

The direct distance from Lonār to Nāgpur is not less than seventy miles. If somebody in Berār thought it worth while to transport a heavy image seventy miles or more across country, there is no reason to hesitate in believing that somebody in Oudh took the trouble of moving a statue fifty miles when water carriage was available.<sup>1</sup>

V. A. S.

<sup>1</sup> "Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berār," compiled by Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Bombay. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1897. Price, rupees five and annas eight. (Vol. xix of Archaeological Survey of India, New Series.)

Ann. II.—*Aśwagrāntā, near Gaṇḥatī.* By Captain P. E. GURDON, I.S.C., M.R.A.S.

Amongst the many interesting places that lie near the old town of Pragjotishpur or Ganhati is Aśwagrāntā, or, as some people call it, Aśwagrāntā. It is called Aśwagrāntā because the route of Kṛṣṇa is said to have been *at* Aśwagrāntā when he was carrying off his bride, Rukmiṇī (*Aśwa* 'horse' and *grāntā* (ग्रांत) 'passed by'). If it is called Aśwagrāntā, it means the place where the horse was tired; *grāntā* meaning 'tired' or 'weary.' It should also be remembered that *r* and *l* are often interchangeable. Compare Sukreshwar, which is often called Sukleshwar. Aśwagrāntā, or Aśwagrāntā, is on the north side of the Brahmaputra, a little to the west of the island of Umananda, which lies in the midst of the mighty Brahmaputra. The people at the temple show you various holes in the rock at Aśwagrāntā, which, they say, are the footprints of Kṛṣṇa's horses. It is at this place that the people bathe during the Asokāṣṭami festival, the day when the current of the Brahmaputra is thought to flow backwards, the reverse current being popularly supposed to be the holy Gangā. The origin of the festival is said to be due to Aśwagrāntā having been the bathing-place of Rukmiṇī. This goddess bathed in the river, but was annoyed by people staring at her from the opposite bank, upon which Kṛṣṇa promptly interposed what is now known as the "Ar parbat" as a screen. Another explanation of the "Ar parbat" is that 'it is unlucky to look upon the rocks of Karmanasa (near Umananda). These rocks no longer became visible when the "Ar parbat" was interposed. At the foot of the Aśwagrāntā hill there is a small and ruined temple. There

is very little left in the way of architecture, but it was here that I found the Garurasan, or stone throne shown in Plate I. At each corner of the throne are kneeling figures, all of which have the heads of birds. These strange figures are said to represent the 'Garuda,' or sacred bird of Viṣṇu.

To see the Ananta Sajya entails a stiff climb up stone steps which since the great earthquake of 1897 have become all on the slant. The temple of Viṣṇu has been ruined by the earthquake, but the wonderful carving which is shown in Plate II remains intact. This carving is on a black stone and is of exquisite workmanship. The subject of the carving is the sleep of Viṣṇu whilst resting on the snake Ananta. In the fifth book, chapter xxv, of the *Srimat Bhagavat*, the following description of the Ananta Sajya (literally the Ananta bed) is found — "The Great God who is the Creator of the universe and the first cause, by an incarnation (partial), became the snake god, Ananta, with one thousand heads, and rules over the nether regions (Patal) and supports himself on the water below. The Great God, when wishing to destroy the Universe for the purpose of recreation, eventually rested on the Ananta, and there he slept. Ages rolled on in this way." Then the *Purāṇas* relate how a frog, a tortoise, a piece of water weed respectively support the Ananta upon which the Great God slept.

Here it may be remarked that the name of the God Nārāyaṇ is popularly (and wrongly) derived from this legend, as if it meant *nārā* 'water' and *ayan* 'orbit.' When Nārāyaṇ slept upon the Ananta his will was done, i.e. the universe was destroyed and the work of recreation commenced. The will of Viṣṇu was manifested in Brahma as Creator, and it is the God Brāhma who is depicted as sitting on the lotus which has sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu. Brahma, bewildered at seeing nothing but water, dived down into the depths for 100 years. When he rose to the surface he heard a voice from heaven say, *Tapas tapa* ("Do penance"). He did so, and he beheld Maheśvaram on the one hand and Śiva on the other.



PLATE





PLATE II





Mahāmāyā gave him 'Sakti,' or energy to create, and Siva destroyed the surplus population. The stone carving depicted in the photograph depicts this Hindu theory of the creation.

The priest of the temple still keeps up some semblance of worship before this wonderful carving; but the carving has been exposed to wind and weather since the earthquake, and it will soon crumble away unless some shelter is put up over it. This would be well worth doing. The female kneeling figures of Plate II are the Nāgkanyā, or the daughters of the Snake. Some of them have already lost their heads.



**ART. III.—*Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.* By Professor SATIS  
CHANDRA ACHĀRYA VIDYĀBHŪṢANA, M.A.**

As there is still much uncertainty as to use of these terms, found exclusively, of course, in Mahāyāna texts, I have brought together a series of passages in which the expressions occur, and would venture to draw one or two conclusions from the manner in which they are used.

In the Lalitavistara, page 38 (Bengal Asiatic Society's edition), we find the word Hīnayāna used in contrast to the glorious religion of Buddha :

Āśayo dharmālokamukhaṃ Hīnayānāsprhaṇatāyai sam-  
vartate |

Adhyāsayogo dharmālokamukhaṃ udārabuddha-dharmā-  
valambanatāyai samvartate |

"Reflection is an initiatory light of religion which makes people feel aversion against the Hīnayāna. Con-  
centration is an initiatory light of religion which makes people lean on the glorious religion of Buddha."

Again :

Asmin Mahāyāne sa tāṃ mahatīm bodhisattvadeva-  
parṣadam etad avocat.<sup>1</sup>

"In this great vehicle he said to the large assembly of Bodhisattvas and Devas as follows."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lalitavistara, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> [This passage is manifestly corrupt. And it makes no better sense if the words 'in this Mahāyāna' are taken to the preceding clause. Professor Bendall has been kind enough to compare the Tibetan version, and informs me that an adjective meaning 'firm in' seems to have been omitted. The right translation would then be simply 'He, firm in this great vehicle, said,' etc.—E. D.]

On page 142 the word 'agrayāna' is used as a synonym for that Mahāyāna to which the peoples of the world were to be converted by Gautama :

Kintū janasya anuvartanatām karoti  
Lipi-sālām āgatam susikṣita-sikṣanārtham |  
Paripūcanārtham bahudāraka agrayāne  
Anyāṃś ca sattvaniyutām amṛte vinetum ||<sup>1</sup>

"He (Gautama), following the practice of ordinary men, comes to attend school in order that he might impart instructions to the good, and might convert many boys to the excellent vehicle (agra-yāna), and might lead innumerable people to ambrosia."

Ārya-deva, who, as a disciple of Nāgūrjuna, probably belongs to the second century A D., describes the distinctive characteristics of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in the following verses

Hīnayānābhirūdhānām mityu-sankā pade pade |  
Samgrāma-jayas tu te-ām dūra eva vyavasthitāḥ || 52 ||

Mahāyānābhirūdhas tu kaunā-dharma-varmitāḥ |  
Kṛpā-naya-dhanur-vāno jagaduddharanāśayaḥ || 53 ||

Mahāsattvo mahopāyāḥ sthira-buddhir atandritāḥ |  
Jitvā dustara-samgrāmam tūrayaty aparām api || 54 ||

Paśavo 'pi hi kṣīyante svārthamātra-parāyanāḥ |  
Jagadārtha-vidhātāro dhanyāś te viralāḥ janāḥ || 55 ||

Śīta-vātādi-duḥkhāni sahaṇte svārtha-lampaṭāḥ |  
Jagadārtha-pravṛttāś te na sahaṇte katham nu te || 56 ||

Nārakānyahi duḥkhāni sodhavyāni kṛpālubhiḥ |  
Śīta-vātādi-duḥkhāni kaś tāny api vicārayet || 57 ||

Nāniṣṭa-kalpanām kuryāt nopavāsam na ca kriyām |  
Śnāna-śaucaṃ na caivātra grāma-dharmaṃ vivarjayet || 58 ||

Nakha-dantāsthi-majjānaḥ pītuḥ sukra-vikāraḥ |  
Māmsa-śonita-keśādi mātṛ-śonita-sambhavaṃ || 59 ||

Ittham asuci-sambhūtaḥ piṇḍo' hy asuci-pūritaḥ |  
Katham san tīdṛśaḥ kīyo Gaṅgā-snānena sudhyati || 60 ||

Na hy asuci-ghaṣṭastoyaiḥ kṣālito' pi punaḥ punaḥ |  
Tadvad asuci-sampūrṇaḥ piṇḍo 'pi na viudhyati || 61 ||

Pratarann api Gaṅgāyām naiva svā sūddhim arhati |  
Tasmād dharma-dhiyām pūṣṇām tīrtha-snānaṃ tu nispha-  
lam || 62 ||

Dharmo yadi bhavet snānāt kaivarttānām kṛtārthatā |  
Naktaṃ divaṃ praviṣṭānām matsyādīnām tu kū kathā || 63 ||

Pāpa-kṣayo 'pi snānena naiva syād iti niscayaḥ |  
Yato rūgādi buddhis tu drśyate tīrtha-sevinām || 64 ||<sup>1</sup>

52. The people of the little vehicle (Hīnayāna) are afraid of death at every step, their achievement of victory in war lies indeed very far off.

53. The man of the great vehicle (Mahāyāna) is clad with the armour of mercy; he, intent on saving the world, is fully equipped with the bow and arrows of sympathy and morality.

54. Great in force, efficient in means, firm in purpose, freed from slothfulness, he comes out victorious from the terrible war and brings about the emancipation of others.

55. For the sake of selfish interest even the beasts undergo pains, but it is only those few people who suffer pains for the sake of the world that deserve our thanks.

56. In securing their selfish ends people submit to suffering from cold and wind: why, then, do they not desire to undergo sufferings for the sake of the world?

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Shastri's Discovery of a work by Arya-deva, *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. lxxv, pt. 1, No. 2, 1896.

57. Even the miseries of hell should be borne by the kind-hearted; who cares for the sufferings arising from cold and wind?
58. No one should meditate injury to others, none should observe fasting or ceremonies, none should care for the purity of bathing; all pagan observances should be avoided.
59. The nails, teeth, bones, and nerves grow up from the semen of the father; while the flesh, blood, and hair, etc., grow up from the blood of the mother.
60. Thus this lump of flesh (this body) is produced by impure substances and remains full of them. Being of that nature, how can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges?
61. An impure water-pot, though washed again and again by water, cannot be rendered pure; so the lump full of impurities (the body) can never be rendered pure.
62. A dog, though he cross the Ganges by swimming, does not deserve to be considered pure; much more is bathing in holy places absolutely useless to the good.
63. If bathing can confer merit, fishermen are very meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water day and night.
64. It is certain that from bathing sin is not even dissipated, because lust, hatred, etc., are found existing in people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages."

In the above verses the followers of the Mahāyāna are characterized as being merciful and liberal, and always determined to save the people of the world; while it is the followers of the Hinayāna who are apparently spoken of as being selfish, and as observing ritualistic ceremonies, such as bathing in the Ganges, making pilgrimages, etc. Now, it may be asked, was it not the Brahmins and other

Tirthikas that preached the efficacy of bathing in the Ganges, making pilgrimages, etc. Can it be possible that to Ārya-deva the term Hinayāna included the followers of Brahmanism? On this compare Śānti-deva, who, in his Bodhi-caryāvatāra, says :

Nanv asiddham Mahāyānam katham siddhas tvaḥ āgamaḥ |  
'Yasmād ubhaya-siddho 'sau na siddho 'sau tavāditaḥ || 42 ||

Yat-pratyayā ca tatrāsthā Mahāyāne 'pi tām kuru |  
Anyobhayeṣṭa-satyatve vedūder api satyatā || 43 ||

Savivādā Mahāyānam iti ced āgamaḥ tyaja |  
Tirthikair savivādatvāt svair parais cūgamāntaram || 44 ||<sup>1</sup>

"42. If the great vehicle (Mahāyāna) is not inadmissible, how is your tradition admissible? For the reason for which you rely on your books, treat the Mahāyāna in the same manner. Authorities must be acknowledged as authorities, and it is not yours alone that should be regarded as being so.

43. The grounds which have led you to cherish faith in your Śāstras should lead you to cherish the same in the Mahāyāna too. It is on account of the very infallibility vested in both these doctrines that your Vedas also derive their authority.

44. If the Mahāyāna Śāstra is to be rejected as being full of contradictions and inconsistencies, then the Śāstra of the Tirthikas is also to be rejected on the very same ground of contradictions and inconsistencies being contained therein."

The Mahāyāna was also called Cira-yāna, Bodhisattva-yāna, Eka-yāna, Buddha-yāna, Prathama-yāna, agra-yāna, uttama-yāna, śreṣṭha-yāna, and so forth. So the Aṣṭa-ślokarikā Prajñāpāramitā says :

<sup>1</sup> Bodhi-caryāvatāra, published in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, vol. II, pp. 1 and 2.

Evam ukte āyusmān Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocāt :  
 Mahāyānam Mahāyānam iti Bhagavan ucyate. Sa-  
 devāsura-manuṣyalokam abhibhavan nirvāṣyāti ākāśa-  
 samatayā atimahattayā tan Mahāyānam. Yathā ākāśe  
 aprameyānām asaṃkhyeyānām sattvānām avakāśah,  
 evam eva Bhagavan asmiṃ yāne aprameyānām asaṃ-  
 khyeyānām sattvānām avakāśah. Anena Bhagavaṃ  
 paryāyena : Mahāyānam idam Bodhisattvānām Mahā-  
 sattvānām, Naivāsyā āgamo dṛśyate naivāsyā nirgamo  
 dṛśyate nāpyasya sthūnaṃ saṃvidyate. Evam asya  
 Bhagavan Mahāyānaḥ naiva pūrvānta upalabhyate  
 nāpi madhya upalabhyate, atha samaṃ Bhagavaṃ  
 tad yūnam. Tasmāt Mahāyānam Mahāyānam ity  
 ucyate <sup>1</sup>

"After this had been said the long-lived Subhūti spoke thus to the Lord. 'O Lord, Mahāyāna is called the *Mahā-yāna* (great vehicle). It is called Mahāyāna because it will lead gods, men, and demons, being as spacious as the sky. Just as the sky may be a receptacle for immeasurable and innumerable objects, so also, O Lord, this vehicle (yāna) is a receptacle for immense and innumerable sentient beings (sattva). In this book, O Lord, the Mahā-yāna is to be understood to be a receptacle for the Bodhisattvas alone. It is not seen whence it comes, whither it goes, and where it stops. Thus, O Lord, neither the beginning, nor end, nor middle of the Mahāyāna is perceptible. This vehicle (yāna), O Lord, is of equal dimensions throughout. It is for these reasons that the Mahāyāna is called *Mahā-yāna, great vehicle.*'"

Again :

Ye ca khalu punar ime āyusman Subhūte trayo Bodhi-  
 sattvayānikāḥ pudgalāḥ Tathāgatena ākhyātāḥ, eṣāṃ

<sup>1</sup> *Aṣṭasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition, *Pratimā vācā*, p. 24.



anyāpāṇaṃ vyavasthānaṃ na bhavati | Ekaṃ eva hi  
yānaṃ bhavati yaduta Buddha-yānaṃ Bodhisattva-  
yānaṃ | <sup>1</sup>

“O long-lived Subhūti, as to the three classes of passengers  
on the Buddha vehicle, described by the Tathāgata,  
there is no room for three. In fact there is only one  
vehicle called Buddha-yāna or Bodhisattva-yāna.”

Kathaṃ ca Ānanda Bodhisattvena Mahāsattvena aparocāṃ  
Bodhisattvayānikānāṃ antike sthātavyam | Tadya-  
pi nāma Ānanda sūstari | Ete mama Bodhisattvā  
Mahāsattvāḥ sūstāra ity evaṃ sthātavyam | Eka-yāna-  
samārūḍhā vata ime Bodhisattvā Mahāsattvā eka-  
mārgu-samārūḍhā vata ime mama Bodhisattvā Mahā-  
sattvāḥ samūnābhiprāyā vata ime mama Bodhisattvā  
Mahāsattvāḥ | <sup>2</sup>

“O Ānanda, how should a Bodhisattva behave himself  
towards other people on the same vehicle? Just as,  
O Ānanda, towards the Lord. He should regard  
them as his Lords. He should remember also that  
they too are passengers on the same vehicle (eka-  
yāna), travellers on the same road (eka-mārga),  
and their ends are also the same as his.”

A detailed account of the Mahāyāna is\* to be found in  
chapter xi of the Śata-sūhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, manu-  
scripts of which are contained in the Library of the Asiatic  
Society of Bengal.

\*Aśvaghoṣa in his Buddhacarita-kāvya writes :

Prabhāsaṃ kṣepayet kalpaṃ natu Buddha-guṇa-kṣayam |  
Evaṃ mayūtra Sambuddha-sadguṇo 'bhyanuvarṇyate || 84 ||  
Śrutvānumodanāṃ kṛtvā saṃcaradhvaṃ sadā subhe |  
Idaṃ māraṃ Mahāyānaṃ Sambuddha-dharma-sādhanaṃ |  
Sarva-sattva-hitādhānaṃ sarvabuddhaiḥ pracāritam || 85 || <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aśtasūhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Aśtasūhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, p. 422, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition.

<sup>3</sup> Buddhacarita Kāvya, chap. xvi.

Professor E. B. Cowell translates the slokas as follows:

"84. A narrator might spend a kalpa, but the virtues of the Buddha would not come to an end,—thus by me has the multitude of the virtues of the Buddha been described.

85. Having heard this and welcomed it with joy, go on ever in happiness; this, sirs, is the Mahāyāna, the instrument of the Law of the perfect Buddha [saṃbuddha, fully enlightened one], which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas."<sup>1</sup>

In the Samādhi-rāja-sūtra, which is a Gatha-Sanskrit work of considerable antiquity, we find that the term Mahāyāna was used as being the source of all Buddhist knowledge, and as denoting the religion professed by the Buddhists:

Anirodham anutpannam anāvilam anakṣaram |  
Mahāyānam ahaṃ stoṣye Buddha-jñānābhivāchayā ||

Aprapañcam nirūlambam Bodhisattvair namaskrtam |  
Namāmi śirasājasraṃ Mahāyānam asaṃskrtam ||<sup>2</sup>

"With the object of attaining a Buddha's knowledge, I adore the Mahāyāna (great vehicle), which is neither destroyed nor made, which is devoid of stains, and which cannot be described by words. I repeatedly bow down to the Mahāyāna, which is devoid of any contingency, non-conditional, uncreate, and revered by the Buddhists."

In the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, which was perhaps translated into Chinese in the first century A.D., we come across the following passage:—

<sup>1</sup> Buddhacarita, p. 164, S.B.E. Series.

<sup>2</sup> Samādhirāja Sūtra, p. 1, Buddhist Text Society's edition.

"O my son in the Law, thou hast practised the Mahāyāna doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee."<sup>1</sup>

In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (chap. ii, verse 101, S.B.E. Series, xxi, 53) we find the mention of oka-yāna, the single vehicle for the conveyance of the Buddhists of all sections.

In the Dharma-saṅgraha, section ii, three yānas (vehicles) are mentioned.

Triṇi yānāni ||

Śrāvakayānaṃ Pratyeka-buddha-yānaṃ Mahāyānaṃ ceti |<sup>2</sup>

In the Pāli work Buddha-vamsa, the same three yānas are mentioned :

Kassa vacanaṃ ti? Sāvaka-Pacceka-buddhānāṃ asādhāraṇaṃ Sammāsambuddhassa eva vacanaṃ |<sup>3</sup>

"Whose word is it? It is the word of the Sambuddha (the perfectly enlightened one), which is not to be compared with that of Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas."

H. A. Jaschke, in his Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 235, writes :

"Tég-pa—2, for attaining to salvation; tég-pa ysum, *three conveyances*, are generally mentioned, but in most cases only two are specified, viz., tég-pa dman-pa, Hīnayāna, and tég-pa 'en-po, Mahāyāna, generally called the little and the great conveyance or vehicle, by means of which the distant shore of salvation may be reached. Yet mention is also made of a snāgs-kyi tég-pa, Mantra-yāna, e.g. Tar. 18°, 13."

<sup>1</sup> Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, translated into English by J. Takakura, S.B.E. Series, vol. xix, pt. 3, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Dharma-saṅgraha, sect. ii, Aryan Series, vol. i, pt. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Text Society's Buddhavamsa, pp. x, xi. [Commentary, not text.—Ed.]

With this compare the following from the Lalitavistara :

'Yo ānamiṣṭa sadā gurūṇāṃ Buddha-śrāvaka-Pratyekajinānāṃ |<sup>1</sup>

"He who always bowed down to the respected Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-buddhas, and Buddhas."

In the Brhat Svayambhū Purāṇa the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas are mentioned without any feeling of disrespect to them :

Śrāvakāṇāṃ api nūtha Pratyekānāṃ tathaiṃ ca |  
Mahāyānānāṃ sarveṣāṃ vidyānāṃ guruḥ siddhakaḥ ||<sup>2</sup>

"He is the Lord over the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas ;  
he is the successful teacher of the branches of Mahāyāna learning "

In the Ākāśa-garbha Sūtra, quoted in the Śikṣā-samuccaya, we find that Śrāvaka-ship is considered as lower than the Mahāyāna :

Ākāśa-garbha-sūtre tu āha | Śrāvakayānam ovāsa na bhavati prūgeva Mahāyānamiti |<sup>3</sup>

"He has not acquired the Śrāvakayāna, much less the Mahāyāna."

Śrāvaka-yānists and Pratyeka-buddha-yānists are ridiculed in some texts. In Śikṣā-samuccaya, p. 7, we find one who did not pay respect to the Mahāyāna (Buddha-yāna), but followed the Śrāvaka-yāna, designated as Paśu-ratha-gatika, a passenger of the beasts' carriage.

The Śrāvakas were listeners, learners, exercising their energies in acquiring Buddhist knowledge for themselves, but not necessarily trying to teach their fellow-men to achieve the same. The Pratyeka-buddhas, themselves enlightened, were not of any service in spreading enlightenment to others. It was the Buddhas alone that worked hard to deliver their fellow-men.

<sup>1</sup> Lalitavistara, chap. xi, p. 368, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Brhat Svayambhū Purāṇa, fasc. iv, p. 322, Bibliotheca Indica Series.

<sup>3</sup> Śikṣā-samuccaya, Prathama-pariśeṣa, p. 11.

In the *Vajra-śchedikā* we find that a man of the Buddha vehicle should make it a point to save his fellow-men by preaching among them the religion of Buddha.

Atha khalu Āyusmān Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocāt |  
Katham Bhagavan Bodhisattva-yāna-samprasthitena  
sthātavyam katham pratihattavyam katham cittam  
pragrahitavyam | Bhagavānūha | iha Subhūte Bodhi-  
sattva-yāna-samprasthitena evam cittam utpādayi-  
tavyam sarve sattvā mayā anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇa-  
dhātau parinirvāpayitavyāḥ |<sup>1</sup>

"Then the long-lived Subhūti said thus to the Lord :  
'How, O Lord, should the passenger of the Buddhist  
vehicle conduct himself, how train himself, how  
should he discipline his heart ?' The Lord replied :  
'The passenger of the Buddhist vehicle should here  
cherish such desire that he may bring about the  
salvation of all sentient beings by enabling them  
to enter into the unconditional element of Nirvāṇa.'"

In the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarika* we find the distinction between  
the Śrāvaka- and Pratyeka-buddha-yānas on the one hand,  
and the Mahāyāna on the other, stated as follows :

Yat tvam Brāhmaṇa svapnam adrākṣiḥ apare manuṣyā  
mahīṣa - rathābhirūdḥāḥ sumanomālā - lankṛtāsīrasaḥ  
apathena dakṣiṇābhimukhaṁ gacchanti te api tvayā  
Brāhmaṇa kulaputrāḥ triṣu punya - kriyā - vastuṣu  
pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ kevalam ātma - damanārtham ātma-  
śamanārtham śrāvakayāna - samprasthitūḥ teṣāṃ  
śrāvakayāna-samprasthitānāṃ Brāhmaṇa-puḍgalānām  
idaṃ pūrvanimittam |<sup>2</sup>

"O Brāhman, you saw in a dream that some men,  
ornamented on the head by garlands of flowers,  
were going astray towards the south by riding  
buffaloes. Those men, too, were made by you to

<sup>1</sup> *Vajraśchedikā*, pp. 35, 36, Oxford edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Karuṇā-puṇḍarika*, Buddhist Text Society's edition, p. 24.

accept articles of virtue; they, for the sake of controlling themselves and for setting themselves in repose, took up the vehicle of the Śrāvakas. O Brāhman, your dream was a forecast of the people of Śrāvakayāna."

On page 67 of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka the following passage occurs:

Na ca punaḥ Śrāvaka-Pratyeka-buddha-yāna-bhilāṣi  
anuttarayānam ākāṅkṣāmi |

"I am not a candidate for the Śrāvaka-yāna nor for the Pratyeka-buddha-yāna, but I desire the attainment of the anuttarayāna (excellent vehicle)."

On pages 65 and 66 of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka (Buddhist Text Society's edition), the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas are described as being those who did not forsake the world, and whose thirst was not totally quenched. The Mahāyānist were, on the other hand, described as being those whose longings for the world were completely extinct, and whose exertions were wholly devoted to the deliverance of their fellow-men.

From the above we may perhaps draw the conclusion that in the earliest Mahāyāna books the authors looked upon every view of life, different from their own, as Hīnayāna, the meaner, lower, lesser vehicle. They did not confine it exclusively to designate other Buddhists. But, from the fourth century downwards, in the period of Hindu revival, when Buddhism, waning in India, was spreading rapidly in adjoining and other countries, and the demand for missionaries became great, the word Mahāyānist meant especially those who were willing to go forth as preachers to save the world; and Hīnayānist meant especially a Buddhist who would not, or did not, do this. It never meant the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

## NOTE BY PROFESSOR C. BENDALL.

As the foregoing paper was submitted to me by the Council for opinion, I subjoin at the request of the acting editor of the Journal some notes upon it.

The collection of passages from books mainly untranslated is in itself interesting; but with the chief conclusion, as to the meaning of 'Hīnayāna,' few serious students will, I think, agree.

The key to one of the chief difficulties is to be found in a passage, clearly from an early Mahāyāna-sūtra, presented in the Mahāvvyutpatti (§ 10. 32), the most authoritative of the old glossaries of Buddhist Sanskrit, where we read: "*viṣṭaparinirvāṇārtham satvā hīnayānam prarthayante yad idam śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhayaṇam*, 'creatures seek after the Hīnayāna, to wit, the yāna of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas.' "

This explanation brings several of the above passages well into line with the usually received view as to the two main divisions of Buddhist thought. The extract from Āryadeva<sup>1</sup> is both interesting and humorous, but I cannot see that in stanzas 60-64 the Hīnayānists are still spoken of.

It is not clear to me what the author means to prove by his quotation from Bodhic., IX. 42-44. I may mention, however, that the commentary printed in de la Vallée Poussin's "Bouddhisme," pp. 282 seqq., understands the disputants to be Buddhists, as the point is, what is 'approved' (*siddham*) as being the 'word' of Buddha (*Bhagavad-vacanam* . . . *Buddharacanam*). In the next verses non-Buddhists are introduced by way of illustration; *Vedādi* is explained as meaning "the Vedas, the Sāṅkhya writings, and so on," while the *tīrthikas* are "Mīmāṃsakas and others."

<sup>1</sup> The poem is called, as I have recently discovered from a Buddhist anthology, *Chetivāṇī-prakaraṇa*.—C. B.

But we have fortunately other means for determining the question as to the real meaning of the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

The testimony of the Chinese Pilgrims seems quite clear. I-tsing's notes (at pp. 14, 15 of Takakusu's translation of his "Record") on the local distribution, the points of union (e.g. the Vinaya, the five *skandhas*, the four *āryasatyas*) and disunion (worship of Bodhisattvas) leave hardly a doubt as to what he thought. Other passages may be found through Takakusu's index, s.v. Hīnayāna. As for Hiuen Tsang, he goes through the Buddhist world classifying countries and monasteries, according to the 'Great' or 'Little' Vehicle.

From monuments the testimony is less conclusive, but no intelligent traveller has much difficulty in recognizing the Mahāyāna caves with their images of Avalokiteśvara and Padmapāṇi. It would be interesting to work out this latter line in detail, with inscriptions.

As to the writer's concluding sentence, it is too much to expect topographical information on distant countries from authors like the Indian Mahāyāna doctors, but as to Ceylon it may be worth while to note here that recent discoveries, archaeological and literary, have disclosed the real existence of worshippers of Avalokiteśvara in the island, so that the rather confused tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, though questioned by Beal ("Buddhist Records," ii, p. 247, n. 18), may still have an element of truth. However the facts may have been, the important point for us now is that Hiuen Tsang *does* (if he be correctly translated) describe some of the 'Buddhists of Ceylon' as of 'the Little Vehicle.'



**ART. IV.—*Translation of the Japji.* By M. MACAULIFFE,  
M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retired).**

THE Japji is the prayer which must be repeated every morning by all true Sikhs. It was composed by Baba Nanak in advanced years, and gives a brief summary of his idea of God, religion, ethics, and cosmogony. His views on these subjects are found much further expanded in his other compositions incorporated in the Ad Granth. The Sikhs regard the Japji as the key to the teaching of the early Gurus.

Last year I printed and privately circulated among learned Sikhs a rough translation of the Japji for the favour of correction and return. The translation was returned to me with corrections and suggestions by very many learned and distinguished Sikhs, among whom I may mention His Highness Prince Ripdaman Singh (Tikka Sahib of Nabha), Baba Sumer Singh (Mahant, Patna Sahib), Sirdar Lilaram Watanmal (Subordinate Judge, Sind), Sirdar Kahn Singh of Nabha, Sirdar Aya Singh (District Judge, Punjab), Bhai Bhagwan Singh and Hazara Singh of Amritsar, Bhai Avatar Singh, Bhai Lachhman Singh, and others whom I beg to thank for the assistance rendered me. The corrections and suggestions received I have now placed before several gyanis or professional interpreters of the Granth Sahib, at the head of whom is Bhai Sardul Singh Gyani, Amritsar; and the result is the following amended translation. My gyanis have not been able to accept all the corrections and suggestions received, because some very obviously did not suit the context; but all of them have been carefully considered, and none rejected, it is believed, without sufficient reason.

The Japji is perhaps one of the most difficult of human compositions. The notes appended to the translation may give some, but only a very inadequate, idea of the struggle the gyanis and myself have had with the text. The Ad Granth, also called the Granth Sahib, is now unintelligible to the great mass of the Sikhs, and in a generation or two there will be hardly any gyanis left, and the Sikh religion will be lost, or have become absorbed, in Hinduism if there be no translation now made in some literary language.

## THE JAPJI.

There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator,<sup>1</sup> devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent<sup>2</sup>; by the favour of the Guru<sup>3</sup>

*Repeat His name.*

The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age.

The True One is<sup>4</sup> now also, O Nanak,<sup>5</sup> the True One also shall be.

<sup>1</sup> *Karta purakh* It is perhaps not necessary to translate the word *purakh*. It means male or creative agency. The all-pervading spirit in union with a female element uttered a word from which sprang creation. In the Granth Sahib the Gurus speak of God as a male and themselves as females.

<sup>2</sup> *Saidhan* is derived from the Sanskrit *sayamānu*, which I have found in this passage in a very ancient Sikh MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Gur Purakh* I have translated these words in deference to the opinions of the majority of the Sikhs, but with several learned gyanis I have no doubt that they were intended as epithets of God, the great and bountiful. Vide Capeller's Sanskrit Dictionary under the words *gur* and *prasadiat*. Guru Nanak had no human guru, his guru was God. It was during the spiritual supremacy of his successors the favour of the Guru was invoked, and deemed indispensable for deliverance.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhī*, 'also' There are two *Bhī*s in this line which some say are idiomatic. I have very little doubt that the first *Bhī* is an obsolete past tense of the defective verb *Bhī*, and that the verse ought to be translated—The True One is, was, and also shall be.

<sup>5</sup> In Oriental poetical works it is usual for the poet to insert his real or assumed name in the end of a composition or section of a composition. This

## I.

By thinking I cannot obtain a conception of Him, even though I think hundreds of thousands of times.

Even though I be silent and keep my attention<sup>1</sup> firmly fixed on Him, I cannot preserve silence.

Hungry for God, my hunger ceaseth not though I obtain the load of the worlds.

If man should have thousands and hundreds of thousands of devices, even one would not assist him in obtaining God.

How shall man become true before God? How shall the veil of falsehood be rent?<sup>2</sup>

By walking, O Nanak, according to the will<sup>3</sup> of the Commander as preordained.

## II.

By His order bodies are produced; His order cannot be described.

By His order souls<sup>4</sup> are infused into them; by His order greatness is obtained.

By His order men are high or low; by His order they obtain preordained pain or pleasure.

By His order some obtain their reward;<sup>5</sup> by His order others must ever wander in transmigration.

All are subject to His order; none is exempt from it.

He who understandeth God's order, O Nanak, is never guilty of egoism.<sup>6</sup>

practice is unknown to European poets except in the case of professed imitators of Oriental poetry. Were I therefore to omit the word 'Nanak' wherever it occurs, I should be consulting the taste of European readers, but the Sikhs do not desire such an omission.

<sup>1</sup> *Līṭ*, the Sanskrit *līṭa*, 'longing' It sometimes appears to correspond to the English word 'love.'

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—How shall the line of falsehood be broken?

<sup>3</sup> *Rajai*, *raja*, the Arabic *raja*, the divine pleasure

<sup>4</sup> In these two lines some suppose *atar* to refer to the non-sentient, *jiv* to the sentient world.

<sup>5</sup> That is, to be blended with God.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, would not be guilty of saying *haui main*, i.e., I exist by myself independently of God. This is the sin of spiritual pride.

## III.

Who can sing His power? Who has power to *sing it*?<sup>1</sup>  
 Who can sing His gifts or know His signs?<sup>2</sup>  
 Who can sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds?<sup>3</sup>  
 Who can sing His knowledge whose study is arduous?  
 Who can sing Him, who fashioneth the body and *again*  
 destroyeth it?  
 Who can sing Him, who taketh away life and again re-  
 storeth it?  
 Who can sing Him, who appeareth to be far, *but* is known  
 to be near?  
 Who can sing Him, who is *all-seeing* and omnipresent?<sup>4</sup>  
 In describing Him there would never be an end.  
 Millions of men give millions upon millions of descriptions  
 of Him, *but they fail to describe Him.*  
 The Giver giveth; the receiver groweth weary of receiving.  
 In every age man subsisteth by *His bounty*.  
 The Commander by His order hath laid out the *way of the*  
*world.*  
 Nanak, God, who is free from care, is happy.

## IV.

True is the Lord, true is His name; it is uttered with endless  
 love.<sup>5</sup>  
 People pray and beg, "Give me, give me"; the Giver giveth  
 His gifts,

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Whoever has the power

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—He who knows his signs

<sup>3</sup> *Char* is understood to be a contracted form of *achar*. Some translate the word 'excellent,' and make it an epithet of *achar*.

<sup>4</sup> The preceding lines of this *pauri* are also translated.—

Some sing His power according to their abilities;  
 Some sing His gifts according to their knowledge of His signs;  
 Some sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds;  
 Some sing His knowledge whose study is arduous;  
 Some sing that He fashioneth the body and again destroyeth it;  
 Some that He taketh away the soul and again restoreth it;  
 Some that He appeareth far from mortal gaze;  
 Some that He is all-seeing and omnipresent.

<sup>5</sup> Also translated—His attributes are described in endless languages.

Then what can we offer Him whereby His court may be won?  
What words shall we utter with our lips, on hearing which  
He may love us?

At the ambrosial hour of *morning* meditate on the true name  
and *God's* greatness.

The Kind One will give us a robe of honour, and by His  
favour we shall reach the gate of salvation.<sup>1</sup>

Nanak, we shall thus know that God is altogether true.<sup>2</sup>

## V.

He is not established, nor is He created.

The pure one existeth by Himself

They who worshipped Him have obtained honour.

Nanak, sing the praises of Him, who is the Treasury of  
excellencies.

Sing and hear and put His love in your hearts.

Thus shall your sorrows be removed, and you shall be  
absorbed in Him who is the abode of happiness.<sup>3</sup>

Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard; under  
the Guru's instruction its knowledge is acquired;  
under the Guru's instruction man learns that God is  
everywhere contained.<sup>4</sup>

The Guru is Shiva; the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the  
Guru is Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This verse is also translated—By our former acts we acquire this human  
vesture, and by God's favour reach the gate of salvation.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is commonly translated—We shall then know that God is all in all  
Himself—but this translation does not appear to harmonize with the preceding  
part of the pauri.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—And you shall take happiness to your homes.

<sup>4</sup> This very difficult verse is also translated—

(1) The voice of God is found as well in other compositions as in the Vedas;  
the voice of God is all-pervading.

(2) The pious know the Guru's instruction, that God is everywhere con-  
tained.

(3) The voice of the Guru is as the Vedas for the holy; they are absorbed  
in it.

<sup>5</sup> This verse is also translated—

(1) He is greater than Shiva; greater than Vishnu and Brahma; greater  
than Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.

(2) For the holy the Guru is Shiva; the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the  
Guru is Parbati, Lakhshmi, and Saraswati.

The tenth Guru says: "Khanda prithme saj ke Jin sab samar upaiya." (God

If I knew Him, should I not describe Him? He cannot be described by words.

My Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings; may I not forget Him!

## VI.

If I please Him, that is my place of pilgrimage to bathe in;  
if I please Him not, what ablutions shall I make?

What can all the created creatures I behold obtain without *previous* good acts?

Precious stones, jewels, and gems *shall be treasured up* in thy heart if thou hearken to even one word of the Guru.

The Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings; may I not forget Him!

## VII.

Were man to live through the four ages, *yea* ten times longer,

Were he to be known on the nine continents, and were everybody to follow in his train,<sup>1</sup>

Were he to obtain a great name and praise and renown<sup>2</sup> in the world,

If God's look of favour fell not on him, no one would notice him.

He would be accounted a worm among worms, and even sinners would impute sin to him.

first created the sword, the emblem of Death, and then the world.) So here Shiva obtains precedence as the agent of destruction. The word uttered by God became the source of knowledge of Him through the Guru in the *three forms* of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to show him respect.

<sup>2</sup> *Jae* is praise in one's presence, *first* praise in one's absence.

Nanak, God may bestow virtue on those who are devoid of it, as well as on those who already possess it;  
But no such person is seen as can bestow virtue upon Him.

## VIII.

By hearing *the name of God* men become Sidhs, Pirs, Surs, and Naths.<sup>1</sup>

By hearing *the name* man understandeth the real nature of the earth, its supporting bull,<sup>2</sup> and Heaven.

By hearing *the name* man obtaineth a knowledge of the continents, the worlds, and the nether regions.

By hearing *the name* death doth not affect one<sup>3</sup>

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing *the name* sorrow and sin are no more.

## IX.

By hearing *the name* man becometh as Shiva, Brahma, and Indra.

By hearing *the name* even the low become highly lauded.<sup>4</sup>

By hearing *the name* the way of the jogi and the secrets of the body are obtained.

By hearing *the name* man understandeth the real nature of the Shastras, the Simritis, and the Vedas.<sup>5</sup>

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing *the name* sorrow and sin are no more.

<sup>1</sup> Sidhs are men who have acquired supernatural powers by asceticism; Pirs are Mahamadan saints; Surs are demigods; Naths are superiors among jogis.

<sup>2</sup> The bull which the Hindus believe supports the earth. This is not believed in by the Sikhs. See below, pauri XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Man shall not die again, but obtain deliverance.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—By hearing the name one is praised by high and low.

<sup>5</sup> There are six Shastras, twenty-seven Simritis, and four Vedas.

## X.

By hearing the name truth, contentment, and divine knowledge *are obtained.*

Hearing the name is equal to bathing at the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage.*<sup>1</sup>

By hearing the name and reading it man obtaineth honour.<sup>2</sup>

By hearing the name the mind is composed and fixed on God.<sup>3</sup>

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the name sorrow and sin are no more.

## XI.

By hearing the name, the depth of the sea of virtue is sounded.<sup>4</sup>

By hearing the name *men become* shekhs,<sup>5</sup> pirs, and emperors.

By hearing the name a blind man findeth his way.

By hearing the name the unfathomable becometh fathomable.

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the name sorrow and sin are no more.

## XII.

The condition of him who obeyeth God cannot be described.

Whoever tryeth to describe it, shall afterward repent.

There is no paper, or pen, or writer

To describe *the condition* of him who obeyeth God.

So pure is God's name,

Whoever obeyeth God knoweth *the pleasure of it* in his own heart.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sixty-eight is the number of holy places in the opinion of the Hindus.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—On hearing the name man obtaineth honour by the knowledge acquired.

<sup>3</sup> Or—By hearing the name man easily meditateth upon God.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—Man acquireth the best virtues.

<sup>5</sup> Shekhs are really superiors of Muhammadan monks.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, he knows it in his own mind, that is, he obtains a pleasure which is incommunicable.



## XIII.

By obeying Him wisdom and understanding *enter* the mind.  
 By obeying Him man knoweth all worlds.<sup>1</sup>  
 By obeying Him man suffereth not punishment.<sup>2</sup>  
 By obeying Him man shall not depart with Jam.<sup>3</sup>  
 So pure is God's name,  
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own  
 heart.

## XIV.

By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed.  
 By obeying Him man departeth with honour and distinction.  
 By obeying Him man proceedeth in ecstasy <sup>1</sup> on his way.  
 By obeying Him man formeth an alliance with virtue.  
 So pure is God's name,  
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own  
 heart.

## XV.

By obeying Him man obtaineth the gate of salvation.  
 By obeying Him man is saved with his family.  
 By obeying Him the Guru is saved, and saveth his disciples.  
 By obeying Him, O Nanak, man wandereth not *in quest*  
*of alms.*<sup>5</sup>  
 So pure is God's name,  
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own  
 heart.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhawan*. According to Hindus and Musalmans there are fourteen worlds all forming the universe.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, eateth not blows on his mouth.

<sup>3</sup> *Jam*, the God of Death, known as Yama in Sanskrit writings. This verse means that man shall not die again, but be absorbed in God.

<sup>4</sup> *Magan*. This word is understood to be for *magan*. Those who read *magan* as translate—

(1) By obeying Him man proceedeth not by the path of destruction.

(2) Man proceedeth by the broad, not the narrow way.

<sup>5</sup> This is explained to mean—Does not wander in transmigration.

XVI.

The elect<sup>1</sup> are acceptable, the elect are distinguished.  
 The elect obtain honour in God's court.  
 The elect shed lustre<sup>2</sup> on the courts of kings.  
 The attention of the elect is bestowed on the one Guru.<sup>3</sup>  
 If anyone say he can form an idea of God, *he may say so,*  
*But* the Creator's works cannot be numbered.  
 The bull *that is spoken of* is righteousness, the offspring of  
 mercy,  
 Which supported by patience maintaineth the order of nature.<sup>4</sup>  
 Whoever understandeth this is a true man.  
 What a load there is upon the bull!<sup>5</sup>  
 Beyond this earth there are more worlds, more and more.  
 What power can support their weight?  
 The names of living things, their species, and colours,  
 Have all been written with a flowing pen.  
 Does anyone know how to write an account of them?  
 If the account were written, how great it would be!  
 What power and beautiful form are thine, O God.  
 Who hath power<sup>6</sup> to know how great Thy gifts are?  
 By one word<sup>7</sup> Thou didst effect the expansion of *the world*,  
 Whereby hundreds of thousands of rivers were produced.  
 What power have I to describe Thee?  
 I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.  
 Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.  
 Thou, O Formless One, art ever secure.

<sup>1</sup> *Panch*, literally 'five.' The number conveys the idea of selection. There is a Hindustani proverb, "Panchon men Parameshwar hai" (Where five are assembled, God is in the midst of them). Others say that *panch* refers to the five classes of persons previously mentioned—those who walk according to God's will, who know Him to be true, who praise Him, who hear His name, and who obey Him.

<sup>2</sup> This is the interpretation of *sohbi* given by Bhai Chanda Singh in his commentary on the Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> The elect have one God as their Guru or spiritual guide, and meditate on Him.

<sup>4</sup> *Sut*, the thread on which the world is strung. The Guru means by patience the adjusted balance of the world, everything being in equipoise.

<sup>5</sup> Here Guru Nanak obviously rejects the Hindu story of the bull.

<sup>6</sup> I understand *lut* as the Arabic *luwwat*. If *lut* be held to mean 'food,' a meaning which the word so pronounced also bears in Arabic, the verse will be translated—Who knoweth the extent of Thy gifts of sustenance?

<sup>7</sup> The Hindus believe this is "Eko aham, bahu syam"—I am one, let me become many.

## XVII.

Numberless Thy worshippers,<sup>1</sup> and numberless Thy lovers;  
 Numberless Thine adorers, and numberless those who perform  
 austerities for Thee;

Numberless the reciters of *sacred* books and Vedas;  
 Numberless Thy jogis whose hearts are indifferent *to the*  
*world*;

Numberless the saints who ponder on Thine attributes and  
 divine knowledge;

Numberless Thy true men; numberless Thine almsgivers;  
 Numberless Thy heroes who face the steel of their enemies;<sup>2</sup>  
 Numberless Thy silent *worshippers* who lovingly fix their  
 thoughts upon Thee.

What power have I to describe Thee?

I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.

O Formless One, Thou art ever secure

## XVIII.

Numberless are the fools appallingly blind;  
 Numberless are the thieves and devourers of others' property;<sup>3</sup>  
 Numberless those who establish their sovereignty by force;<sup>4</sup>  
 Numberless the cut-throats and murderers;  
 Numberless the sinners *who pride themselves on* committing sin;  
 Numberless the liars who roam about lying;  
 Numberless the filthy<sup>5</sup> who enjoy filthy gain;  
 Numberless the slanderers who carry loads of *calumny* on  
 their heads;

Nanak thus describeth the degraded.

I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, repetitions of God's name. Here the word is used by metonymy for those who repeat God's name.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, who eat iron with their mouths.

<sup>3</sup> *Baramkhar*. This word literally means 'eaters of forbidden food.'

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—Numberless are those who issue oppressive orders.

<sup>5</sup> *Mekhet*—Whose desires are filthy, and who are deemed the lowest of the low, complete outcasts.

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.  
O Formless One, Thou art ever secure.

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## XIX.

Numberless *Thy* names, and numberless *Thy* places.  
Completely beyond reach<sup>1</sup> are *Thy* numberless worlds.  
Numberless those who repeat *Thy* name with *all* the strength  
of their intellects.<sup>2</sup>  
By letters<sup>3</sup> *we* repeat *Thy* name, by letters we praise Thee;  
By letters *we* acquire divine knowledge, and sing *Thy* praises  
and *Thine* attributes;  
By letters we write and utter the word<sup>4</sup> of God;  
By the letters *recorded* on man's head his destiny is declared.<sup>5</sup>  
He who inscribeth them on others, beareth not them on His  
own head.  
As He ordaineth, so shall man obtain.  
As great *Thy* creation, O God, so great *Thy* fame!  
There is no place without *Thy* name.  
What power have I to describe Thee?  
I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.  
Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.  
O Formless One, Thou art ever secure.

---

## XX.

When the hands, feet, and *other members* of the body are  
covered with filth,  
It is removed by washing with water.

<sup>1</sup> *Agam*, from a meaning 'not' and *gam* 'to go.'

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—

(1) With their bodies reversed, that is, standing on their heads, a form of religious austerity practised in India.

(2) Those who try to describe Thee shall have to carry loads of sin on their heads.

<sup>3</sup> Letters here appear to mean sacred literature.

<sup>4</sup> *Ben* generally means 'custom.' Here it is understood to be used for *Sam*.

<sup>5</sup> Also translated—His union with God is determined.

When thy clothes are polluted,  
 Apply soap, and the impurity shall be washed away.  
 So when the mind is defiled by sin,  
 It is cleansed by the colour<sup>1</sup> of the name.  
 Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling  
 themselves so.  
 The recording angels take with them a record of *man's* acts.  
 It is he himself soweth, and he himself eateth.  
 Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God's order.

## XXI.

Pilgrimage, austerities, mercy, and almsgiving on general  
 and special occasions<sup>2</sup>  
 Whoever performeth, *may obtain* some little honour.  
 But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth *God* in his heart,  
 Shall wash off his *impurity* in the place of pilgrimage  
 within him.  
 All virtues are thine, O Lord; none are mine.  
 There is no devotion without virtue.  
 From the self-existent *proceeded* Maya (*athi*), whence issued  
 a word which produced Brahma and the rest<sup>3</sup>—  
 "Thou art true, Thou art beautiful, there is ever pleasure  
 in Thy heart!"  
 What the time, what the epoch, what the lunar day, and  
 what the week-day,  
 What the season, and what the month, when the world was  
 created,  
 The pandits did not discover; had they done so, they would  
 have recorded it in the Puranas.  
 Nor did the kazis<sup>4</sup> discover it; had they done so, they would  
 have recorded it in the Kuran.

<sup>1</sup> *Rang*. Literally, a dye, a colour, water in which the washing powder of the name has been dissolved. Laundrymen in India use indigo in washing.

<sup>2</sup> *Das* means general almsgiving; *dan*, gifts at religious festivals.

<sup>3</sup> The verse is also translated—"Blessing on Thee!" is said to have been the first salutation that Brahma addressed Thee.

<sup>4</sup> Baba Nanak means the scribes who reduced the Kuran to writing.

Neither the jogi nor any other mortal knows the lunar day,  
or the week-day, or the season, or the month.

When the Creator fashioned the world *only* he Himself  
knoweth.

How shall I address Thee, O God? how shall I praise Thee?  
how shall I describe Thee? and how shall I know  
Thee?

Saith Nanak, everybody speaketh of Thee, one wiser than  
the other.

Great is the Lord, great is His name; *it is only* what He  
doeth that cometh to pass.<sup>1</sup>

Nanak, he who is spiritually proud shall not be honoured  
on his arrival in the next world.

## XXII.

There are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions.  
Men have grown weary at last of searching for God's limits;  
the Vedas say one thing, *that God has no limit*.<sup>2</sup>

The thousands of Puranas<sup>3</sup> and Muhammadan books<sup>4</sup> tell  
that in reality there is but one principle.<sup>5</sup>

If God can be described by writing, then describe Him; *but*  
such description is impossible.

O Nanak, call Him great; only He Himself knoweth how  
great He is.

— —

<sup>1</sup> That is, man can do nothing of himself. Whatever he does proceeds from God.

<sup>2</sup> "Satyan jnanam anantan Brahm"—God is true, the source of knowledge, without end. The verse is also translated—The Vedas have at last grown weary of searching for God's limits, but they cannot give the slightest description of Him.

<sup>3</sup> There are only eighteen Puranas. The expression in the text means a thousand times eighteen or an indefinite number. The word *sahas* is also understood by the gyanis to refer to rishis and learned men of indefinite numbers.

<sup>4</sup> *Kitabs* is understood to mean the four books accepted by learned Muhammadans—the Old Testament, the Psalms of David, the New Testament, and the Kuran.

<sup>5</sup> That is, that God is the root or principle of all things. "Eko Brahm, satya nasyev."

## XXIII.

Praisers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge  
of Him,

As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but know not *its*  
*extent*.

Kings and emperors who possess oceans and mountains of  
property and wealth <sup>1</sup>

Are not equal to the worm which forgetteth not God in its  
heart.

— — —

## XXIV.

There is no limit to God's praises, <sup>2</sup> to those who repeat  
*them* there is no limit.

There is no limit to His mercy, and to His gifts there is no  
limit.

There is no limit to what God seeth, no limit to what He  
heareth.

The limit of the secret of His heart cannot be known.

The limit of His creation cannot be known, neither His  
limit nor His end can be ascertained. <sup>3</sup>

To know His limits how many vex their hearts. <sup>4</sup>

His limits cannot be ascertained;

Nobody knoweth His limits

The more we say, the more *that remains* to be said.

Great is the Lord, and exalted is His seat.

His exalted name is higher than the *most* exalted.

Were anyone else ever so exalted,

Then he would know that exalted Being.

How great He is He knoweth Himself.

Nanak, God bestoweth gifts *on those on whom He looks* with  
favour and mercy.

— — —

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—As the sea is the king of streams, so is God the monarch  
of men. Those who possess mountainous wealth, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—There is no limit to the Praised One

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "neither His near nor His further side can be known," a metaphor  
taken from the banks of a river.

<sup>4</sup> *Billa*, literally 'cry in pain.'

## XXV.

His many bounties<sup>1</sup> cannot be recorded.  
 He is a great giver and hath not a particle of covetousness.  
 How many, *yea*, countless heroes beg of Him !  
 How many *others* whose number cannot be conceived !  
 How many pine away in sin !  
 How many persons receive yet deny God's gifts !  
 How many fools there are who merely eat !  
 How many are ever dying in distress and want !  
 O giver, these things also come from Thee.  
 Whether we *shall again* be enclosed in a body or *obtain*  
 deliverance dependeth on Thy will :  
 Nobody can interfere with it.  
 If any fool<sup>2</sup> try to interfere with it,  
 He shall know himself the punishment he shall suffer.  
 God himself knoweth to whom He should give, and He  
 Himself giveth.  
 Only very few acknowledge this.<sup>3</sup>  
 He to whom God hath given the *boon* of praising and  
 lauding Him,  
 O Nanak, is the King of kings.<sup>4</sup>

## XXVI.

Priceless are Thine attributes, O God, and priceless Thy  
 dealings ;<sup>5</sup>  
 Priceless Thy dealers,<sup>6</sup> priceless Thy storehouses ;  
 Priceless is what cometh from Thee, and priceless what is  
 taken away ;

<sup>1</sup> *Karm* in Sanskrit is 'work,' in Persian 'kindness, favour, or bounty.' The context seems to show that the last mentioned is intended.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāśik*. This word is also found in the "Sri Rag ki war—*thao nahin khaika*."

<sup>3</sup> The majority of people suppose that God's favours are obtained through a mediator.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—*To those few, O Nanak, the King of kings  
Giveth the boon of praising and lauding Him.*

<sup>5</sup> In the True name.

<sup>6</sup> That is, religious men who deal in the True name.



Priceless Thy rate and priceless the time *for dealing*;<sup>1</sup>  
 Priceless Thy justice and priceless Thy court;  
 Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thy measures;<sup>2</sup>  
 Priceless Thy gifts and priceless Thy marks;  
 Priceless Thy mercy and priceless Thy ordinances.  
 How beyond all price *Thou art* cannot be stated.  
 Ever speaking of Thee men continue to fix their thoughts  
 on Thee.<sup>3</sup>

Those who read the Vedas and Puranas speak of Thee;  
 Learned men speak of Thee and deliver discourses on Thee;  
 Brahmas speak of Thee, and Indras speak of Thee;  
 The milkmaids and Krishna speak of Thee;  
 Shivas speak of Thee, the Sidhs speak of Thee;  
 All the Budhas Thou hast created speak of Thee;  
 The demons speak of Thee, the gods speak of Thee;  
 Thy demigods, men, munis, and servants speak of Thee;  
 How many speak of Thee or attempt to speak of Thee!  
 How many depart while speaking of Thee!  
 If thou wert to create as many more as Thou hast created,  
 Even then few of them would be able to speak *adequately*  
*of Thee.*

Thou mayest be as great as Thou pleasest.  
 Nanak, only the True one Himself knoweth how great He is.  
 If anyone were to speak improperly of God,  
 Write him down as the most ignorant of all men.

## XXVII.

What is that gate, what is that mansion, where Thou, *O God*,  
 sittest and watchest over all things?  
 How many musicians sing various and countless songs to  
 Thee!

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Priceless is thy love, and priceless those who are absorbed in it.

<sup>2</sup> I read *praman* for *parvan*. If the latter be read, the translation will be—Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thine acceptance of mortals. A third translation is—Priceless Thy scale and priceless Thy weights.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Repeating that *Thou art priceless* men continue to fix their attention on Thee.

How many musical measures with their consorts, and how many singers sing Thee !<sup>1</sup>

Wind, water, and fire sing Thee; Dharmraj sings at Thy gate.

The recording angels,<sup>2</sup> who know how to write and on whose record Dharmraj<sup>3</sup> judgeth, sing Thee.

Ishar,<sup>4</sup> Brahma, and Devi,<sup>5</sup> ever beautiful as adorned by Thee, sing Thee.

Indar, seated on His throne, with the gods at Thy gate sing Thee

Sidhs<sup>6</sup> in meditation sing Thee; holy men in contemplation sing Thee.

The continent, the true, and the patient sing Thee; unyielding heroes sing Thee

The pandits and the supreme Rikhis,<sup>7</sup> reading their Vedas, sing Thee in every age

The lovely *celestial maids* who beguile the heart in the upper, middle,<sup>8</sup> and nether regions sing Thee.

The jewels<sup>9</sup> created by Thee with the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage sing Thee.

Mighty warriors and divine heroes sing Thee; the four sources of life<sup>10</sup> sing Thee.

The continents, the worlds, and the universe made and supported by Thy hands sing Thee.

<sup>1</sup> There are six *ragas* or musical measures, which have each five *raginis* as their consorts, and eight minor *ragas* as their offspring

<sup>2</sup> *Chitr* and *Gupt* *Chitr* means 'visible,' *Gupt* 'invisible' According to the Sikhs, *Chitr* records man's overt acts, *Gupt* the designs of his heart. In Sanskrit literature *Chitigupt* is one person, the Recorder of Yama

<sup>3</sup> The Pluto of the Greeks

<sup>4</sup> A title of Shiva

<sup>5</sup> The female energy of nature She has numerous names in Sanskrit literature.

<sup>6</sup> Men who have acquired supernatural power by the practice of *yog*.

<sup>7</sup> There are said to be seven supreme Rikhis, sons of Brahma The Vedas were written by Rikhis

<sup>8</sup> *Mech*, literally 'fish' It is here understood to be the earth.

<sup>9</sup> According to the Hindus, Vishnu in his Karmavata assumed the shape of a tortoise which supported the earth while the gods churned the ocean. From the ocean were produced the fourteen gems or jewels here referred to. They are Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, the moon, a white horse with seven heads, a holy sage, a prodigious elephant, the tree of plenty, the all-yielding cow, etc.

<sup>10</sup> The Hindus enumerate four sources of life, and say that animals are born from eggs, wombs, the earth, and perspiration.

The saints who please Thee, and who are imbued with Thy love<sup>1</sup> sing Thee.

The many others who sing Thee I cannot remember; how could Nanak recount them?<sup>2</sup>

That God is ever true, He is the true Lord, and the true name.

He who made this world is and shall be; he shall neither depart nor be made to depart<sup>3</sup>

He who through Maya created things of different colours, descriptions, and species,

Beholdeth His handiwork which attesteth His greatness.

<sup>1</sup> *Rasale* is literally an abode of pleasure. The reading *ras nah*, which would remove all difficulty, has been suggested.

<sup>2</sup> The following is offered as a free blank verse paraphrase of this poem:—

What is that gate, that mansion what what thou  
Dost sit and watch o'er all Thy wondrous works  
Many the harps and songs which time Thy praise,  
Yea, countless, Thy musicians who can tell  
How many measures sung with high delight,  
And voices which exalt Thy peerless name  
To Thee sing water, wind, and breathing fire  
To Thee sings Dharamraj in regions drear  
To Thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record  
For judgment final by that king of death  
To Thee sing Shiva, Brähma, and the Queen  
Of Heaven with radiant beauty ever crown'd  
To Thee sing India and th' attendant gods  
Around Thy throne and scruphs at Thy gate  
To Thee sing Sidhs in meditation deep  
And holy men who ponder but on Thee  
To Thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,  
Unyielding heroes of true faith approv'd  
To Thee sing pandits and the chiefs of sants  
The ages four and Veds to them assigned  
To Thee sing maidens who delight the sense  
This world of ours, high heaven, and hell below.  
To Thee sing gems from Vishnu's sea that rose,  
And eight and sixty spots of pilgrims' haunt  
To Thee sing heroes and the men of might,  
The sources four from which all life doth spring  
To Thee sing regions, orbs, and universe,  
Created, cherished, and upheld by Thee  
To Thee sing those whose deeds delight Thine eye,  
The hosts that wear the colours of Thy faith  
All things beside which sing Thy glorious name,  
Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—

(1) Creation shall depart, but not He who made it

(2) He who made creation shall not be born or die

He will do what pleaseth Himself ; no order may be issued to Him.

He is king, the king of kings, O Nanak ; all remain subject to His will.

## XXVIII.

Make contentment thine earrings, modesty and self-respect thy wallet, meditation the ashes to *smear on thy body*.

Make thy body, which is only a morsel for death, thy beggar's coat, and faith thy rule of life and thy staff.<sup>1</sup>

Make association with all thine Ai Panth,<sup>2</sup> and the conquest of thy heart the conquest of the world.

HAIL !<sup>3</sup> HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure,<sup>4</sup> without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age !

## XXIX.

Make divine knowledge thy food, compassion thy store-keeper, and the voice which is in every heart the pipe *to call to meals*.

Make Him who hath strung the whole world *on His string* thy spiritual Lord ; let wealth and supernatural power be relishes for others.

Union and separation is the law which regulateth the world.<sup>5</sup> By destiny we receive our portion.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age !

<sup>1</sup> Jogis wear earrings, patched coats, rub ashes on their bodies, and carry a wallet and a staff. The verse is also translated—Make the chastening of thy body, not yet wedded to death, thy patched coat, and faith thy beggar's staff.

<sup>2</sup> A sect of jogis.

<sup>3</sup> *Adesh* ' the ordinary salutation of jogis. Baba Nanak means that this salutation should only be offered to God.

<sup>4</sup> *Asi*, literally, not of a blue colour, as Krishna is represented.

<sup>5</sup> Also translated—Favourable and unfavourable destinies shape men's actions.

## XXX.

One Maya in union *with* God gave birth to three acceptable children.<sup>1</sup>

One of them is the creator, the second the provider, the third performeth the function of destroyer.<sup>2</sup>

As it pleaseth God, He directeth them by His orders.

He beholdeth them, but is not seen by them. This is very marvellous.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible,  
the same in every age !

- - -

## XXXI.

His seat and his storehouses<sup>3</sup> are in every world.

What was to be put into them was put in at one time.<sup>4</sup>

The Creator beholdeth His creation.

Nanak, true is the work of the True One.

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible,  
the same in every age !

- - -

## XXXII.

Were one tongue to become a hundred thousand, and a  
hundred thousand to become twentyfold more,

I would utter the name of the one Lord of the world  
hundreds of thousands of times *with all my tongues*.

<sup>1</sup> *Chela*, literally 'disciples.'

<sup>2</sup> *Lut* may either mean absorption or reaper (*laine*). Both meanings convey the idea of destruction.

<sup>3</sup> To supply human necessities.

<sup>4</sup> That is, before man is born, his portion is fully allotted him.

In this way I should ascend the stairs of the Lord, and become one with Him.<sup>1</sup>

On hearing of the exaltation of the religious the vile become jealous.<sup>2</sup>

Nanak, *the former* have found God, while false is the boasting of the false.

### XXXIII.

I have no strength to speak and no strength to be silent.<sup>3</sup>

I have no strength to ask and no strength to give;

I have no strength to live and no strength to die;

I have no strength to acquire empire or wealth, which produce a commotion in the heart.

I have no strength to meditate on Thee or ponder on divine knowledge;

I have no strength *to find* the way to escape from the world.

He in whose arm there is strength may see what he can do.

Nanak, no one is of superior or inferior *strength* before God.

### XXXIV.

God created nights, seasons, lunar days, and week-days,  
Wind, water, fire, and the nether regions.

In the midst of these He established the earth as a temple.<sup>4</sup>

In it *He placed* living beings of different habits and descriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Some gyanis translate—In this way I should ascend the stairs of honour by the twenty-one chambers of the vertebral column. That is, I should conduct my breath to the brain where God reposes, and where I should find him: The yogis enumerate five lumbar, seven dorsal, and nine cervical vertebrae through which the breath passes to the brain.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, on hearing matters connected with heaven worms grow jealous.

<sup>3</sup> This hyperbole means that man has no strength to do anything without God's assistance.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmshala*. This word generally means a large building in which divine worship is held, where travellers obtain free accommodation, and children receive religious instruction.

Their names are various and endless,  
 And they are judged according to their acts.  
 True is God, and true is His court.  
 There the elect are accepted and honoured.  
 The Merciful One marketh them according to their acts.<sup>1</sup>  
 The bad and the good shall there be distinguished.  
 Nanak, on arrival there, this shall be seen.

## XXXV.

Such is the practice in the realm of righteousness.  
 I now describe the condition of the realm of knowledge.  
 How many winds, waters, and fires! how many Krishnas  
 and Shivas!  
 How many Brahmas<sup>2</sup> who fashioned worlds! *how many*  
 forms, colours, and garbs!  
 How many lands of grace *like this*!<sup>3</sup> how many mountains!  
 how many Dhrus<sup>4</sup> and instructors<sup>5</sup> such as his!  
 How many Indras, how many moons and suns, how many  
 regions and countries!  
 How many Sidhs, Budhs, and Naths! how many goddesses  
 and representations of them!  
 How many demigods and demons! how many saints, how  
 many jewels and seas!  
 How many sources of life! how many languages! and how  
 many lines of kings!  
 How many possessors of divine knowledge! how many  
 worshippers! Nanak, there is no end of them.

<sup>1</sup> Or—God marketh those on whom He looketh with favour.

<sup>2</sup> The Hindus believe it was through the agency of Brahma God created the world.

<sup>3</sup> Where men reap the results of their acts

<sup>4</sup> Dhru, a man who, owing to his virtues, is said to have been raised to the skies as the polar star.

<sup>5</sup> Narad, who instructed him to obtain such dignity.

## XXXVI.

In the realm of knowledge the light of divine knowledge is  
resplendent.

There are heard songs from which millions of joys and  
pleasures *proceed*.

Beauty is the characteristic of the realm of happiness.<sup>1</sup>

There things are fashioned in an incomparable manner.

What is done there cannot be described.

Whoever endeavoureth to describe it shall afterwards repent.

There are fashioned knowledge, wisdom, intellect, and under-  
standing ;

And there too is fashioned the skill of demigods and men of  
supernatural power.

## XXXVII.

Force is the characteristic of the realm of action.<sup>2</sup>

Incomparable are those who dwell therein.

There are very powerful warriors and heroes.

They are filled with the *might* of Rama.

There are many Sitas <sup>3</sup> in the midst of greatness.

Their beauty cannot be described.

They die not, neither are they led astray,<sup>4</sup>

In whose hearts God dwelleth.

There dwell congregations of saints ;

They rejoice ; the True One is in their hearts.

God dwelleth in the realm of truth.

He looketh on its denizens with an eye of favour, and  
rendereth them happy.

There are continents, worlds, and universes.

<sup>1</sup> *Sharm khand*. *Sharm* is here not the Persian *sharm* 'shame,' nor the Sanskrit *shram* 'toil.' It is the Sanskrit *shāman*, 'happiness.' *Bani* is understood to be for *bdn*. The verse is also translated—Beautiful are the words of those who have obtained the realm of the happy.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the world.

<sup>3</sup> Sita's name is apparently introduced here as she was the wife of Rama mentioned in the preceding line.

<sup>4</sup> *Na thage jah*, literally 'are not deceived.'



Whoever trieth to describe them shall never arrive at an end.  
 There are worlds upon worlds and forms upon forms.  
 They *perform* their functions according to God's orders.  
 God beholding and contemplating them is pleased.  
 Nanak, to describe *them* were as hard as iron.

## XXXVIII.

Make continence Thy furnace, forbearance Thy goldsmith,  
 Understanding Thine anvil, divine knowledge Thy tools,  
 The fear of God Thy bellows, austerities Thy fire,  
 Divine love Thy crucible, and melt God's name therein.  
 In such a true mint the Word shall be coined.  
 This is the practice of those on whom God looketh with an  
     eye of favour.  
 Nanak, the Kind One, by a glance maketh them happy.

## SLOK.

The air is the Guru, water our father, and the great earth  
     our mother ;  
 Day and night are our two nurses, male and female, who set  
     the whole world a-playing.<sup>1</sup>  
 Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence of the  
     judge.  
 According to men's acts, some shall be near and others  
     distant from God.  
 Those who have pondered on the name and departed after  
     the completion of their toil,  
 Shall have their countenances made bright, O Nanak ; how  
     many shall be emancipated in company with them !

<sup>1</sup> Here the denizens of the world are likened to children. Their father is said to be water, the human sperm ; the earth like a mother affords them nutriment ; day supplies them with occupation, the night lulls them to rest, and the breath of the Guru imparts divine instruction. In the East it is usual for the rich to have two nurses for a child—a female nurse by night and a male nurse to accompany and play with it by day.



ART. V.—*An Autograph of the Mogul Emperor Jahángír*  
(A.D. 1617). By A. N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E.

AT p. 115 of Mr. William Foster's admirable edition of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal of his Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, recently published by the Hakluyt Society, there is an engraving representing (amongst others) the Emperor Jahángír.

At the foot of the picture in question is the following inscription, which appears to be of sufficient interest to merit a few words as to its probable meaning, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom.

عاشه شهرماند روزی منوچهر رسن کا سالک و دم

It may be well to quote the first paragraph of the editor's remarks concerning the engraving. He says (p. 562):—

"This plate has been copied from 'Purchas His Pilgrimes,' vol. ii, p. 1474, where it appears as an illustration to Terry's short sketch of his Indian experiences. As indicated in the superscription, it is taken from the work of a native artist. The Persian inscription at the bottom of the picture has suffered at the hands of the English engraver, and is consequently difficult to read; but Professor Denison Ross renders it as: 'In the year [illegible], in the town of Bándhú, I, the writer of this, Minuchehr (?), was fifty years of age.'"

It is not my intention to criticize this rendering, taking the Persian text as it stands. I am tempted, however, to

hazard a conjecture that the inscription might be amended so as to allow of a translation as follows: "The year 1026, in the city Mándú, I am the writer; also I was in the fiftieth year of my age." The matter is not without importance, because if my conjecture be accurate there can be little doubt that the writing is an autograph of the Emperor Jahángír himself.

It may be well, therefore, to adduce reasons for the translation which I have suggested. Obviously, as Professor Denison Ross points out, the date as it stands is illegible. The first figure, which is 1, is clear, and may be dismissed without criticism. Then comes, I fancy, a hiatus. In this direction two conjectures may be made: (1) That a dot has accidentally disappeared; or (2) that the mark which was originally a dot has at some time or another, owing either to carelessness or ignorance on the part of a copyist or engraver, been written as a dash, and as such has been joined to the upright stroke of the figure on its right. I am tempted to choose the latter alternative, as otherwise there is no *raison d'être* for a dash at all; and it simplifies matters materially if this unmeaning surplusage be eliminated. On this supposition the hiatus should be rectified by the insertion of a dot, equivalent in English to a 0, and the first two figures would then be (in English) 10. As regards the third figure, since the mark drawn towards the left of the upright stroke has been expunged, there remains a distinct 2. These surmises point to the probability that the first three figures are 102. The last figure presents but little difficulty, it being manifestly intended for a 6. The date is therefore 1026, of course of the Muhammadan Hijrah era, equivalent to A.D. 1617, at which time Roe was at the Court of Jahángír.

Instead of *Bándhú* I should read *Mándú*; because (a) there is no *h* in the original text, and (b) less modification of the first letter would be required to turn it into *m* than to make it *b*. In the former case it is merely necessary to make the stroke at the base more bulbous, whereas Professor Ross' rendering necessitates the addition of a diacritical point.

The next word on the list is evidently intended for 'again,' 'writer,' the tail of the concluding letter *m* being accidentally written in an horizontal instead of an upright position.

The next three letters Professor Ross joins on to the following two, and renders the whole as 'Minuchehr.' This version appears to be so hopelessly obscure that I am tempted to suggest with the fullest confidence that the reading should be not one word but two, of which the first is *man-am* (a compound word), the equivalent in English being 'I am.' The sentence thus far would, therefore, read: "The year 1026, in the city Mándú, I am the writer."

The remainder of the inscription is comparatively easy. The two letters supposed by Professor Ross to be equivalent to *chehr* are without doubt merely the word *ham* (= 'also'); if, therefore, as regards the remaining words in the inscription, the necessary dots be supplied—and there is no room for doubt on the subject—the rest of the translation would read: "also I was in the fiftieth year of my age."

Thus much as regards the writing from a purely scholarly point of view; but there are other considerations which tend to confirm the surmise that the rendering now given is likely to be accurate. In the first place, an inscription of this kind must either be (a) the artist's signature of his work; (b) a description of the person portrayed; or (c) an addition made by some person in presenting the portrait to someone else. As regards supposition (a), if, taking Professor Ross' translation, a person named 'Minuchehr' painted the picture, it might fairly be supposed that some allusion would be made to him in Roe's Journal, or elsewhere; but such is not the case so far as I am aware. Again, the handwriting is of the schoolboy type, and in the very improbable circumstances that the Court painter would venture to write anything on a picture of an Emperor whose very nod was death, it is pretty certain that he would have employed a *Khush-Nuis* (professional writer) to pen the words in the most approved fashion, and in all probability would have contented himself with adding thereto his own personal signature or seal. Supposition

(b) is evidently in any case out of the question. But if supposition (c) be adopted, and if be conceded that the writing is an autograph of Jahángír, the difficulties disappear. In the first place, such a scrawl is just what might have been expected on the part of a great monarch, whose handwriting was probably not of the most elegant description. Still more important is the fact that the two dates given in the inscription would apply accurately to the Emperor. Having been born on 17 Rabí-'u'l-avval, A.H. 977, His Majesty's fiftieth year would run from his birthday in A.H. 1026 to the same day in A.H. 1027, that is, from 26th March, A.D. 1617, to 15th March, A.D. 1618. Further, the Emperor was at Mándú from 3rd March to 24th October, 1617 (see Roe's Journal, pp. 391 and 437), a period which embraces seven months of his fiftieth year.

In the absence of any evidence on the subject, the history of the picture must remain a matter of hypothesis. All things considered, perhaps the most probable conjecture is that it was presented to Roe by Jahángír, and that at the request of the former the Emperor condescended to scribble a few words on it with his own royal hand. It is known from Roe's Journal (p. 227) that on one occasion (6th August, 1616) the monarch offered the ambassador his portrait, either for himself or for King James. Roe accepted the offer on behalf of his master, and added that "since His Majesty had embouldned mee, I would desier one for myselfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my posterity as an ensigne of His Majestie's favour. Hee replied: 'Your King doth not desire one, but you doe: therefore you shall haue it'; and soe gave present order for the Making." His Majesty's promise was fulfilled (on the 17th August, 1616) by the presentation of a miniature, as recorded at p. 244; that this, however, could not have been the portrait under discussion is proved not only by the dates but by the circumstance that the Emperor did not leave Ajmere till some months after the last-mentioned day, and could not therefore have been either at Mándú or Bándhú at that period. It is not unreasonable, however, to surmise

that another portrait may have been given to Roe in the following year, possibly at his own request, for presentation to King James. The omission on the part of the ambassador of any mention of the second gift is not surprising, since that portion of his Journal is only known in Purchas' much abbreviated version. But in any case it is not within the province of the present article to enter upon a discussion relative to this point. All that devolves upon me is to show the reasonableness of the theory which I have propounded that the writing on the picture is the autograph of the Emperor Jahángír.

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ART. VI.—*Sumerian or Cryptography.* By T. G. PINCHES,  
M.R.A.S.

FIFTEEN years ago I read before this Society a paper treating of "the languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia," in which I expressed my conviction that the non-Semitic dialects (for there are at least two closely-allied idioms) spoken in that district, revealed to us by the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, were really languages, and not cryptographies or "allographic systems of writing," as they were called by those who favoured the theory of the artificial nature of the script employed.

At that time, as nearly as I can recollect, there were but two Assyriologists who held the theory to which I have referred, namely, Halévy, who first put it forth, and Guyard, who was, I believe, one of his pupils. Later on, Fried. Delitzsch joined the band, but afterwards recanted his heresy on seeing how many difficulties attended the acceptance of the explanations offered. Of late years, however, in the increasing ranks of the Assyriologists, M. Halévy has found several supporters, and the time has come to turn attention to this theory that has been advanced, and which has gained in importance with those who do not know, and who naturally think that, as the hypothesis put forward has now many adherents, there is at least great probability that those who hold the older opinion are wrong.

At this point, however, I should like clearly to define the ground that I shall cover in the present paper. What I should like to do would be, to go over all the arguments that have been advanced in favour of the theory that those ancient idioms of the Mesopotamian plains were not languages, but 'allographies,' and examine dispassionately and carefully each one, quoting all the points for and

against, and drawing a conclusion from an examination of the whole. This, unfortunately, I am unable to do for want of time; the examination of the many papers that have been written by M. Halévy alone would have bespoken my leisure hours for many weeks, and rendered the writing of this paper impossible.

A few words upon the arguments advanced are necessary, however, to make the reader understand the nature of the question at issue, and this is probably best done by describing what the documents are with which students of Assyrian have to deal.

The most important of the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria for the language in general are the bilingual texts, which give mainly hymns to the gods, incantations, psalms of a penitential nature, etc., with a few historical texts. These inscriptions are generally interlinear, but are sometimes written in parallel columns, *the non-Semitic version being always first*. As in the case of the Assyrian inscriptions in general, however, these documents would of themselves be of but little value without the syllabaries, which give us the various pronunciations of the syllables of which the words and groups are composed.

These syllabaries are of various kinds. The simplest are those giving the pronunciation, the character, and the name of the character. A second class gives the pronunciation, the character, and its meaning when so pronounced in the non-Semitic idiom. A third class gives the pronunciation, the character or group, the name or names of the character or group, and the meaning in Assyrian. Yet another class gives a list of non-Semitic words pronounced (or written) in the same way when phonetically rendered, the characters by which they are expressed when ideographically written, and their meanings. In addition to these important documents bearing on the pronunciation of the non-Semitic idiom, (the so-called system of rebuses), there is a large number of bilingual lists with non-Semitic (Sumerian) glosses, and at least one fragment exists of a narrative text written in three lines (not columns), giving (first) the non-Semitic words

If we take a portion of a syllabary of the first series, that with the values of the character and its name or names, we shall find that the names of the characters are formed from the values. Thus the value of the character meaning 'great' is *gal*, a syllable which, in the non-Semitic idiom, has the same meaning. By attaching to the syllable *gal* the Assyrian nominative ending *u*, and doubling the *l*, we get the form *gallu*, the name of the character, which is sometimes used (and then it is not, naturally, the name of the character) in Assyrian as a synonym of the Semitic word *rabû*, meaning 'great.'<sup>1</sup> Other examples of this are *hullu*, from *hul*, 'evil'; *mahhû*, from *mah*, 'supreme', *mâšû*, from *mâš*, 'double'; *dimmu*, from *dim*, 'cord'; *ênu*, from *ên*, 'lord'; *tappu*, from *tab*, 'companion'; *êdinu*, from *êdin*, 'plain' ('Eden'); *temennu*, from *temena*, 'memorial-cylinder'; *du*, from *dû*, 'seat, mound'; with many others.

Besides these, however, a number of words, evidently borrowed, are common to both idioms, both Assyrian and non-Semitic. Thus we have *é-gala* and *ékallu*, 'great house' or 'palace'; *dup-sara* and *dupšaru*, 'scribe'; *gala* and *gallu*, 'demon, devil': *namtara* and *namtaiu*, 'fate', *sa-bara* and *saparu*, 'net'; *ušbar* and *ušparu*, 'loom'; *guza* and *luštu*, 'throne'; *mada* and *mātu*, 'land, country'; *harran* and *harranu*, 'road'; *abzu* and *apsu*, 'abyss'; *ibila* and *ablu*, 'son'; *duba* and *duppu*, 'tablet'; *saga* and *saku*, 'head, end' (of a piece of ground); *bala* and *palu*, 'regnal year'; *lamma* and *lamassu*, 'colossus'; *banšur* and *paššuru*, 'dish'; *saḫ* and *saḫu*, 'pig'; *adama* and *adamatu*, 'gore, blood'; *isaga* (*nisaga*) and *iššaku* (*nišakku*), 'prince, chief'; *umbin* and *ubanu*, 'finger'; *nun* and *nūnu*, 'fish'; *uudu* and *ēru*, 'copper'; *illat* or *ellat*, 'army'; *urugala*, *araki*, and

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that this is only in compound words, borrowed from American. Thus  $\text{E}|\text{--}|\text{E}|\text{--}$ , *gallum*, quoted by Brunnow (6842), is in reality the second part of the word  $\text{E}|\text{--}|\text{E}|\text{--}$  *gugallum*, 'great bull,' from *gug*, *gug*.

*haddu*, 'hades'; *sangu* and *sangu*, 'priest' (both from *sag*, 'head'!); *sukkal* and *sukkalu*, 'messenger'; *agarin* and *agarinnu*, 'mother'; *kisal* and *kisallu*, 'platform'; *ušungul* and *ušungallu*, "peerless one, demon"; *bara* and *parakku*, 'shrine'; *silm* and *salimu* or *šulmu*, 'peace'; *nér*, the *neros* (800); *damgar* and *tamkaru*, 'agent'; *ingar* and *igaru*, 'enclosure'; *gidim* and *édimnu*, *utug* and *utukku*, names of evil spirits; *egá* and *aqu*, 'inundation,' with many others.

Some of my readers will probably have recognized, in this list of similar words in the two idioms, a few roots that are common Semitic property. *Ékalu* is, of course, the common word *hekál*, 'temple'; *dupšarru* is the Hebrew *šep̄sar*, used in Jeremiah and Nahum for 'governor'; *kussu* is the well-known word for 'throne,' in Heb. *kissē* and in Arabic *kursi*; *nunu*, 'fish'; *silm*, *šulmu*, and *salimu*, 'peace'; and others which are not so easy to identify on account of the transformations they have undergone, but whose derivations have been worked out, and are known, may also be noted. Among these are *haránu*, 'road,' from *hararu*, 'to make a furrow'; *šila* and *šilu*, 'son,' from *šálu*, 'to produce'; *adama* and *adamatu*, 'blood' or 'gore,' from the same root as Adam, Edom, etc.; *illat* or *ellat*, 'army,' the Heb. *ḥeyil* or *ḥēl*, 'army, fortification,' whilst *damgar* and *tamkaru*, 'agent,' are connected with the word *makkuru*, 'property.'

When two nationalities come together, or have close communications with each other, it is the usual thing for an interchange of words to take place, for it is certain, that they will both possess expressions or meanings of synonymous words wanting to one or the other, and this being the case, they will be under the necessity of borrowing unless the needful synonym can be coined easily. This, however, seldom happens, and they borrow, often (as in the case of our own language) when there is little or no need for it, for after a time words become commonplace, 'worn out,' so to say, and foreign words take their place even though good words expressing the same ideas already exist. This is the true explanation of the fact that the

Semitic and non-Semitic idioms of ancient Mesopotamia have so much in common.

The anti-Akkadists, or those who contend that there is no non-Semitic idiom, but only a kind of cryptography, which they call 'allography,' or 'hieroglyphic system' of writing, make use of the above-mentioned facts to support their theory. Their method is well seen in Halévy's *Aperçu Grammatical de l'allographie Assyro-Babylonienns* (Leyden Orientalist Congress, 1884). Thus, on p. 10 of the *Aperçu Grammatical*, the names of the characters of the syllabary giving the phonetic values, the characters, and their names, are taken, and treated as if they were words actually used by the ancient Babylonian scribes. Beginning with the word *gal*, 'great,' the author sets beside it what he calls the 'type dém.' (which is apparently an abbreviation of the words 'type démotique') *gallu*, with the word 'idem' to indicate that it has the same meaning as the Akkadian word, instead of this being the name of the character. A whole row of Akkadian roots are treated in the same way, thus:—

<i>bur</i> , to dissolve,	'demotic type' <i>burru</i> .
<i>iš</i> , <sup>1</sup> is, wood,	" <i>išu</i> .
<i>giš</i> , wood,	" <i>giššu, gašišu</i> , wood, perch.
<i>el</i> , pure,	" <i>ellu</i> .
<i>sub</i> , <i>sub</i> , to melt,	" <i>sub</i> .
<i>nag</i> , to pour out, to drink,	" <i>naqu</i> .
<i>mah</i> , great, superior,	" <i>mahhu</i> .
<i>gir</i> , dagger, sword,	" <i>guru</i> .
<i>gir</i> , foot,	" <i>girru</i> , expedition
<i>tab</i> , companion,	" <i>tabbu</i> .
<i>sa</i> , slave, woman,	" <i>salatu</i> .
<i>kar</i> , enclosure, city,	" <i>karu</i> .
<i>ah</i> , deep valley,	" <i>apu</i> , cavity.
<i>etc.</i> , etc.	

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that *iš* is regarded by Assyriologists as a Semitic value, not taken from the Sumerian, but from the common Semitic word *iṣu* or *iṣu*, 'wood.' This word is given in the next line.

But *bu*, 'to dissolve,' is practically an unknown root as a verb in Assyrian, as is also *sub*, 'to melt.' For the purposes of his comparison, too, the ingenious anti-Akkadist ignores the long *u* of *naqu*, and the fact that, in Assyrian, this purely Semitic root does not mean 'to drink,' but only 'to pour out, as a libation,' and that the purely Akkadian *nag* does not mean 'to pour out,' but only 'to drink.' *Mahhu*, 'supreme,' generally appears (like *gallu*, 'great') in compounds, and is then used as a word borrowed from the Sumerian, in which language compounds were common, whilst they were exceedingly rare in Assyrian. *Guu*, 'dagger,' is not used in Assyrian, that word being replaced by the purely Semitic *paṣru*, whilst as to *girru*, 'expedition,' that also is Semitic, the word for 'foot' in Sumerian never being used for it. Then, again, if *salatu* have anything to do with *sal*, this must be entirely as a borrowed word, to which the feminine ending *-tu* has been added. With regard to the last two words I have quoted, *karu* is apparently borrowed from the Sumerian, and *apu* may be regarded as being in the same case, though the word in the one case and the meaning in both are probably not altogether correctly stated.

Let us take one of the above-quoted words, and examine it in the light of the inscriptions. Say *gir*, 'dagger,' for instance.

In the first place, it is to be noted that Brunnow does not quote *giru* in his "Classified List" as being used in Assyrian with any of the meanings of this Sumerian word.


Fuller, however, than Brunnow's most valuable work, is the British Museum syllabary 80-11-12, 11, which gives us the following instructive list of meanings of the root in question:



<i>Gir</i> → <i>paṣrum</i> , <i>naglabu</i> ,	Dagger, knife (razor).
<i>parādu</i> , <i>magsazu</i> ,	to flee, shearing.
<i>gallatum</i> , <i>namṣaru</i> ,	separation (P), sword.
<i>padanu</i> , <i>urhu</i> ,	path, road.
<i>ḫarānu</i> , <i>esimtu</i> ,	high-road, division.
<i>'amtum</i> , <i>sakbanni</i> (P),	P P
<i>šummudu</i> , <i>aḫuru</i> ,	to cut off (or sim.), P
<i>šibbu</i> , <i>zuqakipu</i> ,	girdle, scorpion.

*are 'daggers,' 'swords,' 'daggers, (in the) weapons'*  
*tongues.*

The writer of this very full syllabary, therefore, gives no hint of the existence of an Assyrian word *guru*, meaning 'dagger' or 'sword,' nor does it seem to occur with any of the meanings that I have quoted above.

Let us take the root *nag*, 'to drink,' that being one of the words compared by Halévy. In this instance we will do best if we go to Brunnow, who puts together all the places where the word occurs.

The character expressing the sound of *nag* (*nak*, *naq*) is , and besides these values, we find that it was also pronounced *gu* and *imneh*, and that it has a very doubtful value, *lan*, attributed to it. Turning to Brunnow's list, we see that the usual word for 'to drink' in Assyrian is *šatû* (the common Semitic root), but the syllabaries and bilingual inscriptions do not indicate any Akkadian pronunciation for the character when used with this meaning. We cannot, therefore, tell from the quotations given, whether *nag* be the word for 'to drink' in Sumerian or not. The same is the case with regard to *šaqû*, 'to give to drink,' which meaning the character also has.

On looking further at the list of meanings, we find that it is also translated by the Semitic *lašû*, having a meaning certainly akin to that of 'to drink.' To all appearance, some such rendering as 'to take in small quantities,' 'to sup,' 'to sip,' is the meaning of this word (see Brunnow). If this be the case, the character , with the meaning of 'to drink,' certainly has the same pronunciation as when it is translated in Assyrian by *lašû*, namely, *gu*, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the phrases containing  with the meaning of *šatû*, for the terminations attached to the word are those that one would expect to find used with a root ending in a vowel. To all appearance, therefore,



\* The word seems really to be *paš-ri*, but a close examination suggests that the character *paš* is written over *ri*, correcting the word to *pašrum*.

the Sumerian for 'to drink' is not *nag*, but *gu*. A Semitic Babylonian word *lê'u*, cited by Brünnow, seems to be doubtful as to the meaning given to it. *Immeli*, one of the Sumerian values of the character that are certain, is translated by *šikru*, 'intoxicating drink.'

Though the word *nag* does not seem to occur in the inscriptions, it is nevertheless certain that it did exist, and that in connection with drink, or with drinking. This is shown by the compound *a-nag*, Semiticized *anaqqu*, a kind of vase for holding liquor, of which a larger form existed called *a-nag-mahā*, Semiticized *anagmahhu*. Its real meaning, however, is doubtful.

It will thus be seen that nothing certain is known with regard to the meaning of the 'allographic' root *nag*, and that its identity with *naqu*, 'to pour out a libation,' is at least very improbable.

But the proof, if proof be needed, that what is regarded by all clear-headed Assyriologists as a language is really so, is to be found in the fact that this so-called 'allography' has a dialect! Halévy's opinion that the dialectic differences are really due to variant writings will not for a moment hold water. That *m*, *n*, and *b* should be written as variants for *g*; *l* for *n*; *s* for *š* and *d*; *t* for *l*; and the vowels should be changed, all according to fixed rules, is to the mind of most Assyriologists incomprehensible.

The nature of these so-called variant spellings (*diversités d'orthographe*) will be easily understood from the text that I am about to describe.<sup>1</sup> We have first the character , meaning 'to go,' *alaku*, and 'to bring,' *tabālu*, its dialectic forms being *ir* and *ga*, the first seemingly for *ara* and the other for *du*.<sup>2</sup> An example of another root *du* (written with the character , changed into *ga*, occurs in line 16. After this comes the root *du*, short for *duga*, with its dialectic form *šib* (*d* becoming *š*, and *g* changing to *b*). Another change, that of *mar* instead of *gar*, is shown in line 25.

<sup>1</sup> W.A.I., v, pl 10. This text has been treated very fully by Haupt and other scholars.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 1-7.











After the break, the end of the column shows *aga* for *ig*, 'that which, what,' and also *mal* for *gal*, indicating the change from *g* to *m* shown in *gar* and *mar*. The second column continues the examples of the change from *ig* to *aga*, followed by the prefix denoting an abstract noun (lines 8 ff.), which here really *seems* rather to be indicated in the dialect by *diversité d'orthographe* than by any real difference in the pronunciation. The next paragraph (lines 15-19) has examples of the weakening of 𒀭, *gu*, to 𒀭, *mu* (*g* to *m*, and loss of the final *s*).

Further changes are shown in the next column similar to those already illustrated—𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *adiu*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *agarra*, showing change of *g* to *d*, and loss of the *r*. Then we have 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *a-gaga*, changed dialectically into 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *a-mama*, and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *a-duga*, into 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *a-šibba*. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *adar*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *agar*; 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *aba*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *aga*; 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *ašer*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *aner*; and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *ir-banšim*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *ir-bandu*, follow this. The next line, the first of a fresh paragraph, has 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *šim*, again a dialectic form of 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *dim*, 'to make'; 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *mama*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *gaga*; and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *mal*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *gal*. The last line of the next paragraph shows a new root, 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *marša*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *garša*, 'command,' in Assyrian *paršu*.

The first line of the next paragraph has 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *ad-mar*, as dialectic form of 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *ad-gal*, translated by *šudu*, perhaps the word for 'path.' The other words of the paragraph show the root 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *mar*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *gar*. With regard to the two paragraphs which follow, these are principally occupied with the root 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 (=Bab. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭), *gir*, dialectically 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *mer*, or 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *meri*, in its various meanings of 'angry,' 'the wind,' 'dagger,'<sup>1</sup> etc.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 80.

Some of the words are compounds, namely,    , *girgira*, dial. 𒄩- 𒄩𒄩 𒄩- 𒄩𒄩, *mermer*, 'storm';    , *girsig*, dial. 𒄩- 𒄩𒄩 𒄩𒄩, *mersig*, a word of doubtful meaning, rendered by the Assyrian *šarbillu* (P 'a garment'), -𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩, *giri-lal*, dial. 𒄩- 𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩, *meri-lal*, 'swordbearer,' followed by 𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩𒄩, *mu-sir*, dial. 𒄩- 𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩𒄩, *me-sir*, likewise, seemingly, a garment. The last line, which has a section all to itself, is 𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩, *ingar* (so the glosses given by other tablets tell us to read it), dual. 𒄩𒄩𒄩 𒄩𒄩𒄩, *amar*, in Assyrian *lānu*, 'enclosure, wall,' from the root 𒄩𒄩, 'to lodge,' apparently.

One of the most interesting arguments against the theory that the non-Semitic idiom of Babylonia is an allography or something of the sort, however, is its difference grammatically from the Semitic idiom spoken in the country. Many of the phrases that we find in the bilingual texts are, of course, straightforward enough, and present no difficulty. Take, for instance, the following:—

Sumerian:	<i>Ene</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>munšin-gen</i>
Assyro-Bab.:	<i>Bêlum</i>	<i>yātu</i>	<i>išpuranni</i> <sup>1</sup>
	"The lord, as for me, he sent to me."		

Here the word-order is the same in both the non-Semitic and the Semitic idioms, but even in this case it is to be noted that the root of *munšingen* is *gen*, and that the rest of the word consists wholly of particles added to the root to make the meaning more precise, and repeating, practically, the pronouns. Thus the first component, *mun*, means 'me,' *ši* means 'to,' and *in* means 'he,' the full signification of the verb being 'me to he sent,' whilst the Semitic Babylonian verbal form with the pronoun *išpuranni*, is to be analyzed *išpur*, 'he sent,' and (*a*)*nni*, 'me' or 'to me.' The non-Semitic idiom is, therefore, the more precise of the two, and shows, even in this simple phrase, a noteworthy departure from the Semitic idiom.

<sup>1</sup> W.A.I., iv, 17, 40 ff.

But much more striking differences than this are to be found.

So strong was the tendency in the non-Semitic idiom to throw particles to the end of a clause, that we even find them placed after the verb at the conclusion of the phrase instead of being at the beginning, as in Semitic Babylonian, where, according to the rules of grammar, they ought to be.

Sumerian :	<i>Kurkurra</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>banda</i>	<i>bada-</i>
	In the mountains	wild bull	mighty	in it
	<i>nâ-</i>	<i>qime.</i> <sup>1</sup>		
	lying down	like.		

According to the Semitic translation, however, this is to be rendered as follows:—

*Ina šadāni kīmu rēmi ūqdu rabšu*, "He lies down in the mountains like a mighty wild bull," from which it may be gathered that the word *qime* in the non-Semitic line ought to come either after *ama*, 'wild bull,' or after *banda*, 'mighty.' In all probability this word-order is due to poetical form, especially as it is found in three successive lines, but as it is against all the rules of Assyrian grammar, and unusual even in the non-Semitic idiom, this is surely an argument against the theory that the latter is a mere invention of the Semitic population of the country.

In like manner, also, we meet with such phrases as *Anna-gi*, 'Anu of,' instead of 'of Anu,' the Semitic *ša Anu*; *šū-asagāni-ta*, 'hand glorious (or pure, his in,' instead of 'in his glorious hands,' the Semitic *ina qutū-šu elli*; *ana-ki-bi-da*, 'heaven the earth with,' the Semitic *šamē ū eršitim*, 'heaven and earth,' together with many other differences of idiom that stamp the non-Semitic dialect as originating with a people of a different race and mode of thought.<sup>2</sup>

But quite apart from the question of the probability or otherwise of the existence of a non-Semitic language in

<sup>1</sup> W.A.I., iv, 27, 19.

<sup>2</sup> A learned and important paper upon the linguistic side of the question by Dr. F. H. Weisbach unfortunately came into my hands too late to make use of in the present article.

Babylonia, is that of a distinct nationality who may have spoken that language. In other words, what evidence is there that there were other nationalities than the Semitic Babylonian on the plain of Shinar? It is an important point in the consideration of this question, and, happily, we have not far to go to find what we seek in this direction.

The document to which an Oriental scholar instinctively turns in such a case of doubt is the Book of Genesis. There, in the oft-quoted tenth chapter we find the evidence that we want. It reads thus:—

“And Cush begat Nimrod. he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

“He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord.

“And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.

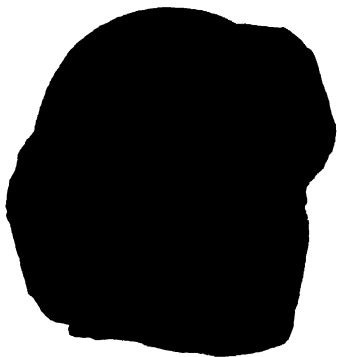
“Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth [or, the streets of the city], and Calah,

“And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city.”

It is needless to say that, in view of the comparative modernness of the civilization of Assyria beside that of Babylonia, I prefer the rendering of the Authorized Version, “out of that land went forth Asshur,” rather than “he (Nimrod) went out into Assyria,” for it is hardly likely that Nimrod or Merodach was the founder of the great cities of Assyria as well as those of Babylonia. If this had been the case, we should in all likelihood have found reference to the fact somewhere, probably in the literature of Assyria; for if their great cities had been, like those of Babylonia, founded by Merodach, they would not have hesitated to boast of the fact. Besides this “the land of Nimrod” is one of the specific names of Babylonia in the old Testament.

This, however, is but remotely connected with the question in hand. The important thing in the above-quoted verses from the Book of Genesis is, that Nimrod, otherwise Merodach, who is referred to later as the representative of





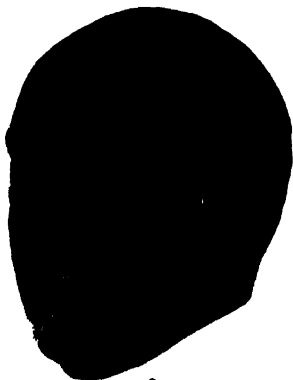
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the whole Babylonian nation, ~~we~~ here called a son of Cush, showing that the Hebrews at the time Genesis was written did not regard Nimrod as being of the same race as themselves. For them he was a Cushite, but the predominant race in Babylonia in later times was certainly Semitic, as their language shows.

It is only right, however, that some independent evidence of the existence of this non-Semitic race should be demanded; and, in view of the fact that inaccuracies have been attributed to the "ethnographical table" in Genesis, it is even *necessary* that evidence of a confirmatory nature should be produced, especially as there is no clear statement that the inhabitants of Babylon were Semites, for Arphaxad would not strike the reader at first glance as being practically the same as Babel, for which identification Professor Hommel has shown fairly good reasons.

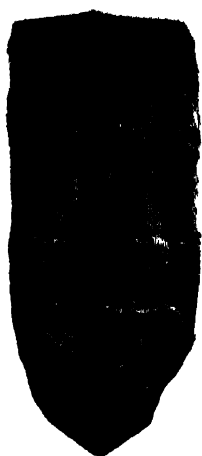
What strikes the student of this period is the fact that the racial types of the earliest monuments differ greatly from those of the later, as far as we know them. Even at a comparatively late date, the difference of type seems to have been fairly well marked, as the two well-known heads from Lagaš show (Figs. 1 and 2). On the cylinder-seals of a still later period (say about 2300 B.C.) the thick-brimmed hat, which the non-Semitic head wears, is frequent, and the human figures shown are in general well-formed and slim. Of course, this was in all probability owing to the style of engraving prevalent at the time, but it may reasonably be supposed that this style of engraving is due to the fact that the earlier artists upon stone copied the forms of the people that they saw around them, and even chose what they considered the best types (Figs. 3 and 4). The slim type is less marked in the case of the slab with the musician (Fig. 5), but reappears in the exceedingly interesting bas-relief with figures of warriors, which is apparently of a much earlier date (Fig. 6). Other types of the early period are the men with the bird-like faces, such as are often met with on some of the more roughly-engraved cylinder-seals, and which appear in a less-pronounced form

in the case of the burial-scene (Fig. 7) and in the warriors depicted on the *stèle des voutours* (Fig. 8), and most-pronounced in the case of the personages which ornament a shallow vessel found at Tel-loh or Lagaš (Fig. 9). These are probably due to the rough and ready workmanship of the earlier stone-cutters, which became crystallized into the forms depicted on these plates. These forms, in all probability, originated in the type of face exhibited by a head (which once had inlaid eyes) from a small statuette from the same place as the other examples (Fig. 10). There is just the possibility that the intermediate type between this and the head with the thick-brimmed hat is the next picture (Fig. 11), a male head from a large statuette, also from the French excavations. Though there is every possibility that, as thought by the late G. Bertin, the type with the prominent nose formed the "ground race," and, therefore, the bulk of the population, it is nevertheless to be noted that the sculptor of those remote days has represented the well-known king Ur-Nina and his family in the same way (Fig. 12).

The late Terrien de Lacouperie, as many will probably remember, had an idea that the early Akkadians (Sumerians) were closely connected with the early Chinese, and he made many comparisons, both linguistic, paleographical, and historical, tending to support the theory that he then held. In this theory he was followed closely and, I believe, independently, by the Rev. C. J. Ball, who, analyzing the Sumerian language and script, succeeded in showing many similarities between them and the Chinese—similarities which all unprejudiced scholars could not but regard as exceedingly striking and noteworthy. Being totally unacquainted with Chinese, I cannot myself venture to speak of Mr. Ball's comparisons, otherwise than as one knowing only one side of the question, the Sumerian side, but thus much I can say, namely, that if only a quarter of the Rev. C. J. Ball's comparisons be correct, then he has certainly made out his case.

All Assyriologists took up a neutral position on the

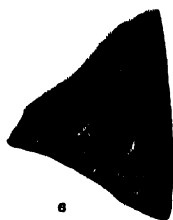




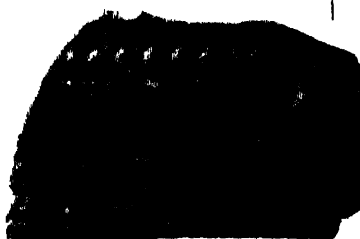
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subject, awaiting developments, and this was also my position, though I was greatly struck by Mr. Ball's researches. In the meantime, however, the publication of the discoveries of M. de Sarzec came to my knowledge, and I could not help noting that one of the heads reproduced in the great French publication had a decidedly Chinese look, the eyes, though fairly large, being almond-shaped and oblique (Fig 13). Though I recognized the importance of this little work of art, and spoke of it in various papers, I felt bound to admit that "one swallow did not make a Spring," and that the artist may have sought merely to reproduce an unusual and striking type of countenance that he had by chance come across. Anyone that looks over the well-known *Découvertes en Chaldée*, however, soon becomes aware that this specimen of the section of the inhabitants having oblique eyes is not an isolated one, and that a fragment of a bas-relief showing unmistakably the same peculiarity exists (Fig. 14).

Now this cannot be by any means accidental, for the obliqueness of the eye is much too pronounced for that. Whether the slight obliqueness of the eye observable in the case of king Naram-Sin be due to Mongolian blood or not, is uncertain—probably it is accidental, as it is certainly not more pronounced than one sees sometimes in France, and it may, therefore, be due rather to straightness of the eyebrow than to real obliqueness. It will be seen, from these two specimens of ancient Babylonian art, that there is much more than a suggestion of Mongolian blood in the ancient Sumerians, and that the researches of De Lacouperie and Ball stand a very good chance of being confirmed. Indeed, the philological comparisons made by the latter would of themselves tend to show that the cause of the anti-Akkadists is already lost.

Having seen something of what seems to be the Sumerian type, it is necessary to glance a little at that which seems to be the Semitic type. For this the most important monument is probably the cylinder-seal of Sargon of Agadé, now in the possession of M. de Clercq (Fig. 15). On this object is shown

the figure generally regarded as Gilgameš, twice repeated, giving drink from a vase to a long-horned bull. The date of this is, according to Nabonidus, that which corresponds with the year 3800 B.C., or thereabouts. In all probability, the inscription bears witness to the Semitic type of the figure shown, for it is in the Semitic Babylonian language, and, unlike the inscriptions found in the Akkadian states, the names of the king Šargani (as he is called) and his scribe or secretary, Ibnî-sarru, are pure Semitic,—the same Babylonian language that was in use in the days of the Biblical Nebuchadnezzar. The figure with the long ringlets like a woman (Ea-bani, the friend and counsellor of the hero Gilgameš, is said to have had hair like this) appears also on engraved stones evidently of later date (Fig. 16), and in these cases he is generally accompanied by a satyr-like being, half man and half bull, both of them struggling with bulls, or with a lion and a bull. The style is less florid, but it is easy to see that it is essentially the same as that of the cylinder of Sargani of Agadé. What is apparently a late modification of the same thing is exhibited by a cylinder in the British Museum, but the face being damaged, it is doubtful whether it is of the Semitic Babylonian or the Sumerian type, though as it is certainly of late date (the inscription shows that) there is every possibility that it is the former. The superiority of the work is noteworthy, and the vigorous action of the naked man, as well as of the animal figures, shows a great contrast with the similar cylinders of earlier date which have been noticed. Whilst upon the subject of the Semitic Babylonian type, we may as well follow it down as late as I am able to go in the matter of examples. The next picture (Fig. 17) is a reproduction of the well-known portrait of Hammurabi, the Amraphel of the O.T. He is dressed seemingly in Sumerian style, but it is not difficult to see, notwithstanding the weathered condition of the stone, that his face is of the Semitic type, with a short but aquiline nose, such as is generally shown on the monuments, not only of Babylonia, but of Assyria also. This

IV.







fact leads one, naturally, to the conclusion that, although long-nosed men must have been fairly common among the nations of whom I am speaking, a short nose was considered preferable to a long one. On the cylinder-seals that have been shown, it will be remembered that deities with thick-brimmed hats appear, and this leads one to ask whether this may not be the conventional costume of the divinities at that time. If this be the case, then Amraphel was deified, as was certainly his opponent and contemporary, Rim-Sin or Rim-Aku, who is often identified with the Aricoh of Genesis xiv. Coming down to a later date, we see again clearly the Semitic type in the bas-relief representing Marduk-nadin-ahi (about 1115 B.C.)—(Fig. 18). At this period the Semitic type seems to have displaced the slimmer Sumerian entirely, for the average Babylonian was not only to all appearance not tall, but also a trifle thick-set, and if we may follow the indications of the Sumerian sculptures, the Sumerians were certainly not the latter. The type of the Babylonians of the time of Nabonidus is shown (though somewhat faintly) by the impressions of the cylinder seals on the edge of a tablet dated in his second year, and elsewhere, frequently. It is evidently that of Marduk-nadin-ahi, executed in a superior style.

Notwithstanding the small amount of material at my disposal, I trust that I have been able to show something of the Sumerian type from the early period when it existed side by side with the Semitic Babylonian to the time when it merged into the common racial type of the Mesopotamian plain.

The matter that we have now to decide is, Did the civilization of ancient Babylonia originate with the Semitic population, or with the Sumerian?

This also seems to be a question that must be answered in favour of the latter. In the first place, it is difficult to believe that the people with whom the cuneiform system of writing originated should not also have been first in the other arts. Is there not, also, in the very way in which the bilingual texts are written, testimony in favour of this?

Consider for a moment the tablet (obverse and reverse) containing a list of names of the early kings of Babylonia, in two languages (which we are justified in calling Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian), written in the Assyrian character, with the Sumerian on the left and the Semitic on the right—in other words, the non-Semitic idiom precedes the Semitic. All the tablets arranged in columns are written in this way, and when the translations are arranged interlinearly, the Sumerian line is above the Semitic translation of the same, except where it was written between the two halves to the Akkadian line, which was divided for that purpose—an arrangement that arose out of the fact that the Semitic translations were originally of the nature of glosses, written in smaller characters, and it is noteworthy that in some cases only a portion of the text is translated. For these and other reasons it is certain that the non-Semitic text is the original one.

Not only, however, is this the case, but there is hardly any doubt that all the tablets that suggest the existence of the arts and sciences are written in the same way. The texts referring to agriculture and country life have the Sumerian on the left and the Semitic translation on the right—that is (as the wedge-writing reads, like our own script, from left to right), following it. So also for the laws and legal phrases, which are given in Sumerian, and which actually occur on the tablets of a legal nature during the time of the earlier Babylonian empire, as has been frequently pointed out. It is also to be noted that there is every probability that the natural history lists and those referring to special subjects (that is to say, such things as wooden objects, clothing, etc.), were written for the Sumerian, and not for the Semitic population, for whom they were translated later, and proved to be very useful adjuncts in the study of Sumerian and the literature of the non-Semitic population, which the scribes of the Semitic period found it necessary to know. This probability is confirmed by the fact that there are fragments of lists in Sumerian only, from the Royal Library at Nineveh, and a long text of this nature, of the time of the

dynasty of Babylon or thereabouts, is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

One has only to turn, also, to the early sculptures to see that everything, in the earliest period, has the Sumerian, or at least the non-Semitic stamp. The *undoubtedly non-Semitic types* that I have already shown are a sufficient proof of this, for, except rare examples, one of which I have shown, there are no instances of the occurrence of the pure Semitic type outside of the kingdom of Agadé before the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, which began to reign about 2300 B.C. Further examples are the cylinder of the physician, Ur-Lugal-edina, which shows a deity with a long, straight, and probably rather thin beard, reminding one of the small Chinese statuettes that one sees representing a venerable old man with just such another, but more flowing hirsute appendage. The little figures of the time of Gudea representing a deity holding what has been regarded as a firestick show the same feature, though it is more noticeable in the original than in the photograph. A very interesting head is that in the possession of M. de Clercq, which must have had a similar beard, though the lower part of it is broken away. In the case of this head it is noteworthy that the eyes are slightly oblique (one more so than the other), and that he wears a wig closely resembling that which the Assyrian king Assur-nasir-âpli (885 B.C.) is represented as wearing. At this early period it was evidently the custom for the Babylonian princes and nobles to shave their heads, and they sometimes (perhaps upon ceremonial occasions) wore wigs.

To clinch the matter of the existence of non-Semitic nationalities in Babylonia in ancient times, it may here be mentioned that the Sumerian and Akkadian languages are referred to more than once on the tablets. Thus a tablet-fragment in the British Museum refers to its contents as being "Two Sumerian incantations used" (seemingly) "for the

<sup>1</sup> It occupies four plates in part vi of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* (1893).

... of a weeping child,"<sup>1</sup> and another tablet seems to say "the tongue of Šumer was like Ak."<sup>2</sup>—a tantalizingly incomplete phrase, which suggests that a comparison of Sumerian with Akkadian was intended.<sup>3</sup> (Lower down "the tongue of the chief" or 'prince' or 'leader' is referred to.) Another small fragment seems to tell us that "(below was) Akkad, above (was) Šu(mer),"<sup>4</sup> a phrase in which the restoration of 'below' in the first part is suggested by the presence of 'above' in the second part, and naturally raises the question whether the position of the two districts is here referred to. (As the fragment is very small, it is to be noted that the disposition of the adverbs may, in reality, be the reverse one, namely, "Akkad is above, Šu(mer below)," and this would, perhaps, be better according to Assyrian syntax.) Yet another reference to the Sumerian language occurs in the interesting text published in W.A.I., iv, pl. 40 (the old 47), which gives the colophon "Tablet 22nd, Šumer (*eme-laḥa*) unchanged." The tablet which follows (begins) "In the month Nisan, day 4th," but how the first part of the colophon is to be understood is uncertain, as the expression 'unchanged' is in the plural. It probably formed part of the first line of the series. What is interesting about this series, however, is, that the non-Semitic phrases that it contains are written in the dialect.

To sum up:—

(1) There are numerous tablets written in a non-Semitic dialect, with and without translation into Semitic Babylonian, and in two cases at least these non-Semitic texts are expressly designated as Sumerian.

<sup>1</sup> Tablet S. 1190 (the lines are quoted in Beaulieu's Catalogue, vol. iv).

<sup>2</sup> Tablet S. 1-7-27, 130.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the Assyrian translation reads *lišan Šumeri tamšil Ak[ka]*, "the tongue of Šumer the likeness of (the tongue of) Ak[ka assumed?]." The Sumerian original has the character *eme*, 'tongue,' before the break, implying that the original, when complete, read *eme Ura*, "tongue of Akkad."

<sup>4</sup> Tablet K. 1413 (cf. Beaulieu's Catalogue, vol. iii).

**(2)** That Sumerian was not an allography, is proved by the fact that it possessed a dialect showing clear laws of sound-change. It is to be noted also that the grammar is entirely different from that of the Semitic idiom.

**(3)** The type of the earliest monuments is distinctly different from that of the later period, when the Semites gained the ascendancy; and also different from the type exhibited by the comparatively ancient kingdom of Agadé, where, notwithstanding, non-Semitic influence must, before the time of Sargon (Šargani) of Agadé, have been sufficiently strong to leave at least some impress.

**(4)** The language of the inscriptions which often accompany the type exhibited by the above-named earliest monuments is always non-Semitic, and must, as such, be regarded as the language of the people represented.

**(5)** Not only hymns, psalms, incantations, charms, and similar literary products were written in the non-Semitic language to which I have referred, but also royal inscriptions, legal precepts, and law documents, the latter classes of texts being such as no sane person would write in any so-called 'allography.' All these classes of documents were later, when Semitic civilization became general, composed in the Semitic Babylonian language, and this fact alone ought to do away with any doubt as to the nationality of the pioneers of civilization in the Euphrates Valley.

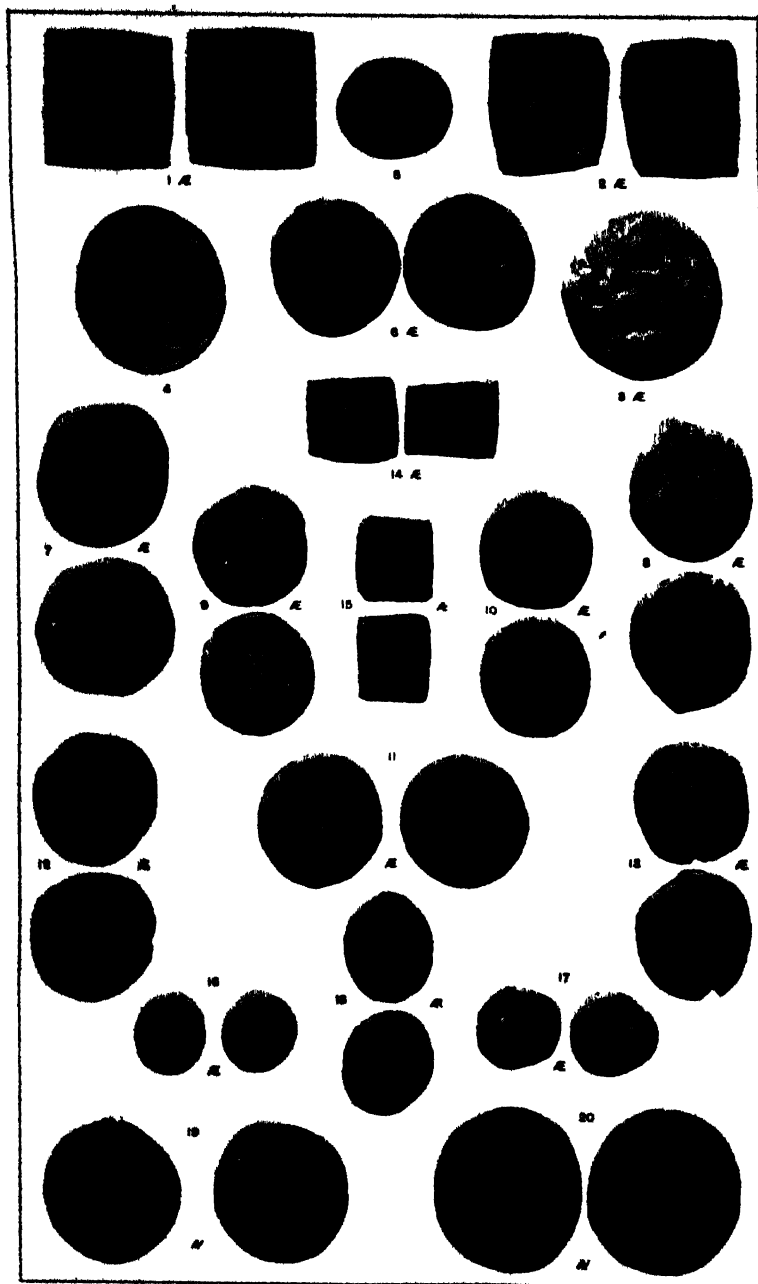
**(6)** The few sculptures which present more or less the type with oblique eyes confirm, as far as they go, the conclusions of De Lacouperie as to the connection of the early inhabitants with the Chinese, and the researches of the Rev. C. J. Ball with regard to the language. It must not be thought, however, that the Chinese are necessarily ancient Sumerians who emigrated from Babylonia, or that the ancient Sumerians must have emigrated into Babylonia from China. If there be, as it would seem there is, some connection between these two ancient nationalities, it must be on account of their having migrated to Babylonia and to China from a common source, in all probability some district lying east or north-west of Babylonia and west of China. The oblique eyes of

The two sculptures on Plate II only imply that there was some Mongolian admixture at about the time when they were produced; whether this admixture was numerous enough and of sufficient influence to cause its language to become that of all the races contemporary with it in the Euphrates Valley will be a matter for study and research. Time alone can reveal to us further particulars as to the real state of the case, and complete the fragmentary records of these pioneers of the world's civilization

NOTE.—In the above paper I have employed the term Sumerian instead of Akkadian almost throughout. I am by no means satisfied, however, that the word Akkadian is wrong, for the fragments quoted on p. 94 refer to it in close connection with Sumerian, that numbered 81-7-27, 180, being the most important.

[Fig. 17 is here reproduced, by the kind permission of Messrs. Wm. Collins, Sons, & Co., from the new edition of their Bible Readers' Manual, plate iv.]





INDIAN COINS AND SEALS. I



**ART. VII.—Notes on Indian Coins and Seals. Part I. By  
E. J. BARSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.**

WITH the kind permission of the Council of the Society, I purpose from time to time to contribute a series of notes on such unpublished or noteworthy coins and seals of Ancient and Mediaeval India as come under my notice, and I shall be greatly obliged to collectors of these objects, if they will submit to me at the British Museum any specimens about which they may desire information.

The object of these *Notes* will be partly to correct and bring up to date the account of *Indian Coins*, which I contributed to Buhler's *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*,<sup>1</sup> and partly to indicate to collectors of coins in India those classes of which further specimens are required for study.


Comparatively few of the very numerous series of Indian coins have yet been systematically collected. The attractions of the Graeco-Indian class have apparently diverted the attention of most collectors from a study of the purely native ancient and mediaeval coinages. But there can be no doubt of the great historical importance of these latter. Their evidence, joined to that of the stone and copper-plate inscriptions, furnishes practically the only data supplied by India herself for the reconstruction of her history. The extent to which this reconstruction has already been successfully made with the aid of such apparently inadequate and unpromising materials surely leaves no doubt of the extreme importance, from the historical point of view, of the study of Indian inscriptions and coins. The old *Indica* and *Periplus* dates were merely so many pins set up to be

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research and Alterations*, E. J. Barson, London, 1898.

laid down again is ~~is~~ anything but true. The outline of Indian history is securely drawn, and many of the details are already filled in. The future progress which scholars will be able to make in this work depends principally on the amount of new material with which they are supplied by those who have opportunities of making discoveries and observations in India.

# UDDEHIKA.

1. *Obv.* Humped bull to r.; above, tree within railing represented horizontally.


*Rev.*  (Ujjain). Above, three symbols, viz., the 'Ujjain' symbol, two fishes within oblong, and tree within railing.


B.M.; Bush, 65 8-2 . 2

Æ 75; Pl. 1.

# UDDEHIKA SŪRYAMIIRA.

2. *Obv.* (almost obliterated) Elephant to l.; beneath, five-hooded snake, and (P) tree within railing, both represented horizontally; at top l., counter-mark.

*Rev.*  [-] (Ujjain [-]).

 [Λ-] (Suryamiira[-]).

Beneath, three symbols, probably as on No. 1, but in reversed order, viz., tree within railing, two fishes within oblong, and (P) the Ujjain symbol.

B.M.; Armstrong, 90 : 1-8 : 1.

Æ 75; Pl. 2.

The Uddehikas (*rev.* // Audehika, Auddehika) are mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* among the peoples who are placed in the central portion of his astrological chart<sup>1</sup>; but, apparently, their name has not hitherto been read on coins.

<sup>1</sup> *iv*, 3, ed. Kern, and *trans.*, p. 88 = J.R.A.S., 1871, p. 82.

The form *Udehaki* which occurs here is, no doubt, a *tad-rajā* formation denoting 'the prince of the Uddehikas,' though, in accordance with the rule of Pāṇini, iv, 1, 173,<sup>1</sup> we should rather have expected to find *Audehaki* (*(i)dehaki*). Another instance of this formation is afforded by the inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters on the silver coin of the Udumbaras, published by General Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67, pl. iv, 1). While we find in the *Bihāt-samhitā* the forms *Udumbara* or *Audumbara* to denote the people or the kingdom, we have on this coin the genitive *Odumbarisa* (*Audumbarēṣ*) standing in opposition to the king's name and his other titles, *Mahādevasa rañño Dharaghoṣasa*. The same form probably occurs on the square bronze coin which follows (*id.*, p. 68, pl. iv, 2). We possess, unfortunately, only a drawing of this specimen, and it is, therefore, not possible to be quite certain as to the reading; but, even on the evidence of this drawing, the fourth *akṣara* certainly seems to be *-ri* rather than *-ra*, as read by Cunningham. A similar distinction is, no doubt, regularly observed between the forms *Mukhara* and *Maukhari*. Thus, for example, in *Mukharāṇām bhābhujām* (Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Indic.*, iii, p. 229) the first genitive is dependent on the second—"of the lords of Mukhara (or of the Mukhara people)"; while in *Bhūpāṇām Maukharinām* (*id.*, p. 222) the two genitives are in opposition—"of the lords, the Maukharis." It seems impossible to determine, from the two specimens in the British Museum, whether an inscription in Brāhmī characters, occurring on certain of the *negamā* coins or 'guild-tokens'<sup>2</sup> found in the neighbourhood of Taxila, should be read *Antarotakā* or *Antarotaki*.<sup>3</sup> If the discovery of more complete specimens should prove the latter reading to be correct, we should probably be justified in regarding it as a *tad-rajā* formation, meaning 'the prince of Antarotaka,' and in supposing that

<sup>1</sup> Referred to in P.W., s.v. 'Audumbari.'

<sup>2</sup> For references, see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> Figured in Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. iii, 11.

other forms found on these *negamā* coins, such as *Dajaka* and *Takimata* (or *Rakimata*), are also names or titles of rulers.


The king's name, *Sūryamitra*, may be recovered with almost absolute certainty from the portions of the inscription still remaining on the coin, No. 2, above described. The most probable restoration of this inscription is *Udeha[ki-]Suyam[ilasa]*, and the letters which are certain leave scarcely a possibility of doubt as to the reading of both name and title. The style of the Brāhmī characters on these coins seems to justify us in assigning to them a date at least as early as the third century before Christ. We have at present no other evidence of the existence of a king named *Sūryamitra* at this period. The king of North Pañcāla (*Śuṅga*), who bears this name, probably belongs to a somewhat later date; perhaps to the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The same name has also been read on coins of Ayodhyā, possibly of the second or first century B.C.; but this may be due to a mistake. The inscription on these coins seems not to be *Suya-*, *Saya-*, or *Ayu-mitrāsa*, each of which readings has been suggested, but almost certainly *Āyayamitrāsa* (i.e. *Āryamitrāsa*). The description of this coinage given in *Indian Coins* (pl iv, 3), should probably be corrected accordingly; but it must be borne in mind that the letters *a* and *su* at this period are very easily confused. Much the same remarks apply to the name of one of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā, as represented on his coins; it is not possible from the available specimens to be quite certain whether it is *Āryamitra* or *Sūryamitra*.

These coins of Uddehika—like some of the coins of Erap, which they resemble in other respects also—are examples of an interesting stage in the art of coin-making in India. Their types, struck from single dies, are simply made up of a collection of those symbols which, at an earlier period, were impressed one at a time by different punches.<sup>2</sup> As to the meaning of these symbols we can, at present, say

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *C.A.I.*, p. 82, pl. vii, 4; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Coins*, § 46.

practically nothing. Some may have had a personal, others a local, and others a religious significance; but we require to know a great deal more than we do know about the history, the geography, and the religious condition of ancient India, before we can make any profitable enquiry into this subject. That the symbols placed on coins had a very real meaning we cannot doubt when we see, for instance, that on the coins of the Pañcāla (Śunga) king Bhānumitra—not on those of other members of this dynasty—one particular symbol is deliberately and regularly<sup>1</sup> defaced by the counter-mark of another. This must surely be the record of some event, at the nature of which we can only vaguely guess.

The counter-mark which occurs on the reverse of coin No. 2 is the curious symbol  which occurs so frequently on coins of all kinds—punch-marked, cast, and struck—and which no one seems to have explained<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it stands within a railing, and, in this form, it appears counter-marked on many of the coins of Bahasatimita, (Cunn., *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, Kosāmbī, pl. v, 13), whose Pabhosā inscriptions<sup>3</sup> show him to have belonged to the second or first century B.C.

The existence of the Uddchikas as a people is attested for the following periods:—(1) 3rd century B.C. (probably), by the evidence of these coins; and (2) 6th century A.D., by Varāhamihira. The passage in which they are mentioned by Alberuni (11th century A.D.) is quoted from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*,<sup>4</sup> and cannot be taken as evidence of their existence in his time. His remark (*trans.*, vol. i, p. 298) to the effect that “most of the names of countries under which

<sup>1</sup> In three out of the four coins of the largest size in the British Museum. This counter-mark seems to occur less frequently on the coins of medium size, and not at all on the small coins.

<sup>2</sup> It appears among other ornaments in a necklace (Fergusson, *Trees and Serpents Worship*, 2nd ed., 1873, pl. iii, 4), and a similar ornament, described by Mr. Vincent Smith as ‘a gold-leaf cross,’ was found among the relics from the Piprahwa Stūpa (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 586, pl. 10).


<sup>3</sup> Fāhrer, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> Alberuni's *India* (*trans.* Sachau), vol. i, p. 300.

they appear in this context are not those by which they are now generally known" applies, no doubt, to this as to the other passages from Hindu authors quoted by him.

With regard to the locality of Uddehika, very little can be added to what Mr. Fleet, in his excellent *Topographical List of the Brhat-samlita*,<sup>1</sup> has already gathered from Varāhamihira and Alberuni. The gloss 'near Bazāna,' which is added after 'Uddehika' in Alberuni's quotation, might, perhaps, have afforded some useful information if the reading were certain, but this seems not to be the case. Probably the general similarity between the coins of Uddehika and Eran may be held to be good evidence that these two places were not far apart.

#### UPAGODA.

3. Obr  (*Upagodasa*) Above, circle with dot in centre; beneath, 'Taurine' symbol represented horizontally.

Rev. Blank

B M. ; Lady Clive Bayley, 89 8-8 . 68.

Æ 1·; Pl 3.

This coin or seal is described, but not illustrated, by Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. i, p 216. It is quoted by him as an example of the early cast coinage in which one side was left blank. It seems quite probable that this variety of the cast coinage may be earlier than that which has both an obverse and a reverse, just as the 'single-die' coins of Taxila seem to be of an earlier date than the 'double-die' coins.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the art of casting coins must be very ancient in India. There is no question here of borrowing from a Greek source; and the forms of the Brāhmī

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Cann., Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 61 *Rapson, Indian Coins*, § 56.

...the coin and the seal coins are alike, seems to be as old as any others found in India. Bühler's opinion<sup>1</sup> was that coins and seals of this kind date from at least 350 or 400 a.c., that is to say, from some time before the Maurya Dynasty.

It must remain doubtful for the present whether *Upagada* is the name of a person—like *Upagupta*, *Upendra*—or the name of a place—like *Upatanya*, *Upayotisa*. The former is, perhaps, the more probable. This coin or seal is not unlike the Patna seals<sup>2</sup> with the inscription *Nadaya* and *Agapalita*. These are undoubtedly names of persons.

#### *Seal of NANDIVARDHA or NANDIVRDDHA.*

4. 𑀮 𑀭 𑀭 𑀭 𑀭 (*Nandivardhana*), Lion walking r. towards staff standing within railing and surmounted by a fish and a banner (P); above, *svastika* and 'Taurine' symbol; to l of staff, symbol 𑀭; to r. of staff, 𑀭 (probably the Kharoṣṭhī compound letter *ṣpa*); in exergue, a fish.

Mr. Robert Hammersley.

R 9; Pl 4.

The seal, from which the impression here described and illustrated was taken, is that of a silver signet-ring. Nothing is known of its *provenance*; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that it is really what the style of its inscription in Brāhmī characters and its other features would indicate—an Indian signet-ring of about 200 a.c.

Fortunately the evidence of numismatics, which is, generally, of all the available kinds of evidence, the best by which to determine the date of other antiquities, is very much to the point in this particular instance.

<sup>1</sup> *Cann.*, ed., pl. ii, 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphic Palaeography*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Cann.*, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, xv, pl. iii, c. also Bühler (*l.c.*).

This seal has several characteristics in common with the ancient bronze coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles,<sup>1</sup> two of the earliest Greek kings of India, whose date must be very near the beginning of the second century B.C., and with those coins of Taxila of similar shape and metal which seem to bear traces of Greek influence.<sup>2</sup>

In the first place, the lion of the seal is not unlike the same animal as represented on the coins. Secondly, the Brāhmī inscriptions on the seal and on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are very similar in character; and thirdly, the symbols above the lion on the seal—the *svastika* and the 'Taurine' symbol—are of common occurrence on the coins of Taxila (Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. ii, 8; pl. iii, 2, 13, etc.) If we are right in supposing that the character to the right of the staff on the seal is the Kharoṣṭhī compound letter *śpa*, this would be an additional point of resemblance, for Kharoṣṭhī as well as Brāhmī inscriptions are found both on the coins of Agathocles and on those of Taxila.<sup>3</sup> The fish, which occurs twice on the seal, is found frequently enough as a symbol on coins of Ancient India—e.g., on the coins of Uddehika described above (p. 98)—but no other instance of the 'staff surmounted by a fish and a banner (?)' has yet been noticed. Dr. Burgess has made the suggestion, which is well worth bearing in mind in view of future discoveries, that the Matsyas might reasonably be expected to have adopted the fish (*matsya*) as their emblem. In southern India the fish was, of course, the emblem of the Pāṇdyas.

The inscription *Namduadhasa* is, no doubt, a Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Nandivardhasya* or—as Professor Kielhorn has suggested as an alternative—*Nandivardhasya*. The only remarkable feature in this Prakrit form is the termination *-śa* (instead of *-sa* as would be expected) = Skt.

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, pl. iii, 9; pl. iv, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iii, 1-4, cf. Rayton, *Indian Coins*, pp. 21, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. iv, 10; Cum., *op. cit.*, pl. iii, 9, 13.

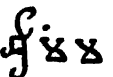


The parallel instances given in the subjoined note,<sup>1</sup> I owe entirely to the courtesy of Professor O. Franke, to whom I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments. Other curious interchanges of letters on coin-inscriptions will be noted below—*da* for *cha* on a coin of the Kupindas (p. 125, note 2), and *na* for *na* on the coin of Vatsadāman (p. 124).

No adequate explanation of the Kharosthi *spa*<sup>2</sup>—if such it be—can be given. Isolated *aksaras* like this are of frequent occurrence on Indian coins. They must, no doubt, have had a meaning at one time, but that meaning has almost certainly, in the majority of cases, been irrecoverably lost.

We may conclude, with some confidence, that this seal came originally from some place in India not far from Taxila—the modern Shāhdheri or Dheri Shūhān, in the Rāwal Pindi district<sup>3</sup>, and that its date is not long after 200 B.C.

# Seal of ΜΑΜΜΑ

5.  (Si-Mamma).

Mr. J. P. Rawlins

Steatite; Pl. 5.

This seal is published here chiefly with the object of calling attention to a branch of Indian antiquities which

<sup>1</sup> "tata, Khāla, xii, 31, *Agapala'sa*, Patna seal, Cunningham, A S B., xv, pl iii, 2, Buhler, Ind. Pal., pp 8, 9, *Haripala'sa* on a coin, Cunningham, Coins of the Kusāns, Num Chron, 1892, pl vii, 16 (Cunn reads differently); *Sakala'sa*, in the second Nasik Inscription of Private Individuals, A S W I., iv, p. 114." Prof Franke also refers me to an instance—*Gamini Tisasa*—occurring in an ancient inscription of Ceylon, published by Dr Hoernlé in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i, pl vii. On this form Dr Hoernlé observes (p. 170) "The *sa* of the genitive of this word is most remarkable . . . it is not given by Prinsep, and has not, I think, been found in India, but I have since found it in many places in Ceylon, and there can be no doubt about the meaning of the sign."

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted incidentally that *spa*—not *sps*—seems to be the regular equivalent to the Greek ΣΠΑ on the coins which bear the names of Spalagadama, Spalahora, Spalarises, Spalyris (the Śaka or Śaka-Parthian class), v. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Taf 1. Moreover, on the Audumbara coin published by Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl iv, 1 = Rapon, *Indian Coins*, pl iii, 2, the reading *Vispamitra* should be corrected to *Vispamitra*. The second *aksara* is certainly not *sa*, but *sps*, and the dialectical form *Vispamitra* is not without interest.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 104.

It seems to have yet systematically collected—ancient and mediæval inscribed gems and seals. If one may judge from the numbers of these which have been brought from time to time to the British Museum by visitors, they would appear to be fairly common in certain parts of India. To collect them would be an interesting, and probably not an expensive, amusement; and the study of them would certainly add to our knowledge of Indian nomenclature and of Indian epigraphy, and might often be useful in adding to the testimony of coins and inscriptions. It is to be hoped that some one in India will turn his attention to this branch of antiquities.

Mamma is a well-known Indian name. It occurs, for example, as a surname of Harivarman in his Kudārkoṭ inscription;<sup>1</sup> and, in the Rājataranginī, it is the name of one of the regents under Ajitāpida.<sup>2</sup> In its feminine form it is found in one of the Nāśik inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

# ĀRJUNĀYANA (*Indian Coins*, § 42).

6. *Obv.* Camel (P or humped bull) to r., facing tree within railing.

*Rev.* \* 𑀕 𑀲 𑀭 𑀮 𑀯 𑀰 𑀱 (Ārjunāyanāna - jaya).

Humped bull to r., facing sacrificial post within railing.

B.M., Cunningham.

Æ 75; Pl. 6.

The coins of the Ārjunāyanas hitherto published<sup>4</sup> bear types which connect them with the series of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. The importance of the present

<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, 1, pp 180, 181. "Harivarmanānāṁ Kṛtā-Mamma-śyāparānāmahyāprasthā."

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Num Chron.*, 1899, p 158.

<sup>3</sup> Burgess: *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, *Buddhist Cave Temples*, pl. iv, p. 118; note 3, "Mammā is probably a corruption of Mahimā, just as Mammāśyā is of Mahimābhāṭṭa."

<sup>4</sup> Oken, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 90, pl. viii, 20. *Principles of Numismatics* (ed. Thomas), vol. ii, pl. xlii, 224; p. 224 (wrongly read).

specimen. Even in the fact that, both by its type and by inscription, it shows a striking resemblance to certain of the Yaudheyas. This resemblance is very clearly seen when this specimen is compared with the Yaudheya coin illustrated in pl. vi, 3, of Cunningham's *Coins of Anc. Ind.*<sup>1</sup> The reverse type is the same in both cases, and it is struck in the same manner—slightly incuse; and the form of the inscription, *Ārjunāyanāna* (i.e. -nānām) *jaya[h]* is similar to that of other Yaudheya coins—*Yaudheyaganāyaya jaya[h]* (*op. cit.*, pl. vi, 6-8).

This connection between the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas thus indicated by the coins has long ago been inferred from other records. They are mentioned together in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 380),<sup>2</sup> and in five passages in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (Varāhamihira, *obit* 587 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The Mālavas also are mentioned together with these two in the same inscription, and they are placed with them in the 'northern division' by Varāhamihira. It is worthy of notice that the Mālava coins have an inscription of the same character = Skt *Mālaranam jaya[h]*.<sup>4</sup> These Mālava coins, which have been found literally in thousands,<sup>5</sup> are still, unfortunately, not represented by a single specimen in the collection of the British Museum.

Mr. Vincent Smith, in his admirable account of the princes and peoples mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, places the Ārjunāyanas in "the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The full inscription on these coins has not been read. I conjecture that, on certain specimens, the word of which traces can be seen beneath the type may have been *Bahudhānake*, but there seem to be several varieties.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Corpus Inscri Ind.*, III, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Bṛ. Kṛ.*, IV, 26, xi, 69, xiv, 25-28 xvi, 22, xvii, 19. It may be said that the Ārjunāyanas are never mentioned apart from the Yaudheyas in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (v. Fleet, *Topographical List*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, pp. 173, 194).

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Coins*, § 51.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 396.

**ANCIENT CAST COIN OF ERAN (Indian Coins, § 46).**

7. *Obv.* Horse to l. ; above, the 'Ujjain' symbol.

*Rev.* In r. and l. field, a tree within railing; between,  
written vertically in Brāhmī characters,  $\triangleright \{ + [.]$   
(*Eraka* [ . ] ).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 8; Pl. 7.

This coin, in fabric, most resembles the cast coins represented in Cunningham's *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. i, 26-30. Like them, and like the cast coins of India generally—e.g. Kāda (*id.*, pl. ii, 21), Kosūmbī (*id.*, pl. v, 7-10), and Upagoda (*v. sup.*, p. 102, pl. 3)—it shows the marks where it has been separated by cutting from the row of coins cast in the mould at the same time.

Specimens bearing a similar inscription are published in Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. x, p. 77, pl. xxiv, 16, 17; and one is described in his *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 102, but no illustration of it is given in the accompanying plate. General Cunningham read the last *akṣara* as *-nya*, or *-ña*. The reading cannot be verified from his autotype plate in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*; and the traces remaining on the specimen now published do not justify us in restoring either of these suggested readings here.

This coin is interesting as being, apparently, the only specimen of round form belonging to Eran yet discovered. The 'Ujjain' symbol, which occurs on the obverse, above the horse, is characteristic of many of the coins of Eran (*v. Cunn.*, *op. cit.*, p. 100, pl. xi, 1, 6, 8, 9). It would, perhaps, be more correct to call this the 'Mālava' symbol, as, according to Cunningham (*l.c.*), it appears "on nearly all the coins of ancient Mālwa, wherever found—at Eran, Beanagar, and Ujjain."



the metal when it was almost in a molten state (*Indian Coins*, § 56). The coin of Uttamadatta here described seems undoubtedly to have been cast; while those of Śeṣadatta, Nos. 9-11, seem as certainly to have been struck.

With the name Uttamadatta—or Utamadatta as it appears on the coins—we may compare such forms as *Utaradatta* and *Utaramita* found in the Sanchi Stūpa inscriptions (Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 386; Nos. 279, 280).

### ŚEṢADATTA

9. *Obv.* Probably debased representation of the type:  
“Three elephants, one to front and the others facing to r and l, each with a man mounted on his neck”<sup>1</sup>

*Rev.* [ ]<sup>2</sup> 𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀸𑀓 (-Śeṣadātasa). Standing figure facing, with r hand raised; in l. field, a tree.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; Pl. 9.

10. Similar, but *rev. inscription*, 𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀸𑀓 (Rājāśeṣadātasa).

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; Pl. 10.

11. *Obv.* A wheel within a cartiya.

*Rev.* Across centre [ 𑀭 ] 𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀸𑀓 [ 𑀭 ] ([Śe]ṣadātasa);  
beneath, upper part of standing figure.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; Pl. 11.

These are the only three known specimens of Śeṣadatta, another recently discovered ruler of this dynasty. Mr. Vincent Smith at first proposed to read the name as *Goṣadatta*; but there can be little doubt that the first akṣara is śe and not go,

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain whether or not the word *Rājāśe* occupied this position on this coin.

However, there is no such word as *śeṣa*, and it is scarcely likely to be a mistake for *ślopa*.<sup>1</sup> The name Śeṣadatta is, of course, derived from Śeṣa, the serpent-lord, cf. Nāgadatta, etc.

It is interesting to notice on these coins the fluctuation between the two Prakrit forms, *-dattasa* (i.e. *dattasa*) and *-dātasa*. The latter is sufficiently common, though not so frequently found on these coins as the former; cf. *Uṣa-dātasa* = *Rṣabhadattena* (Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Buddhist Cave Temples*, pl. lii, No. 5, line 1).

Everything seems to indicate that great discoveries, both in numismatics and in epigraphy, await the future explorer of Mathurā. Although the coins, whether of the Śaka Satraps or of the Hindu Princes, can scarcely be said to have been collected except in a casual and accidental manner—the same remark, indeed, would apply to all the coinages of Ancient India except those of the Graeco-Indian Princes, the Kuṣanas, the Western Kṣatrapas, and the Imperial Guptas—yet the number of names already known is considerable; while the inscribed Lion-Capital, discovered and published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī (ed. Bühler, J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 525), and the Jaina inscriptions discovered by Dr. Führer in the Kankālī Tila (published by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, pp. 371, 393) are an earnest of the epigraphic treasures which may be expected.

Besides Uttamadatta and Śeṣadatta, the following names—all represented by coins in the British Museum—have to be added to the list of Princes of Mathurā given by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 85 ff., pl. viii)—*Kāmadatta* (first discovered by Mr. Vincent Smith, in the collection of Mr. L. White King), *Śivadatta*, *Sūryamitra* (For *Āryamitra*),<sup>2</sup> and *Viṣnumitra*. I hope to give a more detailed description of these, together with illustrations, in a subsequent instalment of *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* in this Journal.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, what is apparently an instance of the substitution of non-*śeṣa* for *śeṣa*,—*śeṣa* for *ślopa*—referred to *sup.*, p. 125, note 2.  
<sup>2</sup> *sup.*, p. 100.

† UDUMBARA OR MATHURĀ (*Indian Coins*, §§ 43, 52).

*Name or title*, MAHĀDEVA.

12. *Obr.* Symbol, 

*Rev.* न न ड [λ] ख ल ३ ड व (Bhāgava[ta] Mahā-  
deśa). Standing figure, holding in r. hand, a  
trident and battle-axe combined.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 7; Pl. 12.

At the first glance, one is inclined to attribute this coinage—of which Mr. L. White King possesses two specimens—to one of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā; but, on a closer examination, it will be seen that, beyond a general resemblance in fabric and epigraphy, which denotes that it is not far removed either locally or chronologically, it has little in common with that series.

The symbol, which occurs as the obverse type, is quite peculiar. It may possibly be some form of the *lingam* or some other religious symbol. It seems not to be found, as a type, on any other Indian coins hitherto published; but, as has been noticed above (p 109), it is counter-marked on a coin of Uttamadatta, one of the Princes of Mathurā, in the British Museum. Until further specimens are discovered, it cannot be determined whether this symbol is characteristic of a class of coins or merely of the coins of some particular ruler. In any case, the counter-mark probably denotes some connection, the nature of which we can only conjecture, between the dynasty to which these coins belong and the Hindu Princes of Mathurā.

The standing figure on the reverse is quite different from that which appears in the same position on the Mathurā coins. On the latter, the figure is most probably that of a woman (perhaps the goddess Lakṣmī) and it has the right hand raised. On these coins, the figure is undoubtedly that of a man holding the trident battle-axe in his right hand. This is the usual weapon of the god Śiva (Mahādeva), who



is probably represented here in allusion to the name or title of the prince.

The same inscription, *Bhāgavata-Mahādevasa*—with the addition of *Rajardja*[!sa] (Brāhmī) and *Rajaraja* (Kharoṣṭhī)—occurs on a coin attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 68, pl<sup>e</sup> iv, 5), on which the trident battle-axe also appears.

These facts, then, make it most probable that these coins should be attributed to the Audumbaras; and, if so, we may infer from considerations of the fabric of the coins and from the occurrence of the counter-mark discussed above that some sort of connection existed between the Audumbaras and the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. Cunningham has already shown (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 67) that some of the Audumbara coins are imitated from the hemidrachms of the Graeco-Indian Princes, Apollodotus and Zoilus. We have, therefore, some *data*—not of much weight, certainly—to enable us to make a tentative chronological arrangement of these series.

The title *Bhāgavata* denotes a worshipper of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. *Mahādeva* is probably, in this case, not a name but a title. It is almost certainly a title on the two Audumbara coins published by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 68, pl. iv, 1 and 5), although he regards it as a proper name in the case of the second of these. For the occurrence of *Mahādeva* as a proper name, see the references to vol. iii of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

#### DYNASTY UNCERTAIN.

? BHŪMIDATTA OR BHĪMADATTA.

13. *Obv.* Elephant to l.

*Rev.* Inscription in Brāhmī characters across the middle doubtful, perhaps intended either for [𑀧𑀸] 𑀲 𑀭 𑀢 𑀭 or [𑀧𑀸] 𑀲 𑀭 𑀢 𑀭 (*Bhūmidatta* or *Bhīmadatta*). Type obscure.

Mr. L. White King.

Æ 75; Pl. 12.

There is very little at present to be said about this coin, which is published and illustrated here chiefly in the hope that it may lead to the recognition of other similar specimens.

The obverse type of the elephant occurs so frequently on Indian coins that it affords a very slight clue to the identification of this particular one. Practically all that can be said of this coin is that, in fabric, it is not unlike some of the coins of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā, and that the Brāhmī characters of its inscription seem to belong to the same period. The formation of the name, ending in *-datta*, is also similar. It is quite possible that, when better specimens are found which will enable us to identify the reverse type—if any—and to read the inscription correctly, this coin may have to be placed in that series.

The first portion of the name is quite uncertain. The first consonant seems to be *bh*, and the second *m* (or possibly *r*); but the vowels which accompany these consonants are altogether doubtful. The readings *Bhūmi-* or *Bhīma-*, suggested above, are merely conjectural. There are traces on this specimen of something above this name—possibly of another line of inscription in Brāhmī characters, the word *Rājā* or something of the kind—but it is impossible to do more than guess what these traces may represent until better specimens are available.

? MATHURĀ.

(?) ŚISU ANDRĀTA.

14. *Obv.* Elephant standing to r. with trunk upraised; above, 'Taurine' symbol represented horizontally.

*Rev.* In incuse [  $\Xi$   $\Omega$  (*Rājā*


$\Omega$   $\delta$   $\varsigma$   $\Lambda$   $\Sigma$  *śucandātasa*).

B.M.; Lady Olive Bayley.

Æ 55; Pl. 14.

No coin of this kind seems to have been hitherto published; and almost all that can be said as to its attribution is that, in

its general character—fabric, shape, size, and epigraphy—it seems to be not far removed from the coins of Virasena, one specimen of which is described below. Cunningham, probably from considerations of *provenance*, assigned the coins of Virasena generally to the district of Mathurā (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89, pl. viii, 18), and, on the assumption that this attribution is approximately correct, we may, provisionally, place the coins of (?) Śivucandrāta in the same class.

The reading of the inscription suggested above is by no means certain. The second *akṣara* is quite probably to be read as *ṣo*——as we should have expected; but it is not easy to see how the remaining traces fit in with this restoration. The vowel of the third *akṣara* is, again, quite uncertain. There is no room on the coin for a vowel-sign above the line, if such was ever intended; and the restoration *śi* is proposed rather than *śa*, merely because *śiśu* would seem to be a more probable form than *sasu* as the first part of a name. The remainder of the name, *Candāta* (i.e. *Candratta*), is, of course, equivalent to the fuller Sanskrit form *Candradatta*.

#### VIRASENA.

15. *Obv.* Debased representation of the type: "Standing figure, with r. hand upraised."

*Rev.*     ; beneath, symbols.

B.M.; Lady Clive Bayley.

Æ 45; Pl. 15.

This type, which appears to be of no great rarity,<sup>1</sup> has been already published, both by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 89, pl. viii, 18) and by Rodgers (*Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, part 3, pp. 32, 33), but illustrated in the former case only from a drawing, and, in the latter case, without illustration. Cunningham tacitly places the

<sup>1</sup> Smith, J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876.



but it can be read with absolute certainty by comparing the eight specimens in his collection. The fabric of these coins leaves no doubt that they belong to the series attributed to the Nāga Dynasty of Padmāvati (Narwar), one member of which, Gaṇapati-nāga, is mentioned in the list of princes conquered by Samudragupta (c. 350-380 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The name Prabhākara is, of course, well known in Indian history, but it has not been hitherto found in connection with this dynasty. It appears in the nominative, and this would seem to be the most common form on the coins of this series. The genitive, however, is found on some coins of Gaṇapati—those reading -*Gaṇapatya*[h] (sic)—some of Skandanāga, and, apparently, all those published of Devanāga (c. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 23, 24). The name *Nāga* is omitted on the coins of Prabhākara, as on those of Gaṇapati; but it is given to Gaṇapati in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.

Fragments of several names not yet read are to be seen on coins belonging to this series. It is to be hoped that further specimens will be discovered which will enable us to decipher the names of these princes at present unknown. It has been surmised<sup>2</sup> that, besides Gaṇapati-nāga, others of the tributary princes mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription belonged to this family. It is extremely probable, for instance, that the Nāgasena, whose name occurs twice in the inscription, is identical with the 'Nāgasena, heir to the house of Padmāvati,' mentioned in the *Harṣa-carita*.<sup>3</sup> Some interesting identifications may reasonably be expected from further discoveries in this series.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. Nāga, p. 328

<sup>3</sup> p. 221 (ed. Bomb., 1892), p. 192 (*trans.*, Cowell & Thomas), cf. Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 449.

# SILAHARAS OF THE NORTHERN KONKAN.

CHITTARAJA ('Gadhiya-kū paisā' class : *Indian Coins*, § 122 (2)).

18. *Obv.* Degraded representation of type : "King's head to r"

*Rev.* श्रीहरि

राज within border of dots

Mr. W Theobald.

R 6, Wt. 53 grs.; Pl 18.

The series which, since Prinsep's time,<sup>1</sup> has been conveniently, if not very scientifically, known by its native designation, *Gadhiya-ka paisā*, 'Donkey-money,'<sup>2</sup> cannot yet be arranged with any great accuracy, whether local or chronological. Cunningham classes these coins generally with "the Indian coins of Mediaeval Age, from A.D. 600 to 1200," and states that they are "found most plentifully in S.W. Rajputana, in Baroda and the neighbouring districts of Mewar, Mālwa, and Gujarāt"; and in my *Indian Coins*, I have contented myself with stating these general facts, and leaving the coins, together with the two other classes dealt with by Cunningham in the passage above referred to, under the heading 'unattributed.'

A consideration of the fabric of the two unattributed classes of silver coins<sup>3</sup>—(1) the thin pieces of silver, and (2) the thick pieces of silver—and of the epigraphy of the rare inscribed specimens of the latter class, will, I think, reveal some tangible chronological facts.

In the first place, the Sassanian derivation of both classes can scarcely now be doubted.

General Cunningham doubted this in the case of the thick pieces, which he regards as "the direct descendants of the

<sup>1</sup> *Essays* (ed Thomas), vol. 1, p. 341

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 47) spells the word "*Gadhiya*, derived from the fire-altar or *throne* (*gadi*) on the reverse."

<sup>3</sup> With the other class of unattributed coins—the copper series, of which specimens are shown in Cunningham's *Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi, 1-8—I shall hope to deal in a subsequent article.

Ascribed to the Saka Satraps of Surashtra and Malwa, with the *gadi*, or 'throne,' in place of the original *chaitya*."<sup>1</sup> But we know that the coins derived from this source—e.g., the Gupta silver coinage and the silver coinage of Valabhi (*Indian Coins*, §§ 91, 98)—were very different both in form and weight. Moreover, the reverse type of these thick pieces—the *gadi* or whatever it may have been intended to represent in later times—was surely *derived* originally from the fire-altar of the Sassanian coins;<sup>2</sup> and no satisfactory reason can be given why their obverse type—king's head to r.—should not in like manner be copied from the same model. As will be seen, a comparison with the types as represented on the coins of the other class—the thin pieces of silver of undoubtedly Sassanian origin—makes this point almost absolutely certain.

Further, the two classes are not disconnected, but class (2)—the thick pieces of silver—is derived from class (1)—the thin pieces of silver.

It would have been unnecessary to labour this point, the truth of which was long ago recognized—for instance, by Dr. Codrington in his arrangement of the Cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society<sup>3</sup>—were it not for the fact that General Cunningham seems not to have regarded it as certain. This being the case, it may, perhaps, not be amiss to briefly state the facts of the case.

Sassanian coins were brought into India in great numbers by the Hūṇa invasions in the latter half of the fifth century A.D., and Dr. Hoernlé<sup>4</sup> has shown that some of these thin

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 48. In the sentence following this, he says, "Even the *sun* and *moon* symbols of the Sassanian coins are retained with the fire-altar or throne." *Sassanian* is, no doubt, a misprint for *Surashtran*. The '*sun* and *moon* symbols' occur, of course, on both the Sassanian and the Surashtran coinages.

<sup>2</sup> General Cunningham seems to admit this (*op cit.*, p. 47) in the passage quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, *Journ. of the Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, xii, p. 325: "Gadhia Coins of Gujarāt and Mālwa."

<sup>4</sup> *v. ref.* in *Indian Coins*, § 105. Col. Buddulph informs me that the find described by Dr. Hoernlé took place not in Mārwar, but in Mhairwarra (Merwara), "the small mountainous district in the Aravalli range, forming the south-west portion of the Ajmere-Mhairwarra Commissionership." He says in a letter to me, "The coins, of which I have eight, were found in 1899, five months before I became Commissioner of Ajmere-Merwara."

pieces of silver are direct imitations of the Sassanian coins current during that period. Now, the Sassanian type of coin—large, thin, flat—was essentially un-Indian; and these imitations made in India gradually lose their Sassanian characteristics. They become by degrees smaller, thicker, and less flat. The process may be seen by comparing the coins illustrated by General Cunningham (*Coins of Med Ind.*, pl. vi), e.g., No 13, with Nos 14, 15, 16, and 19, and it is seen still more clearly when the comparison extends to a great number of specimens. There can be no doubt that the relative date of specimens of these classes may be determined by their fabric, and that there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the two classes. The transition from class (1)—the thin pieces of silver—to class (2)—the thick pieces of silver—is so gradual, that it is impossible to determine accurately where one class ends and the other begins.

Similar results follow from a consideration of the process of degeneration in the types. When a series is arranged, the gradual transformation from the Sassanian types as represented in the earliest Indian imitations (e.g., No. 13 of the plate already referred to) to those of the '*Gadhya-kā paśā*' class (e.g., Nos 7 and 10) is evident.

Chronologically between these extremes—the date of the '*Gadhya-kā paśā*' class will be subsequently discussed—comes a series, which, thanks to Dr Hultzsch's identification of *Śrīmad-Ādurāṣa* with Bhojadeva of Kanauj<sup>1</sup> (c. 850–900 A.D.), we are able to date with some approach to accuracy. Specimens of this class are shown in the same plate of General Cunningham's *Coins of Med Ind.*, Nos. 16, 17, 19, 20. The fabric of these coins is also midway between the extremes, but the encroachment on the Sassanian types of an Indian element in the way of inscriptions or designs can be seen until very slight traces of the Sassanian characteristics remain, as, for example, in the coins of *Śrīmad-Ādurāṣa*, where the obverse type is purely Indian.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 1, p. 155.



—the god Visṇu in his Varāha or 'boar' avatar—and the greater portion of the reverse is occupied by an Indian inscription, the pillar-like objects beneath this inscription being probably the only vestiges left of the Sasanian fire-altar and its attendant priests.

The only means which we possess at present of dating the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class with any degree of accuracy is afforded by the inscribed specimens; and it is interesting to note that, in this case, the evidence of epigraphy confirms the presumption of a comparatively late date, to which we were led by general considerations of the history of fabric and type. These inscribed specimens are, unfortunately, of great rarity. Up to the present, only those bearing one name have been published. This name was read *Somaladevi* by Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 53); but there can be no doubt that the reading of his No. 10 is *Śrī-Somaladevi* (श्रीसोमदेवि)—this reading is verified from other specimens—and that of his No. 11 is almost certainly *Śrī-Somaladeī* (श्रीसोमदेवी). It seems, therefore, that we have here the coins of a queen. Who this queen was we cannot yet determine. We can only note that we know of a queen *Somalladevi*,<sup>1</sup> wife of Jājalladeva II, one of the Kalacuris<sup>2</sup> of Mahākōśala (Haihayas of Ratnapura), whose Mulhār inscription<sup>3</sup> is dated [Cedi-]samvat, 919 = A.D. 1167–68. The arrangement of the inscription on these coins of *Somaladevi*, and the style of the Nāgarī characters are certainly those of the known coins of the Kalacuris of Mahākōśala, which belong to a period extending from c. A.D. 1060 to c. A.D. 1140 (Cunn., *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 76; cf. pl. vi, 10, with pl. viii, 6–11); but it would be rash to make this suggested identification of the *Somaladevi* of the coins on this evidence alone. It is important, in this connection, to ascertain whether or not coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' type are ever found in Obatiagarh and Raypur districts of the Central Provinces—the site of the ancient kingdom of Mahākōśala.

<sup>1</sup> Khārōd inscription of her son Ratnadeva III. Cedi-samvat, 933 = A.D. 1181; c. Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 60, No. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 40.

The coin of Chittarāja, now published for the first time, is the only other variety of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class bearing an inscription which has been read without doubt.

Considerations of epigraphy alone would again lead us to much the same conclusion as to the date of this class; for the Nāgarī letters of Chittarāja's coin are precisely those of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasimha of Dhārā, dated [Vikrama-]samvat, 1112 = A.D. 1055-56,<sup>1</sup> and, if the coin be approximately of this date, we can have no hesitation in identifying this Chittarāja with the Śilāhāra of the Northern Kōṅkan, who is well known from inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> especially as this division of the Bombay Presidency certainly lies within the area over which coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class are found. Chittarāja's Bhāṇḍup grant is dated Śaka-samvat, 948 = A.D. 1026, and the next known date of this dynasty is Śaka-samvat, 982 = A.D. 1059-60, in the reign of his brother and next successor but one, Mumuvāṇi or Māmuvāṇi.<sup>3</sup> All that we can say at present about the period of Chittarāja's reign, therefore, is that it began at least as early as A.D. 1026, and ended some time—probably some years—before A.D. 1059-60.

If we consider the very extensive area throughout which coins of the '*Gadhiya-kā paisā*' class are found, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that coinages of this form were struck by a number of different dynasties, and we may confidently hope that future discoveries will enable us to identify some of these. In the meantime it is satisfactory to have been able to determine, with little room for doubt, the attribution, both local and chronological, of one of these coinages.

<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn, *ed.*, iii, p. 46. Māndhātā is "an island in the Narmadā river, attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces."

<sup>2</sup> Bhāṇḍup Grant (*ed.* Buhler), *Ind. Ant.*, 1876, p. 276; Śilāhāra Copper-plate Grant (*ed.* Telang), *id.*, 1880, p. 39; Ambarnāth inscription (*ed.* Bhagvānlāl), *Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S.*, xii, p. 332; *cf.* Mrs. Rickmers, *Chronology of India*, pp. 114, 303.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarees Dynasties* (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 3, p. 543).

# DYNASTY UNCERTAIN

## VATSADĀMAN.

19. *Obv.* श्रीवत्सदामव[राच]व[ह-] Cow to 1 suckling calf; border of dots.

*Rev.* Viṣṇu striding to r., tramples on a demon with each foot; in his r. hand he holds a discus; in front of and behind him, other demons; border of dots.

Mr. Darrah.

N 8,<sup>1</sup> PL 19.

This is a most interesting coin in every respect, and is at present quite unique of its kind. Gold coins of the period to which it must belong—most probably from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.—are of extreme rarity. Indeed, it is doubtful whether another example is known; for the gold coin which General Sir A. Cunningham supposed to be the solitary specimen with ‘mediaeval’ letters,<sup>2</sup> and the coin of Śaravarmān described below (p. 124) are more probably of the ninth or tenth century.

The style of the Nāgarī letters and the reverse type—a representation of Viṣṇu—alike connect this coin with those of Śrīmad-Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva of Kanauj, c. 850–900 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>; but it would be rash to conclude that the two classes of coins belong to the same dynasty. All that can be said with any confidence is that they were probably not widely divided by time or distance.

The inscription is, unfortunately, not fully legible, but the first part of the name Śrī-Vatsadāma is quite certain. The next letter is ṇ with, apparently, some vowel attached. The next two akṣaras are uncertain—all that can be said for the suggested restoration is that it seems not to be inconsistent with the remaining traces—and these are followed by ṇa and ha—the former certain and the latter doubtful. Probably the end of the inscription is lost. In

<sup>1</sup> The note taken of the weight of this coin has, unfortunately, been lost.

<sup>2</sup> *Coin of Med. Ind.*, p. 47, pl. vi, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Coins*, § 110, pl. v, 5.

any case, the following the certain portion *Śrī-Vatsadāma* constitutes a difficulty, whether we suppose it to be the termination of the name—*-dāmaṇaḥ* for *-dāmaṇaḥ*—or the initial of the following word—e.g., *Nārāyaṇa* for *Nā°*.

The obverse type—a cow suckling a calf—is, of course, a punning allusion to the name *Vatsadāman*, and the reverse type represents Viṣṇu in his *Vāmana*<sup>1</sup> or 'dwarf' avatar slaying the demons.

A *Vatsadāman* is known to us from an inscription of some princes of the Śūruseṇa family<sup>2</sup>. The inscription is of about "the eighth century A.D.", and the Nāgarī letters of inscription and coin are not very dissimilar. But this is not sufficient evidence to justify us in identifying this *Vatsadāman* with the striker of the coin.

#### ŚARAVARMAN.

20. Obr. श्रीशर

वर्मणः[ ] within border of dots.

Rv. चर्मणः

मेरोः ॥ within border of dots.

Mr. Spinner.

N 9; Wt 123-5; Pl. 20.

This coin, which is noteworthy in many ways, was sent to the British Museum for examination by Mr. Daniel Howorth, of Ashton-under-Lyne, in February, 1899. There is, apparently, no other Indian gold coin known of the period to which it belongs—probably ninth or tenth century A.D.—of a similar weight. Like the small gold coin published by General Cunningham (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi, 18; *r. sup.*, p. 123) it is characterized by having inscriptions on both sides without any type whatever.

The style of these inscriptions is precisely that of the Pehoa Prasasti of the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj,

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that this name can be restored in the obverse inscription—[वान]व—again with *va* for *na*?

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvānālī Indrājī, *Ind. Ant.*, x, p. 34, Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, xi, pl. xii, c. Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 81, No. 559.

published by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 242. The known dates of Mahendrapāla are A.D. 903 and 907 (*id.*, p. 244), and the date of Śaravarman cannot be far removed from these. Bühler describes the characters of the *Prabasti* as "of the ordinary Nāgarī type, current in Northern and Western India during the ninth and tenth centuries"

The name Śaravarman seems not to be known; but it is, of course, a perfectly possible formation, the former part being, probably, merely the ordinary word *sara*, meaning 'a reed or arrow', of the names of Kārtikeya, Śarabha, Śarayanman, etc.

The title taken by Śaravarman on the reverse of this coin—*Dharmatma-Meru*—'the mount Meru of the pious'—is curious, but characteristically Indian. With it we may compare the title *Kopūta*, 'the very pure,' on a coin of the Audumbara king Virayasasa, published by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. iv, 14),<sup>1</sup> and, perhaps, *Mahātman* 'the high-souled,' on certain coins of the Kunindas (*id.*, pl. v, 4)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The description of this coin, *id.*, p. 70, requires correction. The inscription is *Rājā[h] Koputasya Vinayadasya*. The name also should be given as *Vinayadasa*. This compound from *vinā* + *yasah* is, of course, quite regular.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the inscription of this coin, *id.*, p. 72, should also be corrected. It should be *Bhṛigavata - Chatreśvara - Mahātmanah*. The form *chatreśvara* for *chatreśvara* appears to be quite beyond doubt. But it is certainly very remarkable, and a similar loss of aspiration in a Sanskrit form is not easy to find.

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ART. VIII—*The Nīti-mañjarī of Dyū Dīmoda*. By A. B. KEITH, Boden Sanskrit Scholar and Scholar of Balliol.

HAVING procured three manuscripts of this work,<sup>1</sup> I at first proposed to edit the text. But in going through the work for that purpose I soon found that Professor Kielhorn was right in supposing it to be too dependent on Sūyana to deserve publication in full. Under these circumstances Professor Macdonell suggested to me that I should collect all that was of interest in the work. This I have here attempted to do.

The manuscripts at my disposal for the task were the following:—(A) A copy presented by Professor Kielhorn to the University Library at Gottingen,<sup>2</sup> and containing all the eight *Aṣṭakas*, was copied in 1869 from a codex of 1778 A.D.; (B) India Office Library, No. 1,649, which Professor Eggeling tells me dates probably from about 1750 A.D. It contains only *Aṣṭakas* 1–4. The third MS., India Office Library, No. 966, dating from about 1650, consists of two parts—(C) containing *Aṣṭakas* 3–5; and (D) containing *Aṣṭakas* 2, 5, 6, 7 (2 and 6 being fragmentary). All these MSS., representing the same recension of the text, are very closely related; A and B, however, frequently agree in exhibiting errors from which C or D is exempt. The only other MS. in Europe belongs to Professor Max Müller, though at least nine or ten MSS. of the work are known in India.

<sup>1</sup> The *Nīti-mañjarī* has already been treated of by Professor Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, v, 116, by Professor Peterson in his *Second Report*, 1883–4, p. 8; and in correction of this account by Professor Kielhorn in the *Gottinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 181 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, v, 116.

All our information regarding the author is derived from the writer himself. He was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and Lakṣmī. His paternal grandfather was Atri, son of Mukunda Dviveda, and belonged to the house of Mukunda, according to the introductory verse of the sixth *Aṣṭaka*. Two of the MSS. (*C* and *D*) begin *Aṣṭaka* 5 with a verse in which the author styles himself *Mahodadārbhakulajah*<sup>1</sup>. This family is not otherwise known, and in any case the genuineness of the verse may be suspected, as *A* has a quite different version. Under these circumstances little can be said for the attempt to bring the author of the *Nīti-māñjarī* into local connection with Ūṣa, the commentator on the Prātiśākhya of the Rig- and the White Yajur-veda. As to his exact name there is a slight divergency in the MSS. In the actual text he is named once Dyā Dvivedah, once Dyā Dvivedaḥ, and often simply Dyā. On the other hand, in the concluding notices of the MS. *C* to *Aṣṭakas* 3, 4, 5, and of *D* to *Aṣṭakas* 2, 5, 6, he is styled Dyā Dviveda. These, however, differ from the corresponding notices in *A* and *B*, and we may fairly conclude from the analogy of Mukunda Dviveda that the correct form of the name was Dyā Dviveda. To what two Vedas his family devoted itself cannot be gathered from the *Nīti-māñjarī*. Nor is there any information as to what his position in life was. It is true that the MSS. do give us some choice of epithets like *yuvan*, *satrayajvan*; but as they are not in agreement upon the matter, they evidently are not following any tradition, but are merely guessing.

Dyā appears to apply the title *Nīti-māñjarī* to the commentary as well as the text of his work, for the MSS. offer us not only *Nītimāñjarībhāṣyam* but also *Nītimāñjaryākyam* *bhāṣyam*; but he seems to have meant to distinguish the commentary from the text by the title of *Vedārthapradāsa*, as appears from the phrase *Nītimāñjarībhāṣye vedārthapradāsa nītivākhyāni vyākhyātāni*. He doubtless borrows the title from that of Sāyana's commentaries on the Vedas.

<sup>1</sup> The preface to *Aṣṭaka* 4 in *A*, *B*, *C* calls him *Mahodadārbhak*, and in *Aṣṭaka* 5 *C* has only *darbhakulajah*.



The work consists of some 170 ślokas, of which eight or nine are prefatory, distributed among eight *Aṣṭakas*. The first contains 50 verses, the second and third 16 apiece, the fourth has 22, the fifth, sixth, and eighth 19, while the seventh has but 9.

The plan of the work is simple. While the first half of each śloka contains a maxim of common-sense morality, the latter half adduces a parallel from the *Rigveda*. This reference is explained at length in the commentary, which, like the work itself, is the composition of Dya. In this process the commentary proceeds on fixed lines. First come a few words of explanation of the actual text, which, however, are often omitted by one or more of the MSS.; then follows the *Rigvedic* verse, accompanied by a legend either in prose or verse; finally, a more or less complete comment on the *ru*. Each *Aṣṭaka* of course corresponds strictly to the like division of the *Sambhitā*, and the verses follow the order of the *Vedic* text. This rule causes some complications in the not unfrequent cases when the poet tries to better his statement by quoting two examples. The commentary on one of these must then be looked for later on, but always in the same *Aṣṭaka*. For example, i, 34, reads:—

*Samāddhim sarthikam kuryat supakṣena satyatan  
Vaimadyā, Jāhuṣa jatam Nusatyano hi sārthikam.*

The case of *Vaimadī* (*Rigveda*, I. 116, 1) is immediately disposed of, but *Jāhuṣa* (I. 116, 20) has to wait till after v. 46.

This transparent regularity of order cannot, however, be attributed to any artistic sense on Dya's part. He simply adopted it as being the easiest way of writing. His only merit, if merit it be, is ingenuity; it is certainly surprising that he can manage to extract so many rules of conduct from the *Rigveda*. But the process of extraction is painful, and the resultant morality is worth so little that we may charitably hope it is not on a level with the theory

of the author's day. If, however, Dyā adds nothing to our knowledge of ethics, he adds little more to our knowledge of mythology. As we shall see, all in the work that is his own is represented by the ślokas and a few words of the commentary. These facts combine to make the work a very dull one, and to render its publication quite needless, especially as a specimen of it has already been given by Professor Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. v, p. 116).

The verses are written with sufficient care and correctness, but are stiff and, as was inevitable, lifeless. Dyā does not use a single rare word, though naturally his subject forces him to employ a few Vedic technical terms. Nor has he any *recherche* constructions, though he employs the aorist and the perfect more frequently than is usual in so late an author. One use, which is repeated six or seven times, and is confirmed by all the MSS. I have collated, is to write a sentence like *tam Indram iti mutā* 'Such a practice, however, goes a good way in proving that the writer lived at a time when Sanskrit was merely a scholastic tradition. The attraction is indeed not very unnatural, but it seems to have been strictly avoided in classical Sanskrit. On the other hand, Dyā is usually very exact in Sandhi.

A misconception as to the date of the work has perhaps attracted to it more interest than it could otherwise have claimed. The late Professor Peterson, in his notice of an Ulwar MS.<sup>1</sup> of the work,<sup>2</sup> stated that this codex bore the date of 1st day of the light-half of the month Māgha, Samvat 1110, i.e. 1054 A.D. Had this been a possible date for the work, it would have been of great value, as giving a pre-Sāyana commentary on 180 verses of the R̥gveda. Unhappily internal evidence proves conclusively that the manuscript is wrongly dated, and that Professor Kielhorn<sup>3</sup> is correct in holding that the work is subsequent to Sāyana. Though Dyā usually borrows in silence, and never mentions Sāyana's name, he four times heads an extract from him

<sup>1</sup> No. 4,183 in his Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Report for 1883-4, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 181; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. v, p. 116.

with *Atla Bhāṣya*. The passages are (1) his comment on *Rigveda* I. 20, 6, where he quotes the *Bhāṣya* on I. 116, 1; (2) on *Rigveda* I. 53, 1; (3) on I. 116, 3; (4) on X. 26, 1. This direct proof, taken in conjunction with the fact that every comment on a Vedic verse is a direct copy from *Sāyana*, can leave no possible doubt as to his date being later than that of *Sāyana*. That 1054 A.D. could not stand, would also be proved by his references to the *Ārucarya* and the *Anukramanībhāṣya*, which will be noted below. Thus we have got as his earliest date the end of the fourteenth century, *Sāyana* having died in 1387 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But we may fairly suppose that it was some time before *Sāyana*'s commentary won such a position that an intending author should be contented with wholesale copying. Thus we may take 1450 A.D. as an upper terminus. On the other side we have no evidence save that of the probable date of our MSS. As already stated, Professor Eggeling is inclined to refer MS. D to about the middle of the seventeenth century. One or more of the Indian MSS. may be older; but with our present evidence we must be content to refer *Dyū Dviveda* to the period between 1450-1600 A.D.

So late a work can of course interest students of Sanskrit Literature and Mythology only in so far as it preserves ancient material which has not otherwise been handed down, or affords assistance in fixing the text of extant works. For the former purpose the *Niti-mañjarī* is practically worthless. Its most considerable contribution is a variant of the difficult story of *Saranyū* and *Vivasvat*, alluded to in *Rigveda* X. 17, 1 sq.; but even this seems merely to be a prose version of the *Bṛhad-devatā* account, which he has quoted on *Rigveda* I. 116, 7, and here refers to. If this view be correct, and that it is so will, I think, be evident from a comparison of the two versions, which are given in full in Max Müller's *Rigveda*, vol. iv, p. 5, then all the legends quoted are directly derived from either *Sāyana*'s commentary or the *Bṛhad-devatā*. The comments on the Vedic verses come,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burnell, *Vāgīśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Pref. p. viii.

with but few exceptions, straight from Sāyana, quotations from whom thus form a proportion of between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole work.

It remains for us to give a list of quotations, together with some remarks on their value for textual criticism. The verses of the R̥gveda cited are the following:—I. 1. 1, 6, 9; 4. 6, 7; 10. 2; 11. 5; 18. 1; 20. 4, 6; 24. 1; 30. 16; 32. 11; 33. 5; 35. 9; 45. 3; 51. 1, 13, 53. 1; 54. 6; 58. 1; 61. 15; 62. 3; 84. 13, 14, 85. 10, 11; 97. 1; 101. 8; 103. 8; 104. 6; 105. 17; 110. 1, 8; 114. 6; 115. 1; 116. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25; 117. 6, 7, 8; 122. 5; 125. 7; 126. 6, 7; 147. 3; 158. 5, 6; 161. 6; 162. 9; 170. 1; 179. 1; 182. 3. II. 12. 1; 14. 6; 28. 9. III. 17. 4; 31. 6; 33. 1, 5, 10, 53. 4, 14. IV. 16. 10; 18. 13; 24. 9, 10; 25. 4, 7; 26. 1; 27. 1; 42. 8. V. 2. 9; 30. 15; 34. 3, 9; 61. 1, 6, 8, 17, 19; 78. 5. VI. 3. 2; 27. 4, 5, 8; 45. 31; 49. 20, 22; 52. 1; 53. 3, 5; 75. 1. VII. 1. 23; 6. 3; 11. 2; 32. 26; 33. 2; 55. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 72. 2; 95. 2; 103. 10; 104. 15, 16. VIII. 1. 34; 2. 19, 20; 14. 12; 18. 14; 19. 5, 6, 36, 37; 21. 18; 33. 19; 46. 12; 56. 3; 61. 11; 62. 12; 64. 2; 66. 16; 67. 5; 77. 10; 91. 7; 95. 7; 96. 13; 97. 2; 100. 12; 102. 19, 22. X. 8. 8; 10. 11, 12; 11. 3; 27. 1; 28. 1; 33. 7; 38. 5; 44. 4; 47. 1; 48. 1; 51. 8; 57. 1; 60. 12; 61. 8; 62. 1, 8; 95. 14, 15; 102. 9; 107. 8; 108. 9, 10, 11; 109. 6; 117. 6; 145. 2; 156. 1; 191. 1, 4; while V. 40. 9, VIII. 1. 6, 43. 16, IX. 85. 8, are quoted out of place. The most interesting point in this regard is the fact that MS. A substitutes a different ending for one verse (X. 102. 9: *pradhane jigdyā*).

From the *Bṛhad-dēvatā* a good many legends are borrowed, in all some 180 ślokas, corresponding to I. 2; III. 141-9, 155 sq.; IV. 1, 2, 11-15, 21-5, 41-50, 62-6, 99, 111, 126; V. 13-22, 32-5, 49-77, 95-101, 110-126, 128-138; VI. 11-14, 28, 35-8, 51-62, 80, 100-111, 163 sq.; VII. 43-8, 63-75, 86, 94-6, 148-156, in Rājendra Lāla Mitra's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The text presented by the MSS. of the *Niti-manjari* is certainly superior in some points to that printed in the edition. Its absolute value will be better

understood after the appearance of Professor Macdonell's critical edition, which will make use of this material.

The borrowing from Sāyana is done carelessly: alternative renderings are usually omitted; difficult grammatical remarks are left out, or merely alluded to so briefly as to be unintelligible without Sāyana's text. Many of the passages quoted at length in Sāyana are merely referred to by the first few words, or are reduced to simplicity by the easy process of omitting all that is difficult. All this renders it very hard to discover which of the three classes of MSS. distinguished by Max Muller<sup>1</sup> is his guide. The evidence on the whole points to his having adopted an eclectic method, usually with unfortunate results. At any rate, in difficult passages the printed text has almost invariably a much better reading.

When we subtract from the total of quotations in the *Nīti-mañjarī* those passages which are simply borrowed from Sāyana's commentary, we have very little left, and that little is of no importance. Yāska's name is frequently mentioned, but usually reflects the '*Nūktam*' of Sāyana's *Bhāṣya*. Independent quotations are only for the meaning of a single word. Śākapūni is once quoted from Yāska. Of the supplementary Vedic works he cites Śaunaka's *Ṛṣilakṣaṇa*, *Vaṇḍikalakṣaṇa*, and *Anuṭākanukramani* once each on *Ṛigveda* I. 1. 1. The *Valakhilya Anukramani* is also once quoted on *Ṛigveda* VIII. 56. 3. More important than these, as bearing on the date of the work, are the three quotations from the *Anukramanabhāṣyakavā*, Śaḍgurusisya, who composed his work, according to the date he himself gives, in 1184.<sup>2</sup> They are on *Ṛigveda* I. 24. 1, 147. 3; VIII. 1. 34.<sup>3</sup> Further, the *Sarāṇukramani* itself is twice independently quoted.<sup>4</sup> The only work of this class, however, with which Dyā was really well acquainted, is the

<sup>1</sup> *Rigveda*, I. xviii sq.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 82. Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1891, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell's edition, pp. 84, 127, 134.

<sup>4</sup> Preface, 1, 14, and on *Ṛigveda* I. 53. 1.

*Nighāntuh*, which on the other hand Sāyana very seldom quotes. The passages quoted<sup>1</sup> are all verifiable, with only slight variation of text, in R. Meyer's edition. The *Nighāntuh* is referred to on RV. I. 161. 6.

The remaining quotations may conveniently be divided into two classes, the Vedic and the Classical. Of the former very few are left when we subtract those due to Sāyana directly; some certainly, and possibly all, come from comments of Sāyana on verses not referred to in the *Nīti-mānjari*. All references to *sūtram* are to Āśvalāyana's Śrauta-Sūtra as given in Sāyana. In commenting on RV. I. 126. 6, 7, a maxim from the *Karmapravṛtṭi* is quoted. The *Tāṇḍya* or *Pañcarīkṣa Brahmana* is thrice alluded to, for the stories of Viṣa (RV, V. 2. 9), Trisiras (X. 8. 1), and Kutsa (X. 48. 5). The *Kaṇṣṭhikā Brahmana* is quoted as an authority for the story of Kavaśa, the seer of R̥gveda X. 30-34, who, rejected as a slave's son by the R̥ṣis, found comfort in Sarasvatī, and to explain the epithet 'Bhārata' used of Agni. The *Śatapatha Brahmana* is referred to for the story of Dadhyan Ātharvānaḥ (RV., I. 116. 12), for Trisiras (RV., X. 8. 1); from it, in illustration of RV. VI. 27. 8, X. 17. 1 respectively, are cited the maxims, *aparaṃ vai rājanam param samrajyam* and *ardho ha vai eṣa ātmano yaḥ jayā*. A vague reference to Brāhmaṇa generally is made for the story of Dīrghatamas (RV., I. 158. 6), for the debt of sacrifice due to the Gods (ib., 162. 9), and for the phrase *soma vai palāśah*. The Gīhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana is alluded to in the comments on RV. I. 115. 1, IV. 25. 7, VIII. 91. 7. From the Sāmaveda, that is, probably from a Sūtra of that Veda, comes the phrase, *yo vai dīkṣitāndam pāpam kīrtayati, tṛtīyam eṣam pāpmano harati*. The Upaniṣads are represented by a quotation anent Sūrya, *So yacodyam abaritraḥ prajñātmā, yacāśār Āditya ekam etad*, and a few words from the conversation of Prataṛdana and

<sup>1</sup> On RV. I. 1. 1, 26. 1, 97. 1, 115. 1; II. 12. 1; III. 32. 1, 5, 53. 1, 14; IV. 25. 1; V. 2. 9, 78. 5; VI. 75. 1; VII. 1. 23, 55. 1 sq.; VIII. 21. 13, 31. 1, 35. 7; X. 9. 1, 155. 1.

Indra concerning Brahma.<sup>1</sup> The *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* (III. 5. 3) is once cited.

If the Vedic knowledge of the author was sufficiently small in quantity and quality, no better account can be given of his knowledge of classical literature. He only cites seven works in all, and none with any frequency. Manu is cited twice to prove that a Brahman may take from whatever caste he please,<sup>2</sup> and for the tale of Bharadvāja and Bribu (10. 107 sq.) Yājñavalkya contributes the maxims *yatrānukūlyam dāmpatyos tūnargas tatir vadhate* and *na stenaḥ syān na vadhūḥ*. A list of synonyms for Indra is cited from Amara *Sūtram*, (*Gotrabhūḥ, Vapaḥ, Vāsavo, Vṛtrahā, Viśā*). From the '*Ātmanirūti*' the fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta is enunciated *Ātmanabhūte dehādāc ātmabuddhis tu dehīnam*.

Harī (i.e. Viṣṇu), according to MS. A in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, is cited as propounding an Indian parallel to the proverb "God helps those who help themselves," in this form —

*Parithūya nījam karma, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇeti radīnah  
Maddrohiṇo 'pi te jñeyu, yataḥ karmamayo hy aham.  
Varnāśi amācūcīcītu puruṣena parah puman  
Viṣṇur ārādhyate, paṇṭhu nanyas tattoṣakarakah.*

The *Bhagavat* (i.e. the *Bhagavadgītā*) is quoted for the following opinions —

*Śreyān svadharmo viguṇo paradharmo śanauṣṭhitat.<sup>3</sup>  
Īstān bhogān hi vo deiā dāsyante yajñabharitah,  
Tair dattān apīalāyāsbhyo yo bhunkte stena eva saḥ.<sup>4</sup>*

Four citations are made from a more modern work, the *Oārucaryā* :—

*Na svakṣyastutīpadair glunim guṇam guṇaṇi nayet,  
Svagūṇastutivādena Yayātiṛ apatad divaḥ.*

<sup>1</sup> The former reference is not in Jacob's Concordance, the latter is *Kaustubhy Upaṇiṣad*, 2. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is not in our text of Manu.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhagavadgītā*, iii, 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 12.

*Satyoktyā bahavo yātāḥ svargam sarvajandṛlāḥ.*

*Asatām saṅgadosena sādhaso yānti vikriyām,  
Duryodhanaprasaṅgena Bhiṣmo goharāṇaṁ gataḥ.*

*Mithyāparādabhaṅgeṣu yatnaṁ kuryād vicaḥṣaṇaḥ  
Kṛṣṇo 'pi ratnam ānīya yaśucarge sukhī bhavat.*

This is probably the *Ūrucaryā* of Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian poet of the eleventh century, whose voluminous<sup>4</sup> works have been made known to us by Buhler's and Peterson's Reports.

Finally, we may add that while the author is content to cite Pāṇini only where Sāyana has already done so, he quotes with great freedom the *Rigveda-Pratīśākhya* for the simplest details of sandhi, such as the use of the lingual *ṛ* and *s*; but as usual his quotations are inaccurate.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

- - -

1. MEANING OF THE WORD *nihilam*.

DEAR SIR,—In Leyden & Erskine's translation of Bābar's *Memoirs* (p. 28), there occurs the following passage, descriptive of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā, a paternal uncle of Bābar: "In the earlier part of his life he was much devoted to falconry, and kept a number of hawks; and latterly was very fond of hunting the *nihilam*." To this one of the translators has appended a note—"I do not know what animal the *nihilam* is. From its name it may perhaps be the *niḡau*. It is said to be *gauzun kōhi*."

P. de Courteille (I. 54) thus renders the same passage: "Dans les premiers temps il était passionné pour la chasse au faucon; plus tard il chassa beaucoup le *behlem* (espèce d'antilope)."

P. de Courteille used Ilminski's Turkī text (Kasan, 1857). Mirzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī's Persian text (Bombay) has *nihilam*, and so have the B.M. MSS.

The word *nihilam* occurs in the *Akbarnama* (Bib. Ind., I. 255), where it is said that Humāyūn amused himself after illness (A.D. 1546) with *shikār-i-tasqāwal* (تسقاؤل), of which, Abū'l-faḡl explains in a parenthesis, the Badakhshī equivalent is *shikār-i-nihilam*.

The account of the hunting and the explanation of *tasqāwal* are taken from the *Memoirs* of Bāyazīd *Buyāt*, who was with Humāyūn in Badakhshān in 1546.

Again, Abū'l-faḡl (I. 318) tells a story of Akbar's *tasqāwal*-hunting on the skirts of the Safīd-sang, and he uses the

word in a manner which shows that it is not the name of an animal. Dogs were employed by Akbar, "*ba dast-i-har yakt*" as *khidmatgarān-i-nazdiki, sagān-i-shikāri sipurda būdand, ki tasqāwal bāshand.*" Men drove the deer (*āhū*). When the deer reached the *tasqāwalān* (*chūn āhū batasqāwalān rasid*), the servants who had charge of the dogs were not at their stations, and the hunt was a failure.

I have searched many dictionaries for the meaning of *tasqāwal* and of *nihilam*, but without success until to-day (Aug. 2nd.), when I have found *tasqāwal*, with variant, *tasqāwal*, in a Turkī-Persian dictionary of the Mullā Firūz Library in this city (Bombay). It is explained as a shutter-up of a road (*rāh-band kunanda*). It would thus seem to be a sort of earth-stopper, and perhaps was applied to an obstacle placed in the path of the driven deer to turn them or to check them for the convenience of the sportsmen.

The dictionary which yielded this explanation is entered as No. 27 (p. 54) in Mr. Rehatsck's valuable catalogue of the Mullā Firūz Library and it is described by him as the work of Mīrzā Alī Bakht, whose poetical name was *Az-fāri*, and it is consequently known as the *Faḥrang-i-az-fāri*.

What is the derivation of *tasqāwal* I am unable to say, but it seems clear from Bāyarīd and Abū'l-faḍl that it is not an animal's name but that of a form of sport. It may correspond to the English 'driving.'

HENRY BEVERIDGE.

Bombay, Aug. 2, 1899.

## 2. "OSPREYS."

102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,  
London, S.W.

Saturday, Oct. 21, 1899.

SIR,—I am much obliged to Mr. F. W. Thomas for his courteous note upon my somewhat random suggestion about the '*kaṭāvara*.' He is only a little too modest in saying that he can throw no light upon it, because this note (in our October number, p. 906) pretty nearly settles the question.

The bird referred to by Sanskrit writers as 'kurāṇa' cannot have been our modern naturalists' 'Osprey' (*Pandion haliaetus*), which is in all countries, and especially in India, where it rarely breeds, a shy and silent bird. The same remarks apply, though in decreasing degree, to our English Earn (*Haliaetus albicilla*); and, still with diminution, to the Indian Earn (*Haliaetus leucogaster*). We are left with only one common Indian sea-eagle, the Ringtailed Sea-eagle of Jerdon, "Pallas's Fishing-eagle" of Blanford (*Haliaetus leucorhynchus*); as the others are shy and scarce.

This bird is common down to the Tropic of Cancer and rather south of it, and in Upper India. Its cry is usually in a tree near human habitations, to the noise of which it is quite indifferent, and adds its own, in chorus even with railway and steamboat whistles, distinguishable amongst these a mile away—the noisiest, probably, of all eagles.

Mr. Blanford gives "*Koral, Mach koral*" as two Bengali names for it; and, on the whole, I should think that any lexicographer will be pretty safe in writing "*Kurāṇa*, a fishing-eagle, probably originally or principally *Haliaetus leucorhynchus* (Pallas)."

It may be added that the word 'osprey' is a very unsafe one. The first 'ossifrage' seems to have been the 'Lammergeyer,' "*genus aquilae quam barbatam vocant, Tusci vero ossifragam*" (Pliny, N. H., x, 111). The Tuscan augurs were ornithologists.

The name, appropriate enough to this bird, which certainly does break bones, has since passed, in the form of 'orfraie' and 'osprey' to a fish-hawk, or fishing-owl, which does not; and now, by a freak of fashion, to egrets, or rather to their feathers in milliners' shops. I take it that the lexicographers will rather ally themselves with naturalists than with the milliners; and remain, your most obedient servant,

W. F. SINCLAIR (late I.C.S.).

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

## 3. A POEM FROM THE DĪVĀN OF SHAMS I TABRĪZ.

SIR,—It is very well known that the greatest mystical poet of Persia, Jalal-al-Dīn Rūmī, owes much to his predecessors Sanāi and 'Aṭṭār.<sup>1</sup> They have been his avowed masters. In an often quoted place of his immortal *Maṭnawī* he recommends to the reader Sanāi's chief work, the *Ḥadīkah*, in terms of the highest praise.<sup>2</sup>

We may conjecture, says Nicholson in his excellent "Selected Poems from the *Dīvān Shamsi Tabrīz*," that the first impulse in his mind towards Sufism arose from the perusal of their celebrated poems the *Mantiqutṭāir* and the *Ḥadiqa*. They were always his leaders, the soul and eyes of *Tuṣawwuf*.<sup>3</sup> "'Aṭṭār was the soul itself and Sanāi its two eyes, but we have come after both Sanāi and 'Aṭṭār." The poem where this verse occurs Nicholson has been unable to find. "The poem from which this *beṭ* is quoted does not occur in the Tabriz or Lakhnau editions of the *Dīvān*."

We have been lucky enough to discover this poem in the voluminous Lakhnau folio edition of the *Kulliyāt i Shams i Tabrīz*, 4to, pp. 1,036 (Lakhnau, 1302).

It runs as follows :—

"As lovers have we entered the tavern. Although we have come sick and as lean of stature as the new moon. The body is like a jar, and our soul in it takes the place of water. For your sake have we come in the shape of a jar from the sea. Incarnate glory are we, though we came as Disgrace. Do not think us simple, for we are like unto the sea and the fire.

"Take the light of beauty and elegance from us, for we appear like unto the sun, a source of splendours. Listen to our explanation of Truth and the secrets of poverty, because we have come in this world from the Universe of secrets.

<sup>1</sup> Browne is disposed to include in the list another mystic of great Naṣir i Khusrāw (*J.R.A.S.*, January, 1899, p. 156).

<sup>2</sup> *Maṭnawī* (Bulāḳ, 1268), iii, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> "Selected Poems from the *Dīvān Shamsi Tabrīz*" (Cambridge, 1898), p. xxxviii.

"‘Aṭṭār was the soul itself and Sanāī its two eyes, but we have come after both Sanāī and ‘Aṭṭār. The men of the Path of Salvation are all but one soul and one heart. They assert it with certainty that we have come one time.

"Every one of us is full of the true God and void of himself. We have come as the heroes of the mighty, powerful Creator. If we are in our sleep unaware of the circumstances of this world. We came as vigilant warders of this trust. Our rank is higher than this, but we, fearing the envious, have come into this world veiled from the eyes of the crowd. What place has the foot and head in the regions where we belong? We have come as the mind and soul of the turning sphere. When it had become a curtain to us, the sun and the moon of the soul, running came we on the sphere of heart to offer ourselves. We are like a tall cypress on the brink of the river of love.

"We have become a thornless rose-bush in the garden of Union. May the inhabitants of the world devour thistles after camel fashion. We have the nature of the parrot; we have come hither sugar-chewing. We are like the ocean of the Euphrates to the fishes of love. We descended on the lovers as lightly as falling drops of water.

"Our bodies had become the foam on the clear waters of his sea. The waves compelled us to come hither. Make use of our dust, for it is doing verily the same benefits as water. Take it this year, and do not say that we have come a year ago. He is the drunken one doubtlessly, and from him have we got our boastfulness. He is also the cause of our coming and declaration. The lover, the love, and the beloved, all the three were but one. We have become forthwith a Sanāī-like leader."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kulliyât i Shams i Tabriz (Lakhnau, 1302), p. 564.

### مضارع اخرب مکفوف

ما عشقان بخانه خمار آمديم گر چون طال لاغر و بیمار آمديم  
 تن هست چون سوود رو روح ما جو آب بهر شما ز بحر سبوار آمديم  
 مارا مبین تو ساده که درنا و آنشیم فخریم در حقیقت اگر عار آمديم  
 از ما برید نور لطافت ار آن که ما چون آفتاب چشمه انوار آمديم  
 اسرار فقر و شرح حسنت رما شو کادر جهان رعالم اسرار آمديم  
 عطارد روح بود سنائی دو چشم او ما در پی سائی و عطارد آمديم  
 مردان راه جمله یکی روح و یک دل اند کوید در بنس که یکبار آمديم  
 از حق پریم جمله و از خود بی نه ام گردان بحکم خالی بهار آمديم  
 هر چند خفته ایم از احوال اس همان در حفظ این امامت سدار آمديم  
 احوال ما بر نراز سن لکت مار رشک بهمان چمن ردیده اغیار آمديم  
 آنجا که جای ماست چه حای سرس و با چون حان و رای کنند دوران آمديم

استاره مان چو شدمه و آفتاب حان بر چرخ دل دوانه بایثار آمديم  
 بر جویبار عشق چو سروم سر فراز در ناع وصل گلن بیخار آمديم  
 گر خار میخورند چو اشتر جهانمان ناطع طوطی ایم شکر خوار آمديم  
 بر ماهیان عشق چو بحریم چون مرآت بر عاشقان چو قطره سبکسار آمديم  
 بر آب صاف بحرش کف گشت جسمما این سو جو آب آمد ناچار آمديم  
 بس کار آب دارد بنشان نو گرد ما امسال را بگر مگو پارس آمديم  
 مست و مست ببشک و ابن لاف ما ازوست هم زدست ابن یفین که باقرار آمديم

معشوق و عشق و عاشق هر سه یکی بود یکبار چو سنائی سردار آمديم

4. *Wāq'āt-i-bābarī*.

*Potfold, Shottersmill,  
Haslemere R.S.O.*

*December 12, 1899.*

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to appeal through your pages for information as to the existence of Turki MSS. of the *Wāq'āt-i-bābarī* other than the three of which I have knowledge, i.e. (1) the British Museum fragmentary MS.; (2) the fine copy of the India Office; (3) Ilminsky's source at Kāsan.

Any information would be gratefully received.—Yours faithfully,

ANNETIE S. BEVERIDGE.

5. THE REMOVAL OF LARGE IMAGES FROM SHRINE  
TO SHRINE.

*Camp, Gorakhpur.*

*December 6, 1899.*

SIR,—In my paper entitled "*Śrāvastī*" I have argued that the inscribed statue of the Bodhisatva at Sāhet-Māhet was probably moved about fifty miles from its original site, and in a postscript I have given an example of such a removal.

When reading the late Mr. Growse's excellent "*Mathurā, a District Memoir*," I have come across two passages which prove that similar removals of images from shrine to shrine are common. These passages are as follows:—

"When the temple was built by Mani Rām, he enshrined in it a figure of Chandra Prabhu, the second of the Tirthankaras; but a few years ago Seth Raghunāth Dās brought, from a ruined temple at Gwalior, a large marble statue of Ajit Nāth, which now occupies the place of honour."<sup>1</sup> (p. 13, 3rd ed.)

"This is the most highly venerated of all the statues of Krishna. There are seven others of great repute, which also deserve mention here, as a large proportion of them came from the neighbourhood of Mathurá, viz.: Nava-níta, which is also at Náth-dwára; Mathura-náth at Kota; Dváraká-náth at Kunkarauli, brought from Kanauj; Bál Kishan at Surat, from Mahában; Bitthal-náth or Pándurang at Kota, from Banáras; Madan Mohan from Brindában; and Gokul-náth and Gokul chandramá, both from Gokul. These two last were at Jaypur till a few years ago, when, in consequence of the Mahárája's dislike to all the votaries of Vishnu, they were removed to Kámban in Bharat-pur territory. In all probability, before long they will be brought back to their original homes." (p. 130.)

The facts stated in these extracts should dispose finally of the argument in favour of the identity of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī, which rests on the discovery of the inscribed statue of the Bodhisatva.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

GRAMMAIRE ÉLÉMENTAIRE DE LA LANGUE PERSANE, SUIVIE  
D'UN PETIT TRAITÉ DE PROSODIE, DE DIALOGUES, DE  
MODÈLES DE LETTRES, ET D'UN CHOIX DE PROVERBES,  
par M. CL. HUART, Consul de France, Secrétaire-  
Interprète du Gouvernement, Professeur à l'École des  
Langues Orientales vivantes. pp. 150. (Paris: Leroux,  
1899.)

No worthier choice could have been made than that of M. Huart to fill the Chair formerly occupied in the school of living Oriental languages at Paris by that great and incomparable man M. Schefer, whose death is so deeply deplored by all students of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, but most of all by such as enjoyed his friendship, and knew by experience his unvarying kindness and readiness to help in the most material ways all who visited Paris in pursuit of those sciences which he so worthily represented.

In spite of the arduous duties of his office, M. Huart found time even at Constantinople to contribute occasional papers of exceptional interest and value to the *Journal Asiatique*, most notable amongst which are, besides his periodical accounts of the principal publications of the Constantinople presses (*Bibliographie ottomane*), the following: *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Damas* (1883); *Étude biographique sur trois musiciennes arabes* (1884); *Les quatrains de Bâbâ Tâhir 'Uryân* (1885); *Communication sur trois ouvrages bâbis* (1887); *Le livre de la Création et de l'Histoire* (1887); *Le prétendu Dêrt des Parsis de Yezd* (1888); *Notes*

d'un *manuscrit Pehlevi-musulman* [جاودان کبیر] de la Bibliothèque de S. Sophie (1889); *Review of the Kitābu'l-idrāk li-lisāni'l-atrāk* (1893); *Le dialecte persan de Stwënd* (1893); *Review of the Kurdish-Arabic Dictionary of Yūsuf Pāshā al-Khālidi* (1893); and *La prière canonique musulmane : poème didactique en langue Kurde* (1895). At the Paris Oriental Congress he also communicated two interesting papers, *Les Zindiqs en Droit musulman* and *Le Dialecte de Chîrās dans Sa'di*, in the second of which he criticizes, elucidates, and restores with great success the text of a remarkable poem in dialect ascribed to Sa'di which was published by the writer in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1895, pp. 795-802. His larger works include the monograph entitled *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*; *La Religion de Bāb, réformateur persan du xix<sup>e</sup> siècle*; and the first volume of Abū Zeyd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī's *Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, publié et traduit d'après le manuscrit de Constantinople, to the importance of which he drew attention, as has been already mentioned, in 1887.

It is, however, M. Huart's latest publication, the little *Persian Grammar* of which the full title stands at the head of this review, which at present chiefly claims our attention. Its nature is sufficiently indicated by that title. The grammatical portion occupies pp. 1-70; the Prosody, pp. 71-82; names of days, months, weights, measures, and moneys fill the next three pages; the Dialogues, pp. 86-117; the Epistolary Models, pp. 118-129; and the Proverbs, pp. 130-148; while a Table of Contents concludes the useful little volume, which, after a careful perusal, we have no hesitation in cordially recommending to students of the Persian language.

While uttering this recommendation, may we be permitted to express a hope that M. Huart, now released from the exacting obligations of the consular office, will find time to continue and extend his interesting and valuable researches into the Persian dialects, a branch of study in which he has already rendered great service to Persian philology, and in which many more laurels are to be won

than in the comparatively well-trodden paths of the classical language. And at Paris more particularly a rich field for studies of this sort is offered by certain manuscripts in the incomparable Schefer Collection, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be acquired for the Bibliothèque Nationale by the French Government, but now lies at the shop of M Porquet on the Quai Voltaire, by whose kindness the writer was permitted to inspect it on his return from Rome last October. Most notable amongst these manuscripts, alike on account of its age (A H 635), its extreme rarity, and the large number of verses in dialect (ديالوكتات) which it contains, is that marked P. 11, a very fine old copy of the *Kitabu Rahatî's-Sudûr fî tauârikhi-Kay-Khusraw wa Al-i-Saljuq*, by Najmu'd-Dîn Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alî b Sulaymân b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Husayn b. Himmat ar-Rawandî. This volume alone would unquestionably reward with a rich booty the investigation of so competent a Persian scholar as M. Huart.

E. G. B.

**MAP OF CHINA.** (Published by the China Inland Mission, London, Shanghai, Toronto, and Melbourne.)

This Map, dated in the current year, 1899, is a reproduction on an enlarged scale and with numerous additions of Dr. Bretschneider's Map of China, published in 1896. The present Map, issued by the China Inland Mission, is a beautifully got-up one, and the names of places are all printed clearly and distinctly. All who are interested in Mission work will be pleased to see the wide distribution of Missionaries, chiefly British and American, indicated by the red and blue lines under names of places, the former indicating stations of the China Inland Mission, and the blue lines indicating places at which Missionaries of other Protestant Societies are working.

On the inside of the cover we have a Table showing the Area and Population of China Proper, and a List of the Treaty Ports, with the Provinces in which they are situated

and the Population of each. This List, however, is not quite up to date, and the Population must be regarded as mere guesses or rough estimates.

In the transcription of Chinese names on this Map the short *i* or *ih* is written *z*, but this is perhaps a printer's mistake. Although it is possible, however, that *Shi* became *Shi*, how are we to explain *P'u-i* for *P'u-eh* (or *-ih*), the name of a place well-known for its tea? In the List of Treaty Ports the printer has turned the new Treaty Port Sam-shui into Sam-shin. This Map seems to treat Formosa as still a part of China in so far as political divisions and names of places are concerned.

T. W.

NOTES AND COMMENTARIES ON CHINESE CRIMINAL LAW. By ERNIST ALABASTER, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; and Christ's College, Cambridge, Advanced Student; Chinese Customs Service (Luzac & Co., 1899.)

The nature of the contents of this book will be understood from the full title, which is—"Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law and cognate topics, with special relation to ruling cases, together with a brief Excursus on the Law of Property chiefly founded on the writings of the late Sir Chaloner Alabaster, K.C.M.G., etc., sometime H.B.M. Consul-General in China."

The Preface, which will be found a valuable introduction to the work, gives its history and a brief summary of its contents. We have next a Table of the principal decided cases cited in the book, and this is followed by an Introduction which gives, along with other matter, a clear account of the *Ta-ch'ing-lu-li*, or Penal Code of the present dynasty. It explains the difference between the *lu* and the *li*, the way in which new laws are made and new offences brought under existing laws.

Part I has to do with the Administration of Justice, Practice and Procedure. In the fourth chapter of this Part

the author treats of Prevention of Crime, the system of the Chinese Courts, Punishment, Commutation and Mitigation, and the Position and liabilities of officials and their employées.

Part II is devoted to the very important and difficult subject of Relationship, including "Artificial Relationships."

In Part III under the heading "Specific Offences," we find the writer treats of offences against the Person, against Property, against the Peace, against Justice, against Religion, against Commerce, and of miscellaneous offences against Public Morality and Health.

After this we have an Excursus which gives Notes and Decisions on Land tenure, on the Disposition of property *mortis causa*, Trusts, and Guardianship of Infants.

This is followed by three Appendices, on the Evolution of Law of Marriage, Analogy between the Chinese and other systems, and a List of works for study. There are also an Index and a List of Errata and Addenda.

In a short notice like this it is quite impossible to do justice to the great merits of this book. Its contents, whether the work of Sir Chaloner Alabaster or his nephew, are all derived from authoritative texts. Sir Chaloner was a good Chinese scholar; Mr. E. Alabaster is so also apparently, and, moreover, a student of Law; and Dr. Giles, the distinguished Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, has evidently given assistance in the composition of the treatise. Thus the Government official or private student consulting the work can quote its teachings with much confidence. From a study of this very useful and interesting work, the first of its kind, we learn the principles which underlie Chinese Law and its administration and the practical development of these principles. We also see some of the serious defects of the Chinese system judged by our European standards. But if the practice of the native Courts had agreed with the legal enactments made for their guidance, matters in China would not be in the sad condition in which they have been for some time.

It is an invidious task to point out blemishes in this treatise, which has evidently been composed with great care

and study and a constant aim at accuracy. But one small point may be noted as susceptible of improvement. The author uses the word 'Tartar' to denote both Manchu and Mongol, and it would be better to substitute 'Manchu' where the reference is to the Manchu people or laws. There are also one or two slips which have escaped the notice of the reviser. Thus, on p. xli of the Introduction we find the word 'T'ang' instead of 'Hun.' Instead of the 'Indians' of Huinan (p.433) we should probably have 'aborigines.'

T. W.

ALT INDIEN, VON A. HILLEBRANDT. 8vo. (Breslau, 1897.)

Under the title *Alt Indien*, Alfred Hillebrandt has republished a number of essays dealing with Indian subjects, contributed by him at various times during the last decade to different periodicals.

As a resumé of the latest developments of Indian learning in its various departments, these sketches have a distinct value. A century of research has not fully solved all the problems connected with Brahmanism, Buddhism, and kindred phenomena; and, though our fundamental conceptions of these may remain, on the whole, unchanged, they stand in need of continual modification, as theories based on wider knowledge replace those of an earlier day. The author's own researches in Vedic mythology make his remarks on the problems connected with the Rigveda particularly instructive. He touches on the habitat of the Vedic Hindus and on the more recent theories concerning the date of the hymns. He passes in review the various factors which have gone to the creation of the Vedic Pantheon, and enumerates the possible influences which have to be reckoned with in dealing with the problems presented by the hymns. Not the least interesting part is his criticism of the recent works, bearing on the Veda, of Professors Max Müller and Oldenberg. Between the anthropological and etymological schools of interpretation, Herr Hillebrandt holds the balance even. That he has no

great sympathy with either, save up to a certain point, he has shown in the preface to the second volume of his *Vedische Mythologie*, published last year.

In the chapter on *Brahmanism*, the author describes some of the religious rites and domestic customs of the Hindus, pointing out their parallels in other countries. He combats the view that the hold of this system on the Indian peoples is due to priestly tyranny and greed of gain. Brahmanism, as he shows, imposes no harsh creed on its votaries. It merely stamps its seal on existing religious rites and customs, and in this capacity for assimilation lies the explanation of its great and abiding influence.

The chapters on *Buddhism*, on King Asoka, and on the Drama, though containing little that is original, are interestingly written and give the latest information available.

The opening article, *Das heutige Indien*, is one of the most interesting in the book. It is an eminently fair criticism by a foreigner of British rule in India. For his materials the author has gone, as he tells us, to the works of Hunter, Lyall, and Crooke; and his object in writing was to combat the mistaken ideas about India prevalent among his countrymen. To the intelligent student of Indian history, there can scarcely be a more interesting problem than that of the future of India. Most of us have lost the cheerful faith of our fathers in the potency of English rule and English education to confer unbounded blessings on an alien people, professing an alien religion and governed by alien habits of thought and custom. The Aryan blood bond cannot bridge the gulf which three or four thousand years of subjection to different influences of climate, habitat, and culture have produced between the Hindu and the Saxon. It is with the full appreciation of this truth that Herr Hillebrandt sketches the difficulties which have beset the path of the British Government in India. His pages show clearly with what invincible prejudice any attempt at altering native customs has had to contend, and how even the prevention of such practices as widow-burning and

which marriage has failed to effect the remedy intended. It is the intelligent student of India's past who can best judge of the difficulty of engrafting on an ancient civilization such as hers one so different in nature and aims as that of Western Europe, and we may be grateful to Herr Hillebrandt for what he has said on the subject. As he points out, India is in a transition state. What the final outcome may be it is difficult to foresee. One can only point, as does the author, to the prevailing influences and more important tendencies, and draw from them conclusions which may be useful towards determining her future.

C. M. DUFF.

THE CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEÏ, OR THE HEBREW BIBLE HISTORICAL. Translated for the first time from an unique MS of the Bodleian Library, by M. GASTER, Ph.D. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, IV) 8vo; pp. 341, five facsimiles. (London, 1899.)

The work under consideration has a literary importance far above that which it claims as a mere compilation of stories and legends. The very fact that the opinions of scholars on its composition, country, and date differ so widely, shows the widespread interest it has aroused. As there is only one single MS. of the original, the publication of this in its present form was extremely desirable, and students interested in apocryphical and agādic literature as well as folklore in general will be indebted to Dr. Gaster for having prepared the volume.

The translation is preceded by a lengthy introduction, in which the enormous difficulties involved in the text are tackled. A definition of the work is by no means an easy matter. In spite of the title "Chronicles" which it bears, it is not a historical work, the bulk of it being of legendary character. Neither is it a Midrāsh, because it is not a homiletic commentary on the Old Testament or any part of it, the narration flowing in a continuous stream from the creation of the world down to the destruction of the



second Temple, and even including some episodes of mediæval history. The present volume, however, ends with the history of the Maccabees.

The composition of the book gives the reader hard problems to solve. Compiled by a certain Elāzar b. Ashēr hal Lēvi in the year 1325, it includes not only nearly the whole text of the Josippon, but chiefly the records made by a certain Jerahmeël b. Solomon, who was also acquainted with Josippon. The preponderance of the portion which goes under the name of Jerahmeël induced Dr. Gaster to name the whole book after him, although "Hebrew Bible Historiale" as the chief title would perhaps have been more appropriate.

In the course of his investigations Dr. Gaster calls attention to a Latin work of "Antiquities" attributed to Philo, but until recently almost entirely ignored. Strangely enough, the book proved upon close examination to be identical with the narrations of Jerahmeël. Now one would think that this ingenious discovery ought to be of great help in proving the identity and date of Jerahmeël, but as a matter of fact it makes things more complicated. Dr. Gaster is no doubt correct in his criticism of these "Antiquities," which he shows to be a Latin translation from a Greek version of an originally Hebrew text, the author of which lived in Palestine very near the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, Jerahmeël himself quotes (p. 165) "Philo, the friend of Joseph, the son of Gorion (author of the Josippon)." Now, although one cannot but observe—and Dr. Gaster has, of course, seen it too—that 'Jerahmeël' is but the Hebrew of 'Philo,' the Jerahmeël of our book cannot be identical with the Hebrew original of this Philo. In fact, Dr. Gaster, with all his clever and learned arguments, could hardly do more than place the material and all details before the reader, and leave it to him to adopt one of the many opinions already in existence on the matter. The late Dr. Perles gives the thirteenth century as Jerahmeël's date and Germany as his country. Dr. Neubauer, in a recent article (J.Q.R., 1899, p. 367),

decides for Italy and the eleventh century ; whilst Dr. Gaster with good reason considers him to have been a Spaniard and to have lived at an earlier date. But I believe he places too much reliance in the pure Hebrew style of the book, because this is an argument for the skill of the author rather than the age in which he lived.

Dr. Gaster has not confined his investigations to the material offered by the work, but refers to the whole class of writings of similar character both in Hebrew and other languages. The knowledge he displays of the Jewish as well as non-Jewish literature on the subject is so extensive that it is evident that there are few, if any, other scholars who would have grappled with the work so successfully.

In the "Chronicles" themselves many details invite comparison with the legendary literature of the Mohammedans. From small beginnings, which can be traced back to the Qorān and some of Mohammed's contemporaries, an enormous literature of Biblical legends developed. A small but carefully selected instalment of the same was made accessible to European readers in Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (1845), compiled from various Arabic sources. Al-Tha'ālibī's large work *Kitāb al-arāis* is very comprehensive, though little attention has been paid to it. Several portions of Firdausi's epos "Jusuf and Suleicha" have been published in German translation by Baron Schechta-Waschrd in the Proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists held in Vienna in 1888 (Semitic Section, p. 48 sqq.).

Most akin to Jerahmeel as to matter and form is Mirkhond's *Rawdhat-as-Safu*, written in Persian, of which the late Professor E. Rehatschek gave an English translation (ed. F. F. Arbuthnot, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. i). The Mohammedan literature on sacred legends is, if one may so express it, second-hand. Its Jewish archetype had assumed imposing dimensions already, when this was only at its commencement. Jerahmeel's "Chronicles" give us, therefore, an excellent clue to the way in which this Mohammedan literature was evolved.

They not only draw upon the Apocrypha, the Talmud and the various Midrāshim, but also on the "Chapters of Eliezer" and a host of other works. A closer investigation of the Mohammedan branch of this literature is therefore sure to yield most interesting results. There are legendary elements even in the Qorān the origin of which it is very difficult to trace. To mention only one instance, the journey of Moses with "his servant" told in Sūra xvi (v. 59 sqq.) has hitherto defied all attempts to discover its origin. In Moslim tradition (Al Bokhāri, ed. Krehl, iii, p. 276) this servant is *Joshua b. Nūn*, whilst the companion whom they meet and who advises them during their journey is Al-Khidhr (the prophet Elijah).

The form in which Jerahmeel gives the legend differs considerably. It relates the meeting of R. *Joshua b. Levi*, a famous Talmudical authority, with the prophet Elijah, who journeys with them through paradise and hell. Now whilst the Rabbinic legend is focussed round the person of a Rabbi (who from a collector of legendary tradition became their hero), the Moslim counterpart of the same tale clung to the Biblical Joshua, "the servant of Moses," who thus becomes the chief person concerned in the legend. It must be mentioned, however, that there are great discrepancies in the single incidents of the journey in both versions.

It goes without saying that the Jews in Arabic-speaking countries have also developed a large legendary literature in Arabic. Much of this exists in print, and forms the chief sacred reading in the communities of the East and Maghreh. Although in the main borrowed and translated from Rabbinic writings, the translators allowed their own imagination free vent. There exists, e.g., an Arabic version of Hāmān's letter which is not identical with that reproduced by Jerahmeel. This Arabic letter, which is said to have been translated from a Syriac original, has long existed in print (see "Semitic Studies," in memory of the Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, p. 249 sqq.). For 'Syriac' we have evidently to place 'Rabbinic Aramaic,' but the source whence it is borrowed is unknown.

Dr. Gaster's introduction is followed by a synopsis of the contents of the "Chronicles," in which he gives much useful information as to the sources from which the compilers drew their material. It cannot but be commended that, instead of publishing the original text, he has first of all given his attention to the translation. The chief importance of works like Jerahmeel lies in the material they offer, while they hardly claim to be considered from a linguistic point of view. The purity of Jerahmeel's style is, of course, an additional attraction, but we can barely discriminate whether and how far the hand of the last compiler, Elazar, has helped to purify and polish the diction. The book certainly deserves to be well received by all interested in Bible stories.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1899 )

### I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*November* 14, 1899.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss Amy Yule,  
Mr. Jwala Prasad,  
Mr. Henry de R Walker,  
Mr. Ramchandra Misra,  
Mr. James Scorgie Meston,  
Mr. F Legge,  
Mr. J. D. Anderson,  
Mr. L. R. M. Maxwell,  
Mr. H. K. Basu, and  
Mr. Lala Sitaram,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mrs. Rhys Davids read a paper on “The Theory of Sense-Perception in the third century B.C. in India compared with that in Greece.”

A short discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall and Dr. Gaster took part.

*December* 12, 1899.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Babu Sitaram and  
Mr. Boris Brandhaendler

had been elected members of the Society.

Colonel R. C. Temple read a paper on "Some Words not to be found in Yule's Anglo-Indian Glossary," of which the following is an abstract.

- . Colonel Temple said that he came across these words while editing an interesting log of a voyage round the coast of India in 1746. It was the year in which the French fleet under Labourdonnais took Madras, a circumstance which prevented the ship in question from putting in there. The log is also valuable, as it gives an account of the cyclone which destroyed Labourdonnais' fleet while lying in Madras Roads. Among the words that Colonel Temple was able to illustrate were 'herba' for tussur silk, the old landmark, 'the black pagoda,' near the famous temple of Juggernaut in Orissa (Jagannath), 'Kettle Bottom' as a sailor's name for more than one hill on the Indian coasts.

Among words for which additional illustrations were given were 'jute,' which was supposed to have been first heard in 1795, but in the log it was used as early as 1746. The many puzzling senses in which 'monsoon' was used were also explained. The puzzling word 'chaya,' which occurs in many different forms, was shown to be a name for Indian madder, a red dye. The sense of 'batta' or 'batty' as the difference in exchange was shown to be important. 'Soace,' as a form of 'soosy,' a cloth of mixed cotton and silk, drew from Mr Sewell its use by the Portuguese as early as 1550, under the form 'soajes.' The new word, so far as glossaries are concerned, 'gundy-gundy,' was explained to mean baggage. Its possible history may show it to come from the Arabic 'jund,' or from some Dravidian coast-word like 'gondi,' meaning a bag for covering luggage. Colonel Temple also illustrated a number of place-names which have been much corrupted, and located in their correct positions such queer names as Carera, Chitricory, Summerwarren, Due Point, Guard-anogre (Godavery). He gave the old name Carepare or Caregare for Ganjam; many interesting corruptions of Juggernaut, including 'Jno Gernaet' (1669); and a list of quotations showing how 'Mesopotamia' rose out of

**Masulipatam.** Lastly, he showed how 'Golgotha' had been made to stand for Calcutta, and how old names very like each other in form had stood for Calcutta and for Calcuta, a place once of some trading importance lower down the Hughli. The following is a list of the words illustrated:—

*Words not to be found in Yuk.*

- |                    |                            |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Bonad.          | 13. Narsipore              |
| 2. Herba.          | 14. Pundy.                 |
| 3. Armegon.        | 15. Ramnepatam             |
| 4. Barrebulle.     | 16. Summerwarren           |
| 5. Bimlepatam      | 17. Vizagupatam            |
| 6. Black Pagoda.   | 18. Blackwood's Harbour.   |
| 7. Calpee.         | 19. Due Point.             |
| 8. Carera.         | 20. Jute (addl infn.).     |
| 9. Chitricory.     | 21. Monsoon (addl. infn.). |
| 10. Gangam.        | 22. Shaii, Chae.           |
| 11. Ingeram.       | 23. Gundy-gundy.           |
| 12. Kettle Bottom. |                            |

*Additional Illustrations to the Words.*

- |              |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 24. Batty.   | 28. Guard-an-ogro |
| 25. Soacie.  | 29. Jakernot.     |
| 26. Calcute. | 30. Masulipatam.  |
| 27. Chiling. |                   |

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Irvine, Mr. Sewell, Sir Henry Norman, Mr. Ashburner, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Frazer, and Dr. Gaster took part.

## II. OBITUARY NOTICE.

*The Rev. John Chalmers, M A , LL.D*

The news of the death of the Rev. Dr Chalmers, transmitted by telegraph from Korea, gave us all a sad surprise. Dr. Chalmers was a native of Aberdeenshire, and was born in 1825. He was a graduate of the Aberdeen University, and was a student at the Oleshunt Theological College. In

1859 he joined the London Missionary Society, and was sent to Hongkong, where he joined the late Dr. Legge in the management of the Mission Printing Press. In the Autumn of 1859 he was transferred to Canton, where he worked as a missionary until 1879. His Alma Mater had in the meantime, in 1878, conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In 1897 Dr. Chalmers experienced the great sorrow of his life, the loss of his wife, who had shared all his toils and troubles for forty-five years. Soon after the occurrence of this sad event he paid a visit to this country, and on his way back to the Far East, via Canada, was shipwrecked last September in the "Scotsman." He reached China, however, and went to visit his eldest son, who fills an important post in the Korean Customs Service, and it was in this son's residence at Chemulpo that he died on the 22nd November.

Dr. Chalmers' contributions to Chinese learning were numerous and valuable, but one cannot do more here than briefly give the names of a few. In 1868 he published a translation of the Tao-tê-Ching with the title "Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of 'the old Philosopher' Lao-Tsze." He compiled a very useful English-Cantonese Dictionary, which last year had reached a sixth edition. He was also the author of a small work entitled "The Origin of the Chinese," which is a learned and interesting work, but does not settle for ever the question of the origin of the Chinese. Another learned work by Dr. Chalmers is entitled "An Account of the Structure of Chinese Characters under 300 Primary Forms after the Shwoh-wan, 100 A.D., and Phonetic Shwoh-wan, 1833." This book, which was printed at Aberdeen in 1882, would probably become better known and more studied if a new edition were produced with the Chinese characters printed clearly and correctly. Among the Chinese books which Dr. Chalmers produced the most important is his "Concise Kanghi," which also deserves to be better known. He also contributed to the *China Review* articles on Chinese etymology and phonetics, on Taoism, Han-wên-kung, and other Chinese subjects.



In Hongkong and Canton, Dr. Chalmers was much respected and beloved as a zealous, devoted, and wide-hearted missionary, and as a kind and genial friend and neighbour. His name will be long remembered there by English and Chinese, and his teaching and example will have a lasting influence. His contributions to our knowledge of the Chinese language, philosophy, religion, and literature, will give him an enduring place among the serious students of those departments of learning.

T W.

## III. NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are pleased to hear that Professor A. A. Macdonell has been unanimously elected to the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford.

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WE extract the following from the *Cambridge University Reporter* for 5th December, 1899 :—

The Vice-Chancellor publishes to the University the following Report which he has received from C. Bendall, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, to whom a grant was made from the Worts Travelling Scholars Fund (Grace, 9th June, 1898) :—

OUTLINE-REPORT ON A TOUR IN NORTHERN INDIA  
IN THE WINTER 1898-9.

DEAR MR VICE-CHANCELLOR,—In accordance with the conditions of the grant above cited I beg leave to subjoin an outline of the tour which I have recently completed, for the information of Members of the Senate, in the hope of being able to publish, as in connection with my similar tour in 1884-5, a more detailed account later on.

I landed at Bombay on 23rd November 1898, and commenced search for MSS. by conferring with Bhagran Dās of Surat.

I next visited, chiefly for architectural study, Ahmadabad and Mount Abu. At Jeypore the Digambara Jain pandit, Cimanlāl, not only gave me a full list of his valuable manuscript library, from which copies can be made, but also presented me with several MSS. I further succeeded in obtaining some Digambara MSS. through my old friends amongst the Brahmans of the city. From Jeypore I proceeded to Delhi, whence I travelled with short stays at Agra and Allahabad to Kāthmāṇḍu, Nepal, which formed the chief goal of my journey.

Besides the acquisition of MSS. a second main object in my visit was the fuller exploration of the library of H.E. the Mahārāja, of which I previously gave an unavoidably brief account.

Among several very interesting literary discoveries in this remarkable collection, I may here select two as of special interest: (1) fragments of a Pali canonical work written in a form of the

Gupta character; (2) of several Buddhist-Sanskrit works written in or about the fifth century A.D. The writing shows a striking resemblance to some of the early fragments of Indian origin recently found in Central Asia. Many of these leaves I photographed at the time, and I am glad to be now able to add that the most interesting of them have recently been sent to the India Office Library for my use, and for publication so far as resources may allow. I am greatly indebted to the Nepalese Durbar for this mark of confidence and appreciation, and to the Government of India for their intervention in the matter.

Continuing also my work on the chronology of Nepal I noted all dates of MSS. giving names of kings in their colophons, which I now propose to publish in supplement to the list of the kings of Nepal, given in my longer Report,<sup>1</sup> fourteen years ago.

As to epigraphic work, I discovered and copied some six inscriptions of the early period (5th—9th cent. A.D.), and I have either copied or noted a considerable number more of the succeeding centuries.

It gives me special pleasure to testify my obligations to the then Acting Prime Minister of Nepal, Dob Shamsher Jang Bahādur Rāna, who showed me not only personal kindness in many ways, but special practical sympathy in two respects: (1) in borrowing rare MSS. from private owners for my perusal; (2) by presenting me with two valuable MSS., one of which I propose with his approval to make over to the University Library, while the other, a unique work of considerable importance for the history of Buddhism, I intend shortly to edit. His Excellency further expressed to me his wish that the relations between the State Library of Nepal and libraries like our own in Europe could be drawn closer by mutually making known desiderata.

The second main division of my original programme was to make archæological enquiries in the territory of H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

I accordingly proceeded to Hyderabad by the East Coast route, making on the way some search for inscriptions alleged to exist at several points, especially near Vizagapatam, as to which I may publish later further details.

In and near Hyderabad I was unable, owing to the somewhat advanced date of my arrival (Feb. 17th), to do much outdoor work; but I made several enquiries, which may hereafter prove valuable. My accomplished host, Shams-ul-Ulama Syed

<sup>1</sup> "A Journey of . . . Research in Nepal and N. India." (University Press, 1896.)

'Ali Bilgrāmi, Public Works Secretary to the Nizam, presented me with several Sanskrit MSS. for the University Library. Proceeding to Aurungabad in the same State, I visited, for the study of archæology, the cave-temples and monasteries of Aurungabad and Ellora. I examined carefully the chief group of caves near the first-named place, which are now somewhat neglected. As a result of my visit an important cave (No 14), previously choked with rubbish, has now been cleared under the orders of my friend Syed 'Ali Bilgrāmi.

In Aurungabad I also found and partly examined two noteworthy libraries of Sanskrit MSS, hitherto unknown to European scholars.

After further study of cavo-architecture at Bhaja and Karli I returned to Bombay. I left India on 3rd April, 1899.

I propose shortly to submit to the University Librarian a statement of the MSS obtained and available at once or ultimately for acquisition by the Library.

I have also made a large number of photographs, which I am preparing for exhibition and for publication, according as opportunity may be afforded to me.

I remain, dear Mr Vice-Chancellor,

Yours faithfully,

November, 1899

CECIL BENDALL.

## PHILOLOGY NOTES, 1899.

### I. ASIA. (1) *India*

I. Mr. George Grierson, of H M Indian Civil Service, now on special duty in India for the purpose of compiling a full and complete list of the Languages of that country, has in 1899 published in London (Luzac & Co.) and in Calcutta (Thacker, Spink, & Co.) an important work, "Essays on Kashmīri Grammar," dedicated to the memory of our dear and lamented friend Dr. Georg Bühler of Vienna. These Essays have originally appeared in the pages of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1896-1899. The Language is of interest to Comparative Philologists, as, to use the words of Mr. Grierson, "no Indo-Aryan Language in her grammatical construction is so naked and

unashamed. A study of Kashmiri, therefore, is a necessary preliminary to any inquiry, which deals comparatively with the mutual relations of the modern Aryan Vernaculars." The Language had been previously represented by a useful little grammar from the pen of Mr Wade, which is intended for those who seek to acquire a sufficient colloquial knowledge. Mr. Grierson's object is different, and is intended for linguistic scholars. As in other languages in North India, there are two Dialects of Kashmiri, the one used by the Hindu, the other by the Mahometan, who introduces Arabic and Persian words, which the Hindu avoids. This book illustrates the Dialect of the Hindu only, which represents a purer form of the original Kashmiri, in which all the old literature of the country is found. Two forms of Written Character prevail: the Arabic Character, modified by Persian usage, employed by the Mahometans, and the Sárada and Deva-Nágari Character by the Hindu. The Sárada is the true Alphabet of the Language, but Mr. Grierson for practical reasons has adopted the Deva-Nágari. To the 'Phonology' or 'Sound-Lore' a very large space in these Essays is consecrated, as it forms the groundwork of a rather complicated Grammar once that is mastered, the 'Word-Lore,' and 'Sentence-Lore,' known to us as the Accidence and Syntax, are comparatively easy.

II. A letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated October 18, 1899, has brought to the Royal Asiatic Society a pamphlet of a few pages entitled a "Lushai Primer," called also "Mizo Zir Tir Bu." There is not a word of English in the Pamphlet, but it is printed at the Government Press, Shillong, and "by Authority."

III. By a singular coincidence, on the 11th November, 1899, I received from an entire stranger, Mr. Lorraine, a Missionary to the Lushai, a copy of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language, prepared by himself and his colleague, Mr. Savidge. This is clearly a full and carefully prepared volume of 350 pages in the English

language, and the Lushai words in Roman character. This is also published at Shillong and at the Government Press, in the year 1898. The authors have returned from England, to which they paid a short visit, to the land of the Lushai.

IV. Our venerated Honorary Member has in the days of his old age put forth a volume, which no one but himself could have compiled, "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," by F. Max Muller. The aim and scope of this work are best indicated in the author's own words as "a description of some of the salient points of each of the six recognized systems of Indian Philosophy." As he points out, the almost entire absence of any chronological data makes a historical treatment of the subject impossible. The book gives a luminous exposition of the conditions, amid which Indian Philosophy had its rise, and shows how it owes to these so many of its unique characteristics. The author then traces the genesis of philosophical ideas in the Veda—the gradual development of those conceptions destined to play so great a part in the later philosophical systems of the country. Beginning with the system of the Vedānta, Professor Max Muller next sketches the main doctrines of each philosophical system in turn. Throughout he seeks to define as clearly as possible the various terms used and to throw light on the obscurer points of Indian Philosophy generally, though readily admitting the difficulties besetting the European interpreter in this respect. In the evolution of Indian Philosophy so many links are missing, that we must give up the idea of ever being able to reconstruct it in its original form, or trace back through all its gradations the development of a single, and that perhaps the simplest, Philosophical idea. Such, broadly speaking, is the conclusion of the author himself, though it in no way weakens his conviction, that here and there careful study may lead to the solution of problems hitherto regarded as insoluble. The book is distinguished by that lucidity of style and power of graphic representation so characteristic of all the author's writings.

W. Dr. M. A. Stein, the distinguished Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, has forwarded to me a pamphlet of seven pages entitled "The Castle of Lohára," a reprint from the *Indian Antiquary* of September, 1897. Its interest is rather antiquarian, as it is alluded to in the *Rajatarāngini* by Kalhána, an annotated translation of which by Dr. Stein is now passing through the Press. A brief notice is sufficient, as copies of the *Indian Antiquary* are available in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society

VI. "The Great Indian Epics." This little book gives within the compass of some 250 pages a concise and graphic account of the subject-matter of the *Ramáyana* and *Mahábhárata*. A sketch like this should appeal readily to that large class of people, who, with no knowledge of Sanskrit, yet wish to have some idea of the old literature enshrined in it. The scholar is but too prone to ignore the necessity of presenting these subjects in a popular and attractive form, and to look a little disdainfully on such 'compilations' as beneath his notice. Yet, in the present day, when a knowledge of the history and literature of India has become indispensable to the number of Englishmen connected directly or indirectly with that country, it is the writer, who can popularize his subject, rather than the scholar, who will be most sought after for information on these matters. The author, Mr. John Campbell Oman, Principal of Khalsa College, Amritsar, writes with an appreciation of the Indian epics and a sympathy with Indian ideas only to be found among those who, like himself, are personally familiar with Indians, their own experience of native life enabling them to understand allusions and views, which to the stranger would appear unintelligible or grotesque. The author wisely confines himself to a simple narrative of the plot and episodes of the respective epics, accompanied by brief introductory remarks elucidating these. The theories held by various scholars regarding the origin and history of the epics are touched upon, but there is no attempt to discuss them, such being outside the scope of a work like the present.

(2) *Asia except India.*

VII. "Arabic Self-taught," by C. A. Thimm, F.R.G.S. This book has been received from the Editor for 'review.' The Language is one of supreme importance, and spoken either as the sole Vernacular or used as the literary Language of Millions. It has also merits of its own, and deserves more extensive study. I insert the description of the work supplied by the Editor: it is a mere booklet of 92 pages, and the price is 2s.

The above has been carefully revised by Professor G. Hagopian, who has made various emendations and improvements in it. The work is an elementary and practical treatise on the language, the Arabic characters being used, with a concise Grammar and an English-Arabic Dictionary, together with a correct English phonetic pronunciation of every word and phrase, the transliteration being arranged in accordance with the scheme adopted at the last Congress of Orientalists. It is a most useful adjunct to the "Egyptian Self-taught," which only treats of the language *as spoken in Egypt*, for the benefit of Travellers and others. Students, therefore, will find the "Arabic Self-taught" sufficient to enable them to obtain an accurate grammatical and conversational knowledge of Arabic

VIII. Mr. D. G. Hogarth recently undertook the very interesting experiment of inviting a number of scholars, each of them engaged in some special branch of archaeology, to contribute essays to a work, the purpose of which was to indicate to what extent recent archaeological research had affected our conceptions of Biblical and Classical literature. This book has now been published under the title "Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane," and, while Mr. Hogarth appears both as a contributor and as general Editor, the names of Professor Driver, Professor Ernest Gardner, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Haverfield, and Mr. A. C. Headlam, also appear on the title-page. The largest single contribution to the volume is that of Professor Driver, to whom was



entrusted the first part of the book, dealing with "Biblical Authority," while by no means the least interesting portion of the volume is the short chapter contributed by Mr. Hogarth, on "Prehistoric Greece." In a work of this nature, which embraces the whole field of ancient archaeology, to attempt an exhaustive treatment would naturally be quite impossible; and the contributors have wisely confined themselves to giving a sketch of the main results achieved in their various departments of study. The views expressed in the volume have not been arrived at by any common understanding, and each writer is responsible for those put forward in his own contribution; but, within its limits, the volume has successfully achieved a rapid survey of the archaeological field, and will prove a welcome guide to the general reader, who, without special archaeological knowledge, is interested in the history of ancient civilization.

IX. "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University. Few scholars have done more to elucidate the many difficult problems connected with the Zoroastrian religion and the history and date of its Founder than Professor Jackson, who has now summed up in the admirable book mentioned above the results of his long and careful studies. Trained in the German School, he has succeeded in combining German diligence and accuracy with an almost French lucidity and conciseness of exposition; and inspired by the firm conviction of his teacher Geldner as to the historical reality of the Prophet of Ancient Persia, he has made the fullest and yet most prudent use of the 'traditional school,' to whom, especially to West and Darmesteter, we are so deeply indebted for a knowledge of the Pahlavi literature. Some of Professor Jackson's results have already appeared in various articles not easily accessible to the public; amongst these his essays "On the Date of Zoroaster" (*J.A.O.S.*, 1896), "The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life" (*Biblical World*, 1896), and "Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God" (*Monist*, 1899) deserve mention. In his larger book on Zoroaster we

and for the first time a clear, full, and convincing presentation of a personality, so surrounded with fable and myth, that many persons have regarded him as wholly legendary. Professor Jackson has the great merits of being perfectly definite in his views, of presenting clearly and fairly the often conflicting evidences, of summing up with judicial impartiality, and of using all available sources. He endeavours to show (and in our opinion with success), (1) that Zoroaster was a real historical person; (2) that he flourished from B.C. 660 to B.C. 583; (3) that he was a native of N.W. Persia (*Ādharbayjān*), but that his chief successes in proselytizing were in the North-East (Bactria).

X. In the Journal of our Society for 1895, I noticed at considerable length Professor Maspero's noble and epoch-making work "The Dawn of Civilization," edited by Professor Sayce, and the work of translation excellently done by an accomplished lady, Mrs. Edmund McClure. The volume was a large quarto, with Map and 470 Illustrations. It contained the result of the most recent researches in Egypt and Chaldea.

Since that date a second volume, equal in size, entitled "The Struggle of the Nations," has been compiled by the Professor, and edited and translated by the same hands. It relates to Egypt, Syria, and Assyria.

And now on December 2nd, 1899, the third volume is announced in *The Times*: "The Passing of the Empires," 850 B.C. to 330 B.C. This monumental work is, and must remain for some time to come, the most comprehensive and trustworthy account of the Ancient Eastern World, being compiled by the greatest living French Scholar in that particular branch, Professor Maspero, and edited in its English form by the greatest living English authority, Professor Sayce. I lay it upon myself to go carefully through vols. ii and iii, as I have already done for vol. i, but at the age of 79 promises are made, which cannot be kept. I only hope to contribute to our Journal the results of my perusal; for this reason I have inserted this brief notice of the existence of these important volumes.

## II. AFRICA.

**XI. Grammar and Dictionary of the Bobangi Language, Upper Congo, West Central Africa; compiled by John Whitehead, Baptist Missionary, 1899.**

The people, who speak this form of speech, are found along the South bank of the great River Congo, below the junction of the Kasai with the Congo, also along the banks of the Mobango River for two or three days by steamer, and in a certain other less well-known Region. It is also used by stranger tribes over a larger area, as a commonly understood means of communication. It is the most important Vernacular from Stanley Pool to beyond Bangála up-stream, and is freely used by the Authorities and Traders. Whatever literature exists, imported by Europeans, is in that Language. Attempt was made in 1888 to publish a handbook, and later on a Vocabulary and Grammatical Note; but the time had arrived for a more solid production, and this is now under our notice in the shape of a volume of 500 pages carefully prepared by the Author. A translation of St. Matthew's Gospel has also appeared.

## III. OCEANIA.

**XII. The talents and the linguistic knowledge of Mr. Sydney Herbert Ray have been notified during the last year. Professor Haddon, of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, made a second expedition to Torres Straits, and was accompanied by Mr. Ray, who was thus able to strengthen his knowledge of the Languages of that Region. His knowledge of Melanesian and Papuan Languages is quite unique. The tour extended as far as Sárawak, and a considerable amount of material has been collected. Mr. Ray has already contributed to Periodicals, and learned Societies, no less than twenty-four articles, and we may anticipate a considerable number in addition. It is a pity that he is not placed in a position more favourable for his peculiar studies and capabilities than that of Master in a London Board School. More light is required in that dark corner of the globe, Oceania.**

*December, 1899.*

**R. N. CURR.**



# Royal Asiatic Society.

## GOLD MEDAL FUND.

In 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £298 13s. 6d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £68 2s. 7d., leaving a balance of £230 10s. 11d., of which sum £215 6s. 0d. was expended in the purchase of Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a small balance in hand of £15 4s. 11d. The amount invested forms the nucleus of an Endowment Fund; but as it is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year, the annual income required will be about £8. To produce this, a sum of £300 will be needed, that is to say, about £100 in excess of the capital already raised.

It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the Summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

Contributions, which will be acknowledged in the Society's Journal, will be received by the Secretary, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Medal Fund.

**A. N. WOLLASTON,**

*Chairman of Committee.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.  
January, 1900.

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IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

*Presented by the Colombo Museum Library.*

Catalogue of the Museum Library, Supplement No. 2.  
8vo. Colombo, 1899.

*Presented by the India Office.*

Foster (W.). Letters received by the East India Company  
from their servants in the East. Vols. ii and iii.  
8vo. London, 1899.

Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava Translation with  
Notes. 8vo. Rangoon, 1899.

Heinig (R. L.). Glossary of the Botanic Terms used in  
describing Flowering Plants. 8vo. Calcutta, 1899.

Seton-Karr (W. S.). Grant of Rothiemurchus. A Memoir  
of the Services of Sir John Peter Grant.  
8vo. London, 1899.

British Empire Series. Vol. i: India, Ceylon, Straits  
Settlements, British North Borneo, and Hongkong.  
8vo. London, 1899.

*Presented by the Hakluyt Society.*

Roe (Sir Thomas). Embassy to the Court of the Great  
Mogul, 1615-1619. Edited from contemporary records  
by W. Foster. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1899.

*Presented by the Quarter-Master General, Intelligence Branch,  
India.*

Dictionary of the Pathan Tribes. 22mo Calcutta, 1899.

*Presented by the Baptist Missionary Society*

Whitehead (Rev. J.). Grammar and Dictionary of the  
Bobangi Language of the Upper Congo.  
8vo. London, 1899.

*Presented by Dr. Cust.*

Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de  
France. Série II, tome iii. Roy. 8vo. Paris, 1890.

*Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.*

Margoliouth (G.). Descriptive List of Syriac and  
Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since  
1873. 8vo. London, 1899.

*Presented by the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences.*

Radloff (W.). Die alt-türkischen Inschriften der Mongolei.  
2<sup>o</sup> Folge. Roy. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1899.

——— Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turk Dialecte.  
Bd. ii, Lief. 5. Roy. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1899.

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Bulletin de l'Académie. Série v, tome viii, No. 5;  
tome ix, Nos. 1-5; tome x, Nos. 1-4.

Westberg (F.). Ibrāhīm's-Ibn-Jakūb's Reisebericht über  
die Slawenlande aus dem Jahre 965

St. Petersburg, 1898.

*Presented by H.R.H. Prince Vajrañāna*

Samantā Pāsādikā on the Culla Vagga in Siamese  
character.

*Presented by the German Oriental Society.*

Meinhof (C.). Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantu-  
sprachen nebst Anleitung zur Aufnahme von Bantu-  
sprachen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1899.

*Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.*

Lowell (P.). Occult Japan. 8vo. Boston, 1895.

*Presented by the Authors.*

Davids (T. W. Rhys). Dialogues of the Buddha.  
8vo. London, 1899.

——— Buddhism. New and Revised Edition.  
8vo. London, 1899.

——— Der Buddhismus, translated into German by  
A. Pfungst. 8vo. Leipzig, 1899.

Cobham (C.<sup>r</sup> D.). *Laws and Regulations affecting Waqf Property translated for the Delegates of Evqaf, with an Index compiled by C. R. Tyser.* 8vo. *Nicosia*, 1899.

*Presented by the Publishers.*

Goldziher (I.). *Das Kitāb al Mu'ammariin des Abū Hātim al-Sigistūnī.* 8vo. *Leiden*, 1899.

Hartmann (M.). *The Arabic Press of Egypt.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.

Hillebrandt (A.). *Vedische Mythologie.* Bd. ii. 8vo. *Breslau*, 1899.

——— *Alt Indien.* 8vo. *Breslau*, 1899.

Ganganath (Jha). *The Chandogya Upanishad (Upanishads, vol. iii).* 8vo. *Madras*, 1899.

Alabaster (F.). *Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law, together with a brief excursus on the Law of Property.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.

*Map of China, published by the China Inland Mission.* fol. *London*, 1899.

Ward (G. E.). *The Bride's Mirror, or Mir-ātū l-Arūs of Maulavī Nazīr Ahmad.* 8vo. *London*, 1899.



**THE  
TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
OF ORIENTALISTS.**

ROME, 1899

IN accordance with the announcement made at Paris in 1897, the Congress took place at Rome, from the 3rd to the 15th of October. The number of members was about six hundred. A notable feature in the geographical distribution of the membership was the attendance of Roumanians, which exceeded in number that of every other country except France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. The place of reunion was La Sapienza, the Roman University.

The Congress was opened on the evening of October 3rd, when Count Angelo de Gubernatis, President of the Committee of Organization, was elected Acting President of the Congress, and M. Graziadio Ascoli, Honorary President. The following Presidents of Sections were also elected:—

SECTION I.

*General Indo-European Linguistic.*

**MM. Ascoli, Bartholomae, Henry, Ludwig, and Thomsen.**

SECTION II (a).

*Oriental Geography and Ethnography.*

**MM. Cordier and Hermann, Col. Temple, and M. Urechia.**

(b).

*American Geography and Ethnography.***M. J. del Paso y Troncoso.**

## SECTION III.

*Comparative History of Oriental Religions.**Comparative Mythology and Folklore.***MM. Dvorak, Ginsburg, Guinet, and Thiele.**

## SECTION IV.

*China, Japan, Korea.***MM. Diosy, Hirth, Hozumi, and Turrettini.**

## SECTION V.

*Burma, Indo-China, Malay, Madagascar.***MM. Aymonier, Kern, and Marie.**

## SECTION VI.

(a) *India.***Sir William Hunter, MM. Kuhn, Pischel, and Hoernle,  
Sir Raymond West, M. Senart.**(b) *Irania.***Mr. A. Granville Browne, Professor Williams Jackson,  
MM. Esow, Geiger, and Salemann.**

## SECTION VII.

*Central Asia.***MM. Kunos, Radloff, Vambéry, and Donner.**

## SECTION VIII.

(a) *Semitic Languages in general.***Mr. A. A. Bevan, MM. Euting, Merx, Guidi, Kautsch,  
and D. H. Müller.**

(b) *Assyriology.*

MM. Bezold, Haupt, and Oppert.

## SECTION IX.

*Musulman Prophets.*

Drs. Goldziher and Karabacek, Sir Charles Lyall

## SECTION X

(a) *Egyptology.*

MM. Eisenlohr, Ermann, Naville, Piehl, and Révillout

(b) *African Languages*

M. Reinisch.

## SECTION XI

*Greece and the East.*

MM. Krumbacher, Lambros, Strzygowski, Tocilescu, and Tsagarelli.

The formal inauguration of the Congress took place the following morning at the Capitol, when the Minister of Education, Signor Bacelli, welcomed members in the name of H.M. the King of Italy by a brief Latin oration, and was followed by a greeting in the vulgar tongue from the Mayor of Rome. Count de Gubernatis then reviewed the situation in an eloquent French harangue dwelling on the unsurpassed 'universality' in the nature of the assembled Congress, touching on the loss sustained by the death of Bühler, Schafer, Socin, and Leitner, deploring the illness of Professors Max Müller and Weber, Barbier de Meynard and Bréal, and regretting the absence of M. Maspero, Lord Reay, and Prince Roland Bonaparte. Thereupon certain of the delegates delivered brief addresses to the King's representative and the President, among them being Sir Raymond West, for the Royal Asiatic Society, and Sir Charles Lyall, for the Government of British India.

A number of works were then presented to Congress, including the volumes of the Oriental Translation Fund Series, presented by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, and vol. ii of the series of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, presented by Professor Max Müller.

A large number of papers were read and discussed, but it was the subject of general remark that in this respect the programme of most of the sections was far less crowded than had been the case at previous Congresses. The attendance also was as a rule scanty, with the exception of that in the Indian Section (VI) and (sometimes) in the Semitic and Musulman groups. The magnificent weather and the attractions of Rome were probably the chief deterrents.

At a meeting of delegates held on the eve of the dispersion of Congress, the resolutions passed in the special sections were submitted for approval or rejection. The following were adopted, and on the next day, at the general closing meeting of Congress, were passed by acclamation:—

(From Section IV — *China*, etc) . . . que chaque pays fixe un système unique et officiel de transcription des sons chinois; ces différentes transcriptions seront recueillies dans un manuel international.

(From Section VI.—*India*, etc) —1 *Indian Bibliography*:—  
“La Section, vu le besoin impérieux d’une bibliographie pour les études indiennes qui soit complète et systématique, désire que MM. Kuhn et Scherman veuillent bien s’en charger, étant les savants les plus habiles pour une telle entreprise. Puisque ce travail coûterait beaucoup d’argent et devrait durer au moins six ans, la Section désire le recommander chaleureusement aux gouvernements et aux corps scientifiques qui ont de l’intérêt pour les études indiennes.”

## 2. *India Exploration Fund* —

(1) Des remerciements sont adressés au Gouvernement de l’Inde et au Secrétaire d’Etat pour l’Inde, pour l’accueil bienveillant accordé aux ouvertures qui ont été faites en



exécution des votes du Congrès de Paris. Il leur est en même temps transmis l'assurance que les deux conditions posées par eux et que nous avons énoncées tout à l'heure, sont pleinement acceptées.

(2) L'Association internationale pour l'exploration archéologique de l'Inde est déclarée définitivement fondée. Elle reconnaît dès à présent pour président Lord Roay, comme président en fonction de la Société Royale Asiatique de Londres.

(3) Les membres de la Commission d'étude nommée à Paris, c'est-à-dire, en faisant abstraction de la Grande-Bretagne où le nécessaire a déjà été fait —

M. Pischel pour l'Allemagne,  
M. L. von Schroder pour l'Autriche,  
M. Lanman pour les Etats-Unis,  
M. Senart pour la France,  
M. le Cte. Pullé pour l'Italie,  
M. Kern pour les Pays-Bas,  
M. Serge d'Oldenburg pour la Russie,

sont invités à poursuivre activement l'organisation des comités nationaux dans leurs pays respectifs, et, aussitôt assurée, à la notifier au Président de l'Association. Un appel pressant est adressé, dans le même sens, aux amis de l'indianisme dans les pays qui, au premier moment, n'ont pu être représentés au sein de la Commission.

(4) Il est exprimé le désir que le Président de l'Association provoque, dès qu'il le jugera opportun, une première réunion constitutive du Conseil central.

(From Section VII.—*Central Asia*.)—1. Sur la proposition de M. Donner : vœu de voir continuer les travaux de M. le Dr. Huth en Sibérie et en Mandchourie.

2. On accepte la proposition de M. Radloff pour la constitution d'une association internationale nommée "Association Internationale pour l'exploration archéologique et linguistique de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Extrême Orient" (*Central and East Asia Exploration Fund, to be organized on the model of the India Exploration Fund*).

3. Vœu que le Gouvernement Russe et les institutions savantes compétentes organisent et subventionnent dans l'Asie centrale une expédition destinée à compléter et à étendre par une recherche méthodique les résultats déjà obtenus par l'expédition Klementz et autres similaires.

(From Section IX.—*Musulman*.)—Adoption of resolutions concerning the Committee elected after the resolution of the Paris Congress for the publication of a Musulman Encyclopaedia.

Other resolutions of less general Oriental significance were adopted.

It was also moved by Mr Thomson Lyon, and supported by Professors d'Oldenburg, Kautsch, and Leumann, and Sir Raymond West, that "Le XII<sup>m</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes décide qu'un bureau permanent des archives du Congrès sera établi dans l'une des capitales d'Europe, et que la Société orientale de cette capitale sera chargée de l'organisation du dit bureau" It was decided, however, in accordance with the amendment of MM. Radloff and Karabacek, that the feasibility of such an institution should be inquired into by the Organization Committee of the next Congress.

This Congress it was resolved to hold at Hamburg in 1902.

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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with  
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

# I.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . . a	ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . t	व . . . . . b
आ . . . . . ā	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . th	भ . . . . . bh
इ . . . . . i	ख . . . . . k	ड . . . . . d	म . . . . . m
ई . . . . . ī	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . dh	य . . . . . y
उ . . . . . u	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
ऊ . . . . . ū	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
ॡ . . . . . ṝ̄	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ॡ . . . . . ṝ̄	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) . . . . . m	◌̇ (Atigraha) . . . . . '̇
◌̣̣ (Anundāsika) . . . . . ṁ	◌̣̣̣ (Udātta) . . . . . ˆ
◌̣̣̣ (Vidarga) . . . . . ḥ	◌̣̣̣̣ (Svarita) . . . . . ˜
◌̣̣̣̣ (Jihvāmūliya) . . . . . ḥ̣	◌̣̣̣̣̣ (Anudātta) . . . . . ˆ̣
◌̣̣̣̣̣ (Upadhmanīya) . . . . . ḥ̣̣	

# II. ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ک . . . . k	آ . . . . a
elsewhere . . . . ا or ؤ	ل . . . . l	ی . . . . i
ب . . . . b	س . . . . s	م . . . . m
ت . . . . t	ش . s or sh	ن . . . . n
ث . t or th	ص . s or z	. . . . " or r
ج . j or dj	ض d, dz, or z	ه . . . . h
ح . . . . h	ط . . . . t	و . . . . y
خ . h or kh	ظ . . . . z	د . . . . d
د . . . . d	ع . . . . e	ذ . d or dh
ذ . d or dh	غ . g or gh	ر . . . . r
ر . . . . r	ف . . . . f	ز . . . . z
ز . . . . z	ق . . . . q	

DIPHTHONGS.

آ . . . . au

ؤ . . . . au

casla . . . . '.

hamza ا or ؤ

silent t . . h

letter not pro-

nounced . . .

## ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKISTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY	HINDI AND PAKISTŪ	PAKISTŪ ONLY.
پ . . . . p	ک when pro-	ت or پ . t	ت . . . . ts
چ . c or ch	nounced as	د or د . d	د . . . . d
ژ . z or zh	g . . . . k	ز or ز . r	ز . . . . z
گ . . . . g	ن . . . . n		ن . . . . n
پ . . . . p			پ . . . . kh
ز . . . . z			



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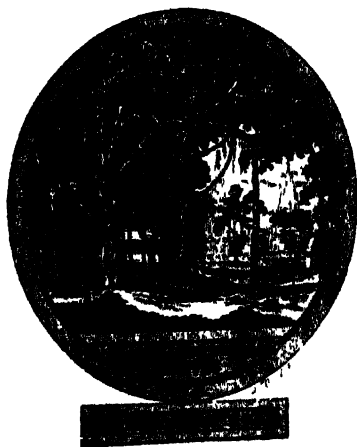


JULY,

1900

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND.

July,



1900.

JULY 16TH.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,  
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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. XVI.—*Notes on some Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on Indian Coins.* By A. V. BIRCH.

THESE notes are the result of a personal examination of Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on coins published by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1891 = C. CAI. in the following pages), and now in the British Museum. I have selected here only those coins on which we find a Brāhmī inscription word by word confirmed by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The best known of these biliteral coins are those of the Kuṇindas, to which I have devoted another monograph which I hope to publish shortly. In this monograph I enter more fully into the discussion of certain questions of phonetics, which equally affect the inscriptions dealt with in the present article. By examining and comparing the readings thus given in both alphabets, we may hope to obtain some definite results as to the decipherment of the various forms of each. In the first place, an account is given of these forms as they occur in each inscription, so that they may be compared with those already known from other sources, and their readings determined in accordance with results already obtained. As a rule, these inscriptions exactly correspond, syllable

for syllable, to each other. Such differences as do occur—e.g., in case-forms, in vowels, in varied representations of the same sound—are of great interest from the point of view of phonetics. I have constantly referred for forms of letters to Professor G. Bühler's *Palaeographical Tables* given in his "Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie," i, h. 11: *Indische Palaeographie* (Strassburg, 1896); and for readings and photographs to E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins* (in the same series, vol. ii, 3 h. B., 1898).


#### AUDUMBARA COINS.



C. CAI., pl. iv, 1, or Rapson's IC., pl. iii, 8.


I read this as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Brāhmī:	ma	h.	d.	va	sa	ra	ño	dha	ra	gho
Kharoṣṭhī:	—	ha	de	—	—	—	ña	—	—	—
	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.			
	su	sa	o	d.m	ba	ri	sa			
	su	—	—	dum	—	—	—			

\*No. 7 = Brāhmī ण and Kharoṣṭhī ण. Cf. R. O. Franke, *ZDMG.*, vol. 50, p. 601.<sup>2</sup>

No. 10 = Brāhmī , is a varied form not given by Bühler.

No. 11 = Br.  (sa), Khar.  (su).

No. 14. There is a distinct dot on the right side of the Brāhmī character, which evidently indicates the *anuvāra*. This seems to be a prototype of 23, col. xix, table iii, and is equivalent to the Kharoṣṭhī  (dum), which is quite a new form, not hitherto recorded.

<sup>1</sup> The scheme of transliteration adopted here is that given in J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 880. The *italics* indicate such of my readings as differ from those of Cunningham or Rapson. A short stroke — ditto. A dot placed at the side of, or instead of, a character indicates an erasure partial or complete.

<sup>2</sup> My esteemed friend Professor R. O. Franke, in his lectures on Indian Palaeography given at Berlin in 1895, first made me aware of the fact that Cunningham's reading of letter No. 7 required correction.

The last letter *sa*, which represents the genitive termination of the word *o-d(u)m-ba-ri-sa* in the left-hand line, is here linked by a hyphen to the corresponding sign of the word *dha-ra-gho-ṣa-sa* in the right-hand line of the Brāhmī inscription. Cf. a closer combination of the two signs in the inscription of pl. iv, 5, given below.



As regards the other characters, it deserves to be mentioned that the Brāhmī forms of *ma*, *ra*, and *sa* resemble those angular forms given in t. ii, coll. xx-xxii (Mathurā, etc.), and that the [Kharoṣṭhī forms are those of the Aśoka inscriptions of] Shāhbāzgarhi and Manshira (t. i, coll. i-v), with the exception of *sa*, which has its curve opened to the left.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 5.

Brāhmī inscription :

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
<i>bh.</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>rā</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>rā</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>sa</i> .

The angular forms of *ra*, *ma*, and *hā* and the round *ga* resemble those shown in t. ii, col. xx (Mathurā), and t. iii, col. i (in the Śodāsa inscriptions of Mathurā). The former have at their tops short horizontal strokes resembling the *o*-stroke of *to*, the *ā*-stroke of *hā* (and *rā*), and the *i*-stroke of *de*.

Nos. 9 and 14 are combined into one form  (*sa*, *sa*). A similar character occurs on a coin of Zoilos in the British Museum (Cunningham, 342); here the *sa*- terminations of *tra-ta-ra-sa* and *jho-i-la-sa* in Kharoṣṭhī are combined so as to form one character  (*sa*, *sa*). The first step towards this union of the two *sa*-forms belonging to different words (*ma-hā-de-ra-sa* and *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa*) is the hyphen mentioned above (pl. iv, 1).

Kharoṣṭhī inscription :

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
<i>bhu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>na</i>

The shape of these characters is nearly the same as that found in C. CAI., pl. iv, 1, discussed above. The *u*-stroke of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 is attached to the forms in precisely the same way as in the Aśoka inscriptions. No. 2 exhibits a form *ſ* (*gu*), in which the *u*-stroke is attached to the side of the down-stroke just as in *ſ* (*pu*) of the word *a-pu-la-pha-na-sa* on the coin of Apollopheues in B.M. Cat., pl. xiii, 1, and in *ſ* (*ku*) of the word *pa-ku-ra-sa* on a coin of Pakores in the Berlin Mus. (xi, 1, 6; No. 26).

As regards the last word of the Brāhmī inscription, i.e. *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa*, we need only refer to what has been already said about the double-form made by the union of letters Nos. 9 and 14. Apparently Cunningham took this double-form to be a single *sa*, and accordingly read the concluding word as 'rājaraja,' i.e. as a nominative instead of a genitive, like the other words in the inscription. As this would be an obvious violation of strict syntactical rules, the reading *ra-ja-ra-ña* has been suggested (cf. R.O. Franke, in ZDMG., vol. 50, p. 601). *Ra-ja-ra-ña* (transliterated by Cunningham as *ra-ja-ra-jna*) is the reading of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription; but there is no doubt that the reading of the letter No. 13 in the Brāhmī inscription is *ja* (cf. No. 11 on the phototype of pl. iv, 5). All difficulty vanishes when we know that the terminations of the two words *ma-hā-de-ra-sa* and *rā-ja-rā-ja-sa* are combined into one form.

#### C. CAI., pl. iv, 6.

There is no specimen of this kind in the British Museum. My readings must therefore depend upon the accuracy of the photographic illustration.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Br. :	rā	jña	re	ma	ki	su	ru	dra	va	rma	sa
Khar. :	ru	ña	re	—	—	—	—	—	ru	(.)ma	—
	12.	13.	14.	15.							
	(v)i	.	.	.							
	vi	ja	ya	ta							

The Brāhmī characters exhibit the same angular forms as those of C. CAI., pl. iv, 5, discussed above, horizontal strokes being attached to their tops. In regard to No 2  $\Sigma$  deciphered as *jñā*, there might be some doubt whether the horizontal stroke in the middle of the *ñ* ought not to be taken to denote *ā*, as is usual in earlier periods (cf. Bühler's table ii, 15). But a comparison of similar instances shows that the vowel is undoubtedly short. For example, in pl. iv, 14, where the same sign occurs, it must stand for *jñā*, because the context of the inscription, which is in pure Sanskrit, shows that the word is *rajñā*—a genitive (not an instrumental), with the *visaṅga* omitted as usual. This is further confirmed by the Kuṇinda inscriptions, where we find the variants *rā-ñā* (e.g. pl. v, 1) and *rā-no* used side by side with *rā-jñā*, the *jñā* being written with the stroke, as in pl. iv, 6 and 14. On the other hand, we find in the inscription of pl. iv, 15 (*ant* i, p. 416), which seems to belong to the same period, an undoubted instance of *jñā* with the *ā*-stroke clearly indicated; cf. also the Pāli inscription of the Mathurā coin, pl. viii, 14: *rā-jñā* (not *rājñā*) *rā-ma-da-ta-sa*.<sup>1</sup>



Nos. 8 and 10 show the different ways of attaching the *ra*-stroke to the main character: when pronounced after the consonant of the compound it is attached below as in *dra* (No. 8); when pronounced before, it is placed above to the left as in *rma* (No. 10),  $\Sigma$  (cf. t. iv, 43, c. viii). The Kharoṣṭhī form of No. 8 (*dra*) has a distinct *ra*-stroke attached to the right, and that of No. 9 (*ru*) a distinct *u*-stroke bent upward. The *e*-strokes of both Brāhmī and Khar. letters are fairly distinct on No. 3.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 7.



Three specimens:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Br.:	.	ño	a	ja	mi	ta	sa

<sup>1</sup> For varieties of *jñā* see table ii, 42, c. xiv, *jñā* (Pabhoṣā); iii, 40, c. ix, *jñāḥ*; iv, 41, c. viii, *jñā*; and 43, c. xvi, *jñā*.


The characters are of a pure Aśoka-type; the form of No. 2 (*ño*) is  (a similar form occurs on a Kuṇinda coin), and that of No. 5 (*mi*) is , which also occurs on pl. iv, 12 (No. 5, *infra*, p. 415).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Khar.:	ra	<i>ñā</i>	a	ju	mi	<i>tra</i>	sa
		<i>ño</i>					




No. 2 of one specimen shows the variant , *ño*, thus confirming the reading of the Brāhmī given above. No. 6 is  *tra*.

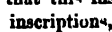
C. CAI., pl. iv, 9.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Br.:	r(.)	.	ma	<i>hi</i>	m(.)	, tu	.

No. 4 is , *hi*; cf. t. iii, 38, c. xi, showing a later development. So far as I can judge from an examination of the coin itself there is nothing to support Cunningham's reading '*rājanya*.'

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Khar.:	.	<i>ñā</i>	ma	hi	mi	<i>tra</i>	sa

No. 4 is , *hi*, being nearest to the Kuṣana form given on t. i, 37, c. xi; No. 5, , is also a later development, and both these might have been the result of the cursive writing then in vogue. A similar cursive form also occurs on the frieze from Haṣṭanagar (near Peshawar), now in the B.M., where the form for *mi* in the word *di-(ra)-sa-mi* is , with the side-strokes bent inwards instead of outwards.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that this inscription begins with the latest date hitherto known in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, viz. , i.e. in the Samvat year 384.



C. CAI., pl. iv, 12.

Three specimens, two of which are very legible.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Br. :	.	ño	bhā	nu	mi	tra	.

No. 2 is ढ, ño; cf. pl. iv, 7. The ā-stroke of No. 3 (bhā) is regularly indicated on the specimen photographed, but on the other it is absorbed in the horizontal line at the top of the letter. No. 6 is 𑀭, tra, as in the Pabhosā inscriptions.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Khar. :	ru	ña	bha	na	mi	tra	sa
				nu			

One specimen shows a distinct u-stroke in No. 4, 𑀭 nu (cf. *duṃ* in *o-duṃ-ba-ri-sa* on pl. iv, 1); on the other the stroke does not appear.

Pl. iv, 13, only contains the Brāhmī inscription: bh(ā)-nu-mi-tra-sa.

C. CAI., pl. iv, 14.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11
Br. :	rā	jña	ko	lū	ta	syā	vī	ra	ya	śa	syā



The Kharoṣṭhī inscription gives only the word ra-ña, the second letter of which has a dot between its vertical lines just as in the inscription of pl. iv, 6. The Brāhmī characters are like those of the Śodāsa inscriptions (cf. t. iii, c. i and ii). No. 2 is 𑀭 jña, nearly the same as pl. iv, 6, No. 2; as to the decipherment of which see what has been said above (p. 413). The o-strokes of No. 3 almost form a semicircle instead of a horizontal stroke. The ā-strokes of No. 4 are similar to those on t. ii, 15, c. xv (in jū), 27, c. iv (in nū), and the letter must be read as lū, not pta as Cunningham reads it; Ko-lū-ta-syā is here probably the tribal name of the king. The i-strokes


of No. 7 (*vi*) converge upwards in a flourish, as in later Brāhmī inscriptions. No. 8 (*ra*) exhibits an S-shaped form common in the Gīrnār recension of the Aśoka Edicts, e.g. iv, l. 8 (cf. t. ii, 34, c. ix, *ru*).

C. CAI., pl. iv, 15.




This coin is remarkable as affording instances of some hitherto unrecorded Kharoṣṭhī compound letters, the introduction of which is due to the fact that the inscriptions are in Sanskrit, more or less correct.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
Br.:	vṛ	ṣṇ(.)	r(.)	ja	jñā	ga	ṇa	sya	tra	ta	ra	sya
Khar.:	vri	ṣṇi	ra	—	ṇṇa	(ga)	.	.	(t)ra	.	—	—

As regards the Brāhmī characters, No. 1, , *vṛ*, with the *ṛ*-vowel, occurs in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā (cf. t. iii, 34, c. iii). No. 5 is , *jñā* (cf. t. ii, 42, c. xix; iv, 42, c. i; and iii, 40, c. xiv, *jñāh*), the right down-stroke of the *ñā* being joined on to the Triśūla symbol. The reading of Nos. 9 and 10 (*tra-ta*)<sup>1</sup> is quite different from that of Cunningham (*bhu-bha*). Identical forms are to be found in the Pābhosā inscriptions, and on pl. iv, 12, where the reading admits of no doubt. Moreover, the *ra*-stroke of the Kharoṣṭhī counterpart of No. 9 is quite clear. Further, if Cunningham's reading were correct, we ought to find four downward strokes in Kharoṣṭhī Nos. 9 and 10, instead of the two which are clearly visible. My reading *tra-ta-ra-sya* is a royal title well known from early Indian coin inscriptions. The form and significance of the preceding word are discussed below (p. 420) in connection with my translation of the inscriptions.

As regards the Kharoṣṭhī characters, No. 1, , *vri*, with a crossing *ra*-stroke (cf. *rte* on a coin of Artemidoros,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. J. Rapson, whose attention I drew to this reading, had already, I am glad to say, come to the same conclusion.

B.M. Cat., xiii, 2, and t. i, 39, c. i), shows the only possible way of signifying an *r*-vowel in Kharoṣṭhī writing. The transverse stroke of No. 2, , *ṣṇi*, represents the *ṇ*, and this is also the case in No. 5, , which I read *ṇṇa*. Lastly, No. 12, , *sya*, is, as is obvious, a peculiar combination of a Khar. *sa* with a Brāhmī *ya*, a phenomenon, so far as I know, not found elsewhere in Indian palaeography.

Having thus given the epigraphical details of these Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it only remains to add a few words to make their decipherment as complete as possible.

The alphabets used in these inscriptions are both incomplete, in so far as neither of them has any means of denoting double-letters. The Kharoṣṭhī, moreover, makes no distinction between long and short vowels. This deficiency in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet may be supplied from the corresponding Brāhmī inscriptions; for, as we have seen, in spite of some divergencies in the forms of words, these bilingual inscriptions practically correspond to each other syllable for syllable. Long vowels marked in the Brāhmī inscriptions are therefore to be inserted in the Kharoṣṭhī transcriptions in such cases as the following: *ma-hā-de-vu-sa*, *rā-ja-ra-ṇa* (pl. iv, 5), *ma-hi-mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 9), *bhā-nu* (or *na*) -*mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 12), etc., etc. Occasionally also the Brāhmī inscription teaches us the true reading of a Kharoṣṭhī form. For instance, it shows that the stroke attached on the left at the foot of certain Kharoṣṭhī characters indicates the vowel *u*, e.g. *nu* in *bha-nu-mi-tra-sa* (pl. iv, 12). Similarly the Brāhmī shows that the short stroke below the Kharoṣṭhī character in pl. iv, 1, No. 14, represents the *anusvāra* (*ḍum*), and should be so read on the coins of Menander, e.g. B.M. Cat., pl. xi, 12.

Lastly, I would merely refer to the remarkable Kharoṣṭhī inscription of pl. iv, 15, the compound characters of which would scarcely have been decipherable had it not been for the help of their Brāhmī equivalents.

In this comparison, the gain is undoubtedly most frequently from the more complete Brāhmī to the less complete Kharoṣṭhī;

but in the essay on the Kuṇḍa coins which I hope to publish shortly, I have quoted an instance of the converse, in which I regard the interpretation of the two dots, sometimes seen in the Brāhmī *rājña*: and *kuṇḍasa*:, as a stop and not as a *visarga*, as receiving support from the Kharoṣṭhī equivalents.

As has been said above, neither Brāhmī nor Kharoṣṭhī possesses the means of representing double-letters; but whenever doubt arises, whether a consonant should be read as single or double, we are enabled to determine the question in accordance with the phonetic law, by which a Sanskrit compound letter is represented in Prakrit either (1) by long vowel + single-consonant, or (2) by short vowel + double-consonant.

According to these principles, I shall try to give here the final form of the inscriptions—i.e. as they were spoken, with their long vowels and their double-consonants, not as they were represented epigraphically—together with some notes on their grammar and translation. They are as follows:—

Pl. iv, 1:

Br.: *mah(ā)d(e)rassa rañño dharaghoṣassa od(u)mbarissa.*

Khar.: — *hāde* — — *raññā* — — — *ṣu* — — *duṃ* — — —.

*ssa* < \**sya*; *rañño* < *rājño*. The final *a* of the Khar. *raññā* may be short or long. If short, it is a genitive (< *rājñah*). If long, it is an instrumental form used as a genitive like the *rijayatā* of the inscription of pl. iv, 6<sup>1</sup> (< *rājñā*).

*Trans.*: “(Coin of) His Highness King Dharaghoṣa of Odumbara.”

Pl. iv, 5:

Br.: *bh(a)garato mahāderassa rājarājassa.*

Khar.: *bhugurussa* — *hāderussa* *rā*—*raññā*.

<sup>1</sup> On a Mathurā coin mentioned above (see pl. iv, 6), C. CAI., pl. viii, 14, we find a Sanskrit instrumental side by side with a Prakrit genitive in a Brāhmī inscription: *rā-jñā rā-ma-da-ta-sa*.

For *rājaraññā*, see the form *raññā* above. It might also be read *rājarāṇa*; cf. the *rāṇu* of pl. iv, 6 or pl. v, 1 and 2 (var.).

*Trans.*: "(Coin of) His Majesty Mahadeva, King of Kings"

Pl. iv, 6:

Br.: *rājña vemakissa rudravarmassa vi . . .*

Khar.: *rāṇa — — — — — ru(.)ma — — ja ya tñ.*

The form *rudravu(.)massa* is equivalent to \*-*rammassa* (i.e. *-varmaśya* for Skt. *-varmaṇaḥ*), the *va* being changed into *vu* through the influence of the adjacent labials (*ra*, *ma*); cf. the Khar. form *bhugurussa* of pl. iv, 5, the *u*-vowels of which are due to the labials (*bha*, *ra*).<sup>1</sup> For *vijayatā*, see the inscription of pl. iv, 1. If the final *a* be short we have a genitive form = Skt. *vijayataḥ*.

*Trans.*: "(Coin of) King Vemaki Rudravarma, the Conqueror."

Pl. iv, 7:

Br.: *r(ā)ñño ajjamittassa.*

Khar.: *rāṇṇ a — — tra —.*

The first word might be *rañño* and *raññā*; cf. the inscr. of pl. iv, 1. The second word < Skt. *ajjamitrasya*.

*Trans.*: "(Coin of) King Ajjamitra."

Pl. iv, 9:

Br.: *r(ā) . maham(i)ttassa.*

Khar.: *. ṇṇ — — mitra —*

*Trans.*: "(Coin of) King Mahāmītra."

Pl. iv, 12:

Br.: *. ṇo bhānum trassa.*

Khar.: *rāṇṇ bhānu — — —.*

or *raññā* and *na*

The Brāhmī equivalent shows that the Kharoṣṭhī 𑀲 is to be read *tra*. For this form Professor Buhler proposed

<sup>1</sup> For this influence on the part of the labials in Pāli phonology, see E. Müller, *Pāli Grammar*, p. 6.

*tta*, *tra*, or *tma*, in his notes on the word *tadattaye*, occurring in the Shūhbāzgarhi Edict, x, l. 21, and Mansehra, x, l. 9 (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 459, notes 74 and 83). He read the same form as *da* on coin-inscriptions of Eucratides (see Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. viii).

Pl. iv, 14. This is a purely Sanskrit inscription. The Khar. *rāñā* (= *rājñā*), on the reverse, compared with the Br. *rājñā*, on the obverse, shows that the Skt. *jñā* is written *ñā* in the Khar. alphabet (see also the inscra. of pl. iv, 15, and v, 1 and 2, below). Neither alphabet at this period possessed a sign for the *risarga*.

*Trans.* : “(Coin of) King Virayaśa, the Kolūta.”

Pl. iv, 15 :

Br. : *vṛṣṇir(ā)jajñāgaṇasya tr(ā)tārasya.*

Khar. : *vriṣṇirājannā . . . trā . —*

It seems to be clear that the first word is a compound containing eight syllables, the two first of which are *vṛṣṇi* (Khar. *vriṣṇi*), evidently a name of some *Kṣatriya* tribe (c. P.W., *sub voce*), and the three last of which are *gaṇasya*, “race, family.” The difficulty comes in with the central part of the compound, viz. *r(ā)jajñā* (Khar. *rājannā*), and especially the fifth syllable (*jñā* : *ṇā*), its *a*-vowel being clearly long.

It seems to me that there are three possible solutions of this difficulty.

(1) A Skt. compound *rāja + ājñā* (order) would be represented by a Prakrit *rājāññā* (possibly *rājannā* or *rājāṇā*).<sup>1</sup> Such a form might be represented by our Br. *r(ā)jajñā*, with *ñā* for *ṇā* as usual in these Sanskritic inscriptions, and Khar. *rājannā*, with the lingual instead of the palatal nasal. If this be right, the whole is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, the pure Skt. form of which would be *vṛṣṇi-rāj-ājñā-gaṇasya*, i.e., “of a family whose name (?) is *Vṛṣṇirāja*” or “whose royal name (?) is *Vṛṣṇi*.”

<sup>1</sup> For the Prakrit representatives of *ājñā*, cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, p. 36.

(2) A Prakrit *ñāa* or *ṇṇa* might also be derived from a Skt. *nya-*,<sup>1</sup> and the word *rājaññā*, written here *rājajñā* and *rājajñā*, would in this case correspond to a Skt. *rājanya*, "belonging to the Kṣatriya caste," and the whole be translated "(the coin) of him whose family are the Vṛṣṇi kṣatriyas (or royal race)," or "whose royal family are the Vṛṣṇis" (*vṛṣṇi-rājanyā-gaṇasya*).<sup>2</sup> The difficulty here lies in the final long *a* of the (*rājanyā-*) *rājaññā*. Is it possible that we have here an instance of that lengthening of compound bases seen in the Vedic dialect (cf. Whitney, Grammar, §§ 247, 1255), and also occurring in the Pāli stage (cf. Kuhn's Beiträge, p. 30, and Müller's Grammar, p. 18)? Or has a plural form (*rājaññā*, 'the kṣatriyas') been combined with the collective noun (*gaṇa*, 'family') into a compound = "the *gaṇa* kṣatriyas" (?).

(3) A less plausible suggestion is that *vṛṣṇirājaññā* may be an instrumental used as a genitive. If this is so, we must suppose that the termination *ñā* of forms like *rāñā* has been irregularly added to the reconstructed stem *rājan*.<sup>3</sup>

If we consider that there is a form *rājarājassa* side by side with *rājaraññā* in the inscriptions of pl. iv, 5, noticed above, it is conceivable that *-ñā*, like *-ssa*, may have been added as a termination to the stem *rāja*. There remains, however, the syntactical difficulty of making our supposed instrumental agree with the genitives *gaṇasya* and *trātārasya*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *añña*- 'other' from *anya-*, or *pañña*- 'cloud' from *parjanya-*.

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the representation of the palatal *ñā* in Prakrit-Sanskrit coin-inscriptions, I may refer incidentally to the Yodheya coin figured in pl. vi, 2-4, of C. CAI. (cf. Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, pl. iii, 13), on some distinct specimens of which in the B.M. I read "*yo-dhe-yā-nā bra-h(m)-dha-ñā-ke*" (the *yo* and *yā* being identical with those of Buhler's l. iii, 31, ols. xiv and xiii); and also to those of pl. vi, 9-13 (cf. Rapson, pl. iii, 15), the name on which runs "*bra-hma* (once *mha*)-*nya-d-ra-nya*," the *nya* being also written *ñā*.

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat similar is the addition of new terminations to old case-forms seen in such instances as *am-ti-yo-gaṇā*, *a-ti-yo-gaṇā* (Khalsi, *Asoku Edicts*, ii, l. 5, and xiii, l. 4). For such forms as *rañña-ssa* and *rā-ja-ñā*, see Muller, Grammar, p. 77.





ART. XVII.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals.* Part II.  
By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.B.A.S.

A Review of Mr. Bergny's "Notes on some Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on Indian Coins."

THANKS to the investigations of Professor O. Franke<sup>1</sup> and of Mr. A. Viktor Bergny the readings of practically all the known biliteral coin-legends in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters may now be regarded as finally settled. In this field of Indian numismatics, as in so many others, General Sir A. Cunningham was a pioneer, and it is, therefore, in no way surprising that many of his readings of these inscriptions as given in his *Coins of Ancient India* require correction. It is only within the last few years that the progress of the study of Indian epigraphy has made a scholarly treatment of this subject possible.

Mr. Bergny was good enough to submit his work to me in the Autumn of 1898, and I at once recognized that the extraordinary patience, with which he had subjected these coin-legends to a most minute scrutiny, had been rewarded by the discovery of some important facts which had escaped the notice of his fellow-investigators. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I undertook, on his behalf, to edit the article which precedes this in the present number of the Journal. I have freely used the powers thus entrusted to me in shortening and condensing much that Mr. Bergny had written; but I hope that, in so doing, I have not allowed any fact or observation of importance to be lost. I thought it no part of my duty as editor to question any such statements of fact or expressions of

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG., xl. 50.



opinion, even in cases where my own studies had led me to a different conclusion. It is the object of the present review to call attention to these cases.


Such a difference of opinion may exist either in regard to the forms of the different alphabetic characters, or in regard to the complete word-forms and their construction—it may be either epigraphic or grammatical.

With regard to the former class, Mr. Bergny is too much inclined to see new varieties where certainly they were not intended by the engravers. I cannot see, for instance, what is to be gained by noticing a form like  $\Upsilon$  *hi* (p. 414). The simple fact, in this case, is that the engraver, in the small space at his disposal—less than one-tenth of an inch—has made the usual  $\bar{i}$ -curve rather angular; but surely this does not justify us in hailing the form as a new and unpublished variety!

The form  $\Upsilon$  *gho*, given by Mr. Bergny (p. 410), cannot, I think, be supported. Such a form, if it could be proved, would be contrary to all analogy; but a further examination of the coin shows that the strange feature—the curve to the left at the top of the central stroke—is due not to the engraver but to a ‘wave’ in the metal. Other lines of this ‘wave’ running parallel to one another are to be seen on the same side of the coin—one between *ño* and *dha*, another above *dha*, and another between *ra* and *gho*. The letter in question is really of the ordinary form given by Bühler, Taf. iii, and the vowel is represented quite regularly as in Col. I.

With regard to the form  $\Sigma$  *jñā* or *jñā* (according to Mr. Bergny), I cannot agree that this is a correct representation of the character as it occurs on the coin—or rather on the leaden cast of the coin from which the plaster cast, photographed in C. CAI., pl. iv, 6, was taken. If the horizontal stroke at the middle of the *ja*-portion of this compound exists at all—and I very much doubt this—it is certainly not such as to admit of the possibility of reading it as -*d*.

The double-forms of *sa*  and  to which Mr. Bergny calls attention (p. 411) are simply blunders of the die-engraver, who has miscalculated the space at his disposal, with the result that the final letters of the two portions of the inscription going round the margin of the coin, one from the left upwards and the other from the left downwards, have got jumbled together. What gain to knowledge can possibly come of any attempt to trace the development of these blunders through an intermediate hyphen-stage (p. 411), or, indeed, of any serious treatment of them whatever, is not apparent. They are mistakes pure and simple: and there is an end of the matter.

Mr. Bergny regards the character  *ya* as "obviously a compound of Kharoṣṭhī *sa* with Brāhmī *ya*" (p. 417). I cannot accept this ingenious explanation as in any way "obvious." The representation of a Brāhmī *ya* in this compound is by no means evident. Even if we assume that Mr. Bergny's drawing is correct, and regard with him the two curves to right and left at the bottom as indicating a Brāhmī *ya*, we are still left without any explanation of the upper curve on the left. But, in reality, the existence of a curve on the right is altogether doubtful. A careful examination of the actual coin leads me rather to the conclusion that no such curve was intended. At any rate, it is a very inadequate hook on which to hang Mr. Bergny's theory of a mixture of the two alphabets—"a phenomenon," to use his own words, "so far as I know, not found elsewhere in Indian palaeography."

On the whole question of the study of coins in its relation to epigraphy, a word of warning may not be out of place. In studying the forms of difficult alphabets, such as Kharoṣṭhī or Sassanian Pahlavi for instance, as they appear on coins, there are two dangers which must be guarded against, and both of these arise from the fact that the forms so represented are, in most cases, necessarily very small. The die-engraver was working on so minute a scale that a very slight divergence in the tracing of a line

or curve was apt to make a difference in the appearance of forms which were intended to be identical; while, on the other hand, it was not always easy to express the characteristic features which distinguish forms bearing a general resemblance to one another. Mr. Bergny seems not to have been able altogether to avoid the former danger: he is apt to see varieties where the coin-engraver intended none; and the whole history of the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet teems with instances showing how difficult, nay, how impossible, it was to escape the latter danger so long as coin-legends remained the chief sources of information. To the belief that *ta*, *da*, and *ra* were represented by the same character, for instance—and the first and third of these are really often quite undistinguishable on coins—we are indebted for the comical forms *tradatasa* and the rest, which for so long a period enlivened works on Graeco-Indian numismatics. These errors were first corrected by Bühler,<sup>1</sup> who brought a knowledge of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet derived from the Aśoka inscriptions, in which any such confusion is quite impossible, to bear on the coins. The moral is, that for epigraphic purposes the large monuments should, where possible, be first studied. The light thus gained can then be focussed on to the minute forms of the coins with some prospect of a real gain to knowledge. In the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet the opposite procedure was inevitable since the first clue was supplied by the bilingual coins—in Greek and Prakrit—of the Graeco-Indian, Śaka, and Kuṣana princes; but, at the stage to which the study has now reached, both epigraphically and linguistically, it is no longer necessary to court the perils which attended the steps of the first explorers.

Something still remains to be said about the readings or constructions of verbal forms proposed by Mr. Bergny. The most daring of these is the statement (p. 418, note 1; cf. p. 413) that “on a Mathurā coin . . . C. CAI.,

<sup>1</sup> WZKM., viii.

pl. viii, 14, we find a Sanskrit instrumental side by side with a Prakrit genitive in a Brāhmī inscription : *rā-jñā rā-ma-da-ta-sa.*" Such a construction is, of course, absolutely unheard of; and no instance of its occurrence can be accepted without the fullest confirmation. By what evidence is it supported in the present case? Fortunately, there is no lack of materials, for the coins of Rāmadatta are the commonest of the series of the Hindu Princes of Mathurā. From an examination of the twenty specimens in the British Museum, it is certain that the usual inscription is quite distinctly what we should expect it to be—*rajño Ramadattasa.* Is there any sufficient reason to doubt, then, that the *intention* of the engraver was always to produce this reading? On what facts does Mr. Bergny's case rest? Simply, it appears, on this. The difference between *jñō* and *jñā* consists merely in the fact that the former has a horizontal stroke on the left at the middle of the *ja*-portion of the compound. This *ja*-portion it self is, in height, only about three-sixteenths of an inch, and the added stroke which distinguishes *jñō* from *jñā* is probably never more than one-sixteenth of an inch in length and is often very much shorter—quite infinitesimal in fact. Indeed, whether it can be said to exist at all is, in some cases, a mere question of opinion and eyesight. Mr. Bergny has found an instance—I have not been able to identify the particular specimen to which he refers—in which he decides that it does not exist, and, therefore, he thinks it right to record the reading as *jñā* and not *jñō*. On so unsubstantial a basis does his theory of the unnatural alliance of an instrumental and a genitive rest! In all seriousness, it must be pointed out that it is quite possible to stultify scholarship and to defeat its object—the discovery of truth—by neglecting broad principles and fixing the attention on infinitesimal details, by assigning to accidents the importance which belongs to essentials.

In two other instances Mr. Bergny suggests the possibility of this construction, but neither of them affords any satisfactory evidence. He supposes that the word which he

reads as *vijayatā* on the coin of the Audumbara Rudra-varman, C. CAL., pl. iv, 6, may be an instrumental agreeing with the rest of the inscription—*Rāṇa*, etc.—in the genitive (p. 419). Certainly, he does himself add that, since the quantity of the final vowel is doubtful, the word may very well represent *vijayatāḥ*, the ordinary Sanskrit genitive of the present participle. Now, if these were the two alternatives, who would hesitate to choose the latter as being the more probable? But since the inscription is in Prakrit, a better explanation is that a final *-sa* has been omitted. The regular Prakrit form of the participle, *vijayatava*, would be much more in accordance with the usual practice, and the conjecture that the final syllable has been omitted is supported by the occurrence in the corresponding Brāhmī inscription of an unquestionably abbreviated form *vijaya*.

The last instance occurs in the third explanation which Mr. Bergny regards as possible for the very difficult form *rājajñā* (p. 421). He himself regards it as the least plausible of his suggested solutions of this puzzle, and confesses that, apart from the question of the construction of this word with a genitive, it is not easy to explain the form as an instrumental. This third explanation is altogether too far-fetched to be at all probable; and it cannot be said that either of the other suggestions is quite convincing. It may be that the true solution of this difficulty still remains to be found. In the meantime, Mr. Bergny deserves our thanks for his very ingenious attempts, and for the light which his researches have thrown on other points of interest in these remarkable inscriptions.

It will be seen, then, that there is not one shred of real evidence for the occurrence, in the Prakrit of the coins, of the construction of an instrumental in apposition to a genitive. It is, of course, well known that, in many varieties of Prakrit, the same form does double duty for both dative and genitive, and that, in some instances, the dative-form is the one which has survived—e.g. *rājine Paṇṭalevasa* on the coins of Pantaleon<sup>1</sup>—but there is no evidence to warrant us in believing

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Cat., p. 9

that the instrumental was ever so used. It remains to be proved that case-construction in Prakrit ever resolved itself into the sort of "go as you please" which this would necessitate.

Mr. Bergny's reading *Kolūtasya* (p. 415) on the coin published in C. CAI., pl. iv, 14, is undoubtedly correct.<sup>1</sup> General Sir A. Cunningham's reading and the one proposed by me (J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 125) alike err in failing to recognize that the consonant of the second *akṣara* is *l*. This is a most important correction, for it adds one more to the list of Indian states of Ancient India who are known to us from their coinage.

*Kolūta* (*Kaulūta*)<sup>2</sup> is, of course, "the king of the *Kulūtas*," a tribe known to us from a number of passages in Sanskrit literature and from an inscription. These I have collected and compared in a subsequent article.

In this review of Mr. Bergny's work I have only—except in this last instance, in which I gladly acknowledge his correction of an error on my part—drawn attention to those points on which I am unable to agree with him; and, so far as I know, I have allowed none of these points to escape. The far more numerous cases in which I am in complete agreement with him I have tacitly passed over. I can only hope that this one-sided treatment will not tend to obscure my very real appreciation of the great service he has done to Indian numismatics, in putting on record a scientifically accurate account of these Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhi coin-legends.

<sup>1</sup> Professor O. Franke, in a letter to me dated March 12, 1900, makes the same correction.

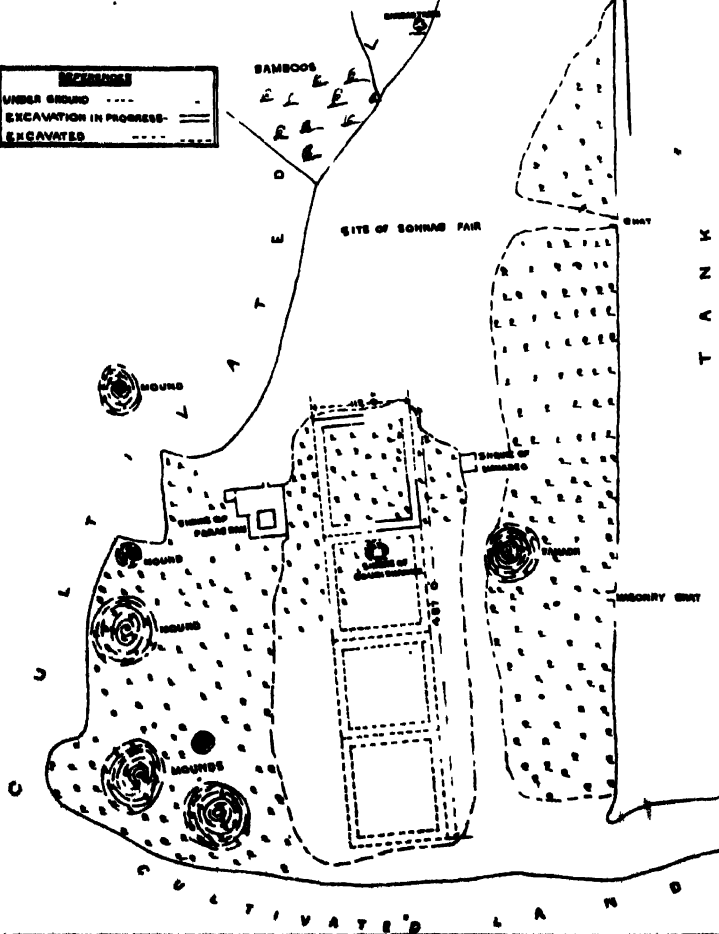
<sup>2</sup> On ancient coins *gana* often occurs where we should expect *ordha* in these forms, e.g. *Udumbari* (for *Andumbari*) = "the king of the *Udumbaras*." *Vemaki* (for *Vaimaki*), Mr. Bergny's reading on the coin of *Madravarna* (p. 412), is probably another such form - "the king of the *Vimakas*"; but a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source. For these forms generally, see J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 99. Mr. Bergny rightly reads *Yadheya* on the coins to which he refers (p. 421, note 2). The form *Yadheya*, however, also occurs on coins, e.g. C. CAI., vi, 6-8, and in the Allahabad inscription (cf. Fleet, CII., iii, pl. i, line 22).





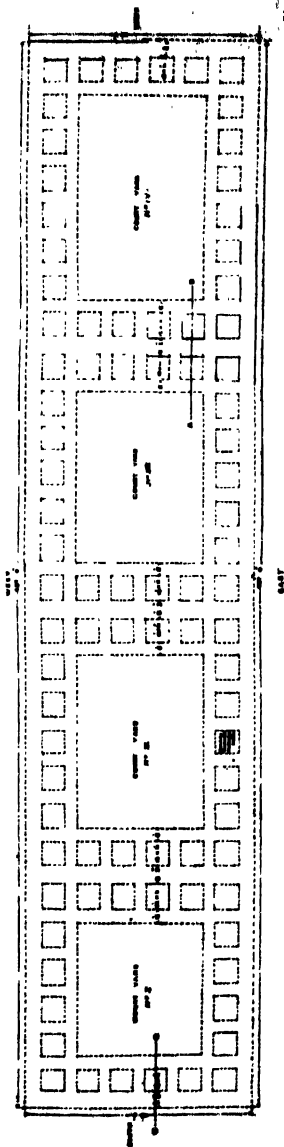


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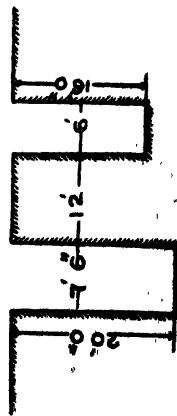


PLAN  
OF THE  
MONASTERY  
OF  
SOHNAG VILLAGE.  
SCALE 80 FT TO AN INCH

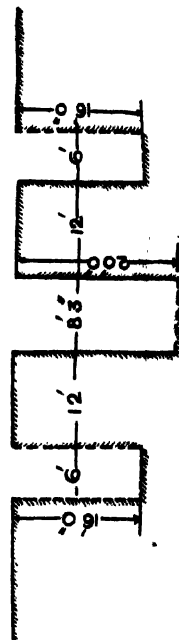
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ART. XVIII. — *The Buddhist Monastery at Sohnāg in the Gorakhpur District.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., M.R.A.S. With two plans and a plate.

IN January last, having heard that important ruins at a place called Sohnāg, in the eastern part of the Gorakhpur District, where I was then stationed as Commissioner, were being excavated for bricks by a railway contractor, I caused the work to be suspended until inquiries should be made, and on the 14th January visited the ruins. The building disclosed by the excavations is of such a remarkable character, unique indeed in its massive dimensions, so far as my knowledge extends, that it is desirable to place on record an accurate description of it.

Sohnāg (सोहनाग) is a tiny hamlet situated in Tappa Māil (माइल), Pargana Salempur, Tahsil Deoriā, of the Gorakhpur District, distant about three miles south-west from Salempur and about fifty miles south-east from Gorakhpur. The place is now readily accessible by rail, being about two and a half miles in a southerly direction from the Salempur station of the Bhatnī and Benares branch of the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and about half a mile west of the railway.

As soon as possible after my visit to Sohnāg I caused the ruins to be surveyed by Saiyid Shujā'at 'Alī, overseer of the Public Works Department.

The map A gives a general plan of the ruins, the plan B gives details of the principal building. The remains are situated on the western bank of a considerable pond, or small lake, about 1,250 feet in length from north to south, and 600 or 700 feet broad from east to west. The main building is a little more than 200 feet to the west of the lake, and was approached on the east by a flight of brick steps rising from the water.

The building is 487 feet long from north to south, and 112 feet wide. It comprised four quadrangles, surrounded by cells. The exterior circuit contains 64 cells, 28 on each of the long sides and four at each end. Twenty-four cells lining the divisions between the quadrangles bring up the total number of cells to 88.

The walls are of extraordinary mass and thickness. Those of the outer perimeter are seven and a half feet thick. The wall separating the cells of the most southern from those of the next quadrangle are no less than eight and a quarter feet thick. The remaining walls are six feet in thickness.

The masonry is composed of huge bricks set in mud. The two sizes commonly used are 1' 4½" × 9" × 2½" and 1' 1½" × 9½" × 2½". Some other sizes were also used, and I measured one brick nineteen inches long. The foundations are of unusual depth. Those of the walls six feet in thickness are carried down sixteen feet, and those of the thicker walls twenty feet from the surface of the mound. The cells as they now exist have no entrances. Evidently the whole superstructure has fallen in, and we now see only the massive foundations. The exceptional solidity of the foundations indicates that the superstructure must have been of considerable height and weight, but no materials exist from which any inference can be drawn as to the character of the elevation.

A quantity of cowrie shells was found in the central cell on the eastern side of courtyard No. II. Votive tablets, of the kind commonly called "Buddhist seals," have been found in considerable numbers in several of the cells. I understand that many of these were given to Dr. Hoey, my predecessor as Commissioner of Gorakhpur, who has taken them to Europe. I have obtained seven specimens.

No. I is an irregular ball of grey clay, pierced, about an inch in diameter, stamped on one side with the inscription *Śrī Bhagava*, श्रीभगवत्, in mediaeval letters of about the tenth century.

No. II is a circular disk of red clay, convex on the blank side, and stamped on the obverse in a circular incuse with





BUDDHIST VOTIVE TABLETS FROM SONNAG.



a legend of six lines in minute characters. The legend seems to be the so-called "Buddhist creed," beginning *Ye dhamma hetu prabhava*, which is really the *mantra* of the Mahāyāna sect. This object is '95" in diameter.

No. III is a similar object in grey clay, slightly larger, being 1.1" in diameter. The legend is the same as on No. II.

Nos. IV and V are exactly alike, and seem to be struck from a single die. Each is an oval tablet of reddish clay 3½' long, pointed at the top, with a deep oval incuse, containing the figure of a goddess, probably Śrī or Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, facing front, seated on a lotus flower, with her left leg tucked up and right leg hanging down. A miniature *stūpa*, with tall pointed *hiti* in three stages, is above each shoulder, and under the *stūpa* over the left shoulder there is a six-petalled flower. The inscription is on both sides of the goddess and below her. It is the "Buddhist creed."

Nos. VI and VII resemble Nos. IV and V in shape, but are slightly smaller, being about 3¼" in length. A seated Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa* attitude, with his right hand pointing to the ground, is substituted for the goddess. The legend is stamped at the sides of and below the image and is the "Buddhist creed." The *stūpas* at the shoulders are similar to those on Nos. IV and V, but the six-petalled flower is wanting.

The characters in all the tablets Nos. II to VII are certainly not very ancient.<sup>1</sup> They seem to me to date from about the sixth or seventh century A.D. The alphabet of the Buddha tablets is perhaps rather older than that of the goddess tablets.

The only recognizable coin which was brought to me was a common coin of a king of Jaunpur in the fifteenth century, but much worn ancient copper coins are sometimes found.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. I, V, and VII accompany this paper, and are at the disposal of the Society. See Plate. The other specimens have been deposited in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

No inscription other than the legends on the tablets has yet been discovered.

The Sohnäg tablets closely resemble in general character those found at Pakna-Bihār in the Farrukhābād District, which have been described and illustrated by Cunningham.<sup>1</sup> As at Pakna-Bihār, the Sohnäg tablets are frequently found enclosed in balls of clay.

The plans show the extent to which the main building has been excavated. The largest quadrangle, that to the north, has not yet been touched. The object of the excavator being to obtain bricks for railway ballast, the rubbish which fills the interior of the cells has rarely been disturbed, and in consequence many small objects, no doubt, remain to be discovered. The six small mounds to the west have not been disturbed. They are probably *stūpas*.

The small mound marked "*samādhi*" near the flight of steps was opened by me and proved to be the tomb of a *fakīr*, who had been buried, as usual, in a sitting position. I replaced and covered up his bones, which were accompanied by the clay beads of his rosary.

It is, I think, impossible to doubt that the main building is a monastery. The tablets show that it was a monastery of Buddhists of the Mahāyāna sect. The style of the masonry proves that the building is much more ancient than the objects found in it which have been above described. At the Commissioner's house in Gorakhpur there is a terracotta seated Buddha about a foot and a half high, which has a much more archaic appearance than the seals. It came from Sohnäg, as also did a broken stone stool which is kept with it. Such stone stools, as is well known, are commonly found in the ruins of Buddhist monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

Although the remarkable remains at Sohnäg are for the first time rendered intelligible by the recent excavations and the description in this paper, they have been more or less known for many years.

<sup>1</sup> "Archæological Survey Reports," vol. iii, pp. 35-38, pl. xii.

<sup>2</sup> I gave Professor Rhys Davids a fragment of a large black stone votive tablet, or "seal," from Sohnäg, inscribed in characters of about the fifth century. The inscription had contained a royal genealogy.

Buchanan-Hamilton heard of them, and sent a native draughtsman to visit them, who made drawings of some of the mediaeval Hindu statues in the shrines on the surface of the mound.<sup>1</sup>

The ruins were again and more fully described by Mr. William Crooke, I.C.S., who served for a considerable time in the Gorakhpur District about twenty-five years ago. When Mr. Crooke visited Sohnāg no excavations had been made, and it was "impossible to say accurately what buildings it contained." He estimated the height of the most elevated part of the mound at 50 feet, and conjectured that it was probably a *stūpa*, "the lower portion (which shows traces of a quadrangular building) being a Buddhist monastery and apartments for ascetics." I agree with Mr. Crooke that a *stūpa* probably existed on the highest part of the mound, now crowned by the temple of Gauriṣankar.

Mr. Crooke was in error in supposing the images in the modern temples on the ruins to be Buddhistic. They are ordinary Brahmanical statues of Śiva and Pārvatī (Gauriṣankar), Viṣṇu, etc.

The hero Paraśu Rāma is specially venerated at Sohnāg, and a fair in his honour is held on the 3rd of the bright half of the month Baisākh (April-May) in the open space to the north of the monastery, as shown in the map.<sup>2</sup> Probably this fair is a survival of some Buddhist holiday.

Mr. Crooke says that the ancient name of Sohnāg was Nāgpur. According to Buchanan-Hamilton, "the original name of the place was Nagar."

The Brahmanical legends about the place, which are cited by Mr. Crooke and the earlier writer, are not worth repeating.

Sohnāg, as Mr. Crooke observed, is one of a series of ancient sites extending from the crossing of the Ghāgrā river (also called Deohā) along the northern road through Kasiā to Nepāl. The present crossing-place is at Bhāgalpur

<sup>1</sup> "Eastern India," vol. ii, p. 361, pl. iv. (London, 1838.)

<sup>2</sup> Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, vol. vi, pp. 544-546. (Allahabad, 1881.)

on the Gorakhpur side, and Turtipār on the Baliyā, or southern, side of the river. A huge *ḍiḥ* or mound of ruins called Khairigarh is close to Turtipār. A great railway bridge is now being constructed between Bhāgalpur and Turtipār.

A pillar at Bhāgalpur is inscribed with a record of twenty-one lines in mediaeval characters, supposed to date from the tenth century. This inscription does not seem to have been ever properly edited.<sup>1</sup>

An old ferry used also to exist at Māil, about four miles north of Bhāgalpur. The two ferries may be regarded as one. Two roads go northwards from the river bank. One, running almost due north, passes the ancient Jain site of Kahāon, four miles beyond Māil.<sup>2</sup> About two and a half miles further north there is a mound of ruins at Chero. Seven miles further north the traveller reaches the very extensive remains of Khukhunū (Khukhundo), which are almost, if not quite, conterminous with ruins at Nonkhār, three miles to the north-east.<sup>3</sup> From Nonkhār to the celebrated ruins at Biṣanpur, near Kasiā, so long erroneously reputed to be the site of Kusanagara,<sup>4</sup> the distance due north is about twenty-two miles. I do not know whether ancient remains exist in this interval or not. From

<sup>1</sup> An eye-copy of five lines of the inscription is given in "Eastern India," vol. ii, pl. v, p. 305. Cunningham's assistant, Mr. Garrick, has published photographs of the pillar and the inscription ("Reports," vol. xvi, pls. xxx and xxxi), from which the record might be edited. But it is greatly mutilated. The pillar is close to the bank of the river.

<sup>2</sup> An eye-copy of the inscription on the Kahāon pillar was published in "Eastern India," vol. ii, pl. v, where the name of the village Kahāon appears under the disguise of Kangho. The document was correctly edited and translated by Dr. Fleet ("Gupta Inscriptions"). It records the dedication of the five Jain images carved on the pillar by one Madra, at Kakubhagrāma (Kahāon), in the reign of Skanda Gupta, in the year 141 of the Gupta era, corresponding to A.D. 459. A good photograph of the pillar by Mr. Garrick will be found in pl. xxix of vol. xvi of the "Reports."

<sup>3</sup> Nonkhār is now a railway station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway. Cunningham published a slight description of the Khukhunū ruins in vol. i of the "Reports," pp. 88-91, pl. xxviii. He calls the place Khukhundo, and says that the original name was Kiskindapura. I have always heard the name pronounced without the *d*. I regret that I have not visited the ruins.

<sup>4</sup> These remains are fully described in my monograph entitled "The Remains near Kasiā" (Allahabad, 1896).

Biṣanpur and Kasiā a Buddhist pilgrim would march north-east, cross the river Gandak, and so arrive at Lauriya,<sup>1</sup> and there meet the Nepāl road from Pāṭaliputra (Pātna) and Vaisālī (Basārḥ). The second road from the Bhūgaḥpur or Māil ferry runs in a north-easterly direction towards Sūran, and passes Sohnāg, which is about four miles due east from Kahāonin. Many other ancient mounds exist in the neighbourhood. They are being freely dug up for railway ballast.

Surprise may probably be felt because I have not stopped the excavations at Sohnāg. When I heard of them in January, 1900, the excavations had already continued for a year, and about half the building, or more, had been destroyed. The right of excavating the bricks had been sold by the owners of the village for a trifling sum, Rs. 300, or £20, I believe, to the contractor. Nobody had any notion that such an enormous mass of bricks would be proved to exist, and the contractor has consequently made a small fortune.

The excavation having gone so far, I thought it useless to stop it. Moreover, the mound, while unexplored, was unintelligible. The excavations have revealed the plan of the building, and may at any moment yield inscriptions or other objects of great interest. The preservation of the mere bricks of the foundation is of slight importance. Once the plan has been accurately described and recorded it makes little matter whether the bricks are still in the foundations or not. The superstructure disappeared long ago. I have given the contractor stringent orders to send in all objects discovered. He gave, as already noted, a large number to Dr. Hoey, and the few since found have been willingly given to me. After full consideration of the question I did not feel justified in stopping the excavations.

<sup>1</sup> "Reports," vol. i, pp. 69-73, pl. xxiv; vol. xvi, pp. 104-108, pl. xxviii; vol. xxii, pp. 42-48.



ARI. XIX.—*Notes on the MSS. of the Turkī Text of Bābar's Memoirs.* By ANNETIE S. BLVERIDGE.

THE information contained in the following notes on the MSS. of the Turkī text of Bābar's autobiography I have not seen put together elsewhere. It is offered as an *ad interim* contribution towards a better knowledge of the Turkī text.

The notes enumerate with some detail all the MSS. of which I have learned that they exist or have existed, viz. :

- I. Bābar's autograph MS.
- II. Khwāja Kilān's MS.
- III. (Humāyūn's transcript)
- IV. Elphinstone MS.
- V. British Museum MS.
- VI. India Office MS (Bib. Leydeniana).
- VII. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.
- VIII. Mysore MS. (Tipū's).
- IX. Bibliotheca Lindesiana MS.
- X. Hyderābād MS.
- XI. St. Petersburg University Library MS.
- XII. St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS.
- XIII. St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS (Senkovskī).
- XIV. Bukhārā MS.
- XV. Nazar Bay Turkestānī MS.

Two titles seem to be used for these MSS., viz. *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* and *Bābarnāma*. A third name—*Bābarīyah*, بابريه—is given to the work in the last of the St. Petersburg fragments (cf. No. XII). Bābar uses *و مايعی* as a common noun when speaking of his writings. The title *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*, when

used exactly, seems to apply to the Persian translation only. The colophon of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS. supplies a new name, *Waqāyī'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*.

For help in preparing these notes, I have to thank Mr. A. G. Ellis for his invaluable guidance amongst the catalogues and books used in the British Museum; Mr. C. Salemann (director of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum, and compiler with Baron v. Rosen of the Oriental MSS. Catalogue of the St. Petersburg University Library, 1888), for most useful and exquisitely framed notes on the Russian Turkī texts; Professor Nicolas Féodorovitch Katanoff, of the Kazan University, for much useful information and the trouble taken in collecting it; Mr. N. Schilder, director of the St. Petersburg Public Library; Miss Fanny Toulmin Smith, together with other friendly help, for a translation of Ilminski's preface; Mr. William Irvine; Professor E. Denison-Ross; and Mr. W. Hull Griffin and Mr. E. de Necanda-Trepku, who both helped me with Ilminski's preface. For the loan of MSS. I have to thank the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, the India Office, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and I am indebted to Professor Robert K. Douglas for enabling me to use these MSS. under his charge at the British Museum. Those who have worked much at the British Museum realize from time to time that one is made free of its vast resources and that it is truly our own national and individual possession. For this reason it does not always occur to us to express the gratitude we really feel, for its helpfulness and generous collaboration.

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### I. *Emperor Bābar's autograph MS.*

Certain divergencies in the substance of the Turkī texts have suggested to me that Bābar put forth two versions of his autobiography, a first which was based on a diary and a second which was in parts revised and polished.



The St. Petersburg MSS. appear to me to have descended from the first edition, the Elphinstone MS and its allies from the second. In speaking of the Russian Foreign Office MS. (No. XII) I have named some points which suggested this as possible. Their worth can only be judged by expert examination.

Whether any MS. that may be ranked as autograph still survives, I am not able to say. A little hope encircles some of the Russian set, and there are special features of the Elphinstone which forbid its exclusion until further examination of it has been made. Unfortunately I have not been able to find this most valuable copy.

The date of composition of even the earlier and elaborated portion of the *Tuzuk-i-bābarī* or *Bābar-nāma* is fixed by internal evidence as being late in the author's reign. This is pointed out by Mr. Erskine; M. Pavet de Courteille supports it by citation of evidence, and to this evidence more might be added. The whole of the work (which, however, seems to be based upon a diary) appears to have been written in Hindūstān, where perhaps it filled the tedious leisure of hot seasons.

A portion of the *Bābar-nāma* and a transcript of that portion (cf. No. II) existed prior to March 5th, 1529, since the transcript was despatched on this day to Samarqand.<sup>1</sup> That Bābar was working much later we gather from Gulbadan Begam. She went to Hindūstān with Māham Begam, who reached Agra on June 27th, 1529. Several months later she accompanied Bābar and Māham to Dhūlpur and Sikrī. In her narrative of incidents of this excursion she names a building in Sikrī where her "royal father used to sit and write his book," and these words, with their context, allow the inference that he was doing so at the time of her visit, i.e. later than the "Gualār passage" (Mems., 425). The manuscript fragments which are attached to No. XII, reproduced by Ilminaki and made familiar by Pavet de Courteille, carry down the narrative

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Bābar*, Leyden and Erskine, p. 405.

which is, in them, attributed to Bābar, to within a few weeks at most of his death on December 26th, 1530.

## II. *Khawāja Kilān's MS.*

This is the transcript already named as despatched on March 5th, 1529, to Samarqand. Of its survival I have no information. It was sent to Khwāja Kilān (a Samarqand *khwāja* and not Bābar's intimate friend of the same title), who, having been on a visit at Bābar's Court in Agra, took leave to return home on February 1st, 1529. He had preferred a request for a copy of Bābar's book, and under date March 7th, 1529, the Emperor notes its dispatch to him.

Of this MS., then, it is known that it was not carried beyond March, 1529. Also that it did not contain Humāyūn's notes of 1553-4 (961 H. Cf. No. III): In this last particular it agrees with St. Petersburg No. XII.

A minute point as to the date of this transcript is seen by considering the following parallel passages from the Persian and English versions. For the sake of comparison the Turkī and French are added.

I.O., Pers., No. 29 and No. 3,405 (old numbering):

خواجه کلان نبیرد یحی از من وفایعی که نوشته شود میطلبید  
استکتاب کنانده بودم از دست شهرک فرستاده شد

Memoirs, p. 405 :

"Khwāja Kilān, Khwāja Yahia's grandson, had asked for a copy of the Memoirs" [وفایعی memoirs] "which I had written. I had formerly ordered a copy to be made, and now sent it by Sherek."

Ilminski, p. 469, l. 12 :

خواجه کلان خواجه یحی نینک نبیرد سی مین دین بیتیی  
تورگان وفا یعنی تیلایدور ایدی استکتاب قیلد وروب ایدیم شهرک  
دین بیباریلدی

Pavet de Courteille, II, 326 :

“ Khwāja Kilān, petit-fils de Khwāja Yahia, m'avait demandé une copie des mémoires que j'étais en train d'écrire ; je la fis exécuter en effet et chargeai Sherek de la lui remettre.”

With the deference natural towards Mr. Erskine, I suggest that his “ formerly ” perhaps implies a time unnecessarily remote. *Istiktāb kunānda budam* may refer only to the interval between the request and its fulfilment by despatch of the copy, i.e. during the visit of Khwāja Kilān to Agra or even after his departure. If the copy had existed before the Khwāja left Agra, it would have been natural for him to receive it before he left.

In rendering *navishta shavad* by “ had written ” is not the subjective force of *shavad* wasted ? Cannot *navishta shavad* contain the idea of “ whatever might have been written,” i.e. incomplete as it was, and thus indicate a time less remote and definite than does “ had written ” ? *Mitalbid* could also yield a fuller notion than “ had written,” e.g. “ kept asking,” or “ used to ask,” either of which forms would modify the sense as to time of transcription.

### III. (*Emperor Humāyūn's Transcript.*)

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the sole evidence of the existence of this MS. is afforded by a marginal note of the Emperor Humāyūn upon a copy of the *Tūzūk-i-babari*, and by Mr. Erskine's translation of that note. The words of the translation (Mems., 303) are as follows :—

“ Now that I am forty-six, I, Muḥammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.”

Some doubt having arisen in my mind about this passage, I have not ventured to include Humāyūn's transcript amongst MSS. of which the existence is established. The matter is of great interest, for the words just quoted and their context are valuable both historically and critically. They are a part of one of two notes made by Humāyūn

and which Mr. Erskine says occur in the Elphinstone Turkī text, i.e. that with which he collated his finished work. They do not appear in all the Turkī texts. (This point is taken up in each section of these notes.) One only appears in any of the considerable number<sup>1</sup> of MSS. of the Persian translation in which I have looked for them.

Of Humāyūn's two notes, the second concerns a fruit—the *amratphul* (Mems., 329, n.). Of this it is sufficient to say here that it is not found in any MS.—Turkī or Persian—to which I have had access. The Elphinstone, I regretfully repeat, has eluded my search.

The first note (Mems., 302–3) is that of which part has been quoted. It is necessary to consider it somewhat in detail. I must then leave it to scholars to judge whether it justifies the admission of "Humāyūn's Transcript" amongst facts.

I cannot quote the note in Turkī because I have not seen it in that tongue.<sup>2</sup> It is given below in full from Persian and English versions; the former is strictly the source of the latter, since it is an extract from B.M. Add. 26,200, from which Mr. Erskine translated.

B.M. Add. 26,200, f. 248, l. 6:

در همین منزل همین روز همایون در روی خود استره یا مقراض  
رساند چون حضرت مرحومی استره رساندن را در آن وقایع ذکر  
کرده بودند بنده داعی بتتبعاً آنرا ذکر کرد در آن تاریخ هشتده  
ساله بودم الحال در سن چهل شش سال بوده باشم حرره محمد  
همایون از نقلِ خطِ مبارک آن حضرت منقول شد

Mems., 302–3:

"(At this same station and this same day, the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard. As my

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Erskine worked from two Persian MSS., i.e. B.M. Add. 26,200 and B.M. Add. 26,201 (Mr. Metcalfe's), the latter being, he says, "defective and incorrect." In these more facile days این حقیر was easily able to consult a round dozen.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Heyden's manuscript translation from the Turkī gives no help, because it ends before the notes of Humāyūn are reached.

honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six. I, Muhammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.)"

Having had occasion, on another ground, to note the occurrence of this passage in the Turkī and Persian versions of the autobiography of Bābar, I looked for it in all available MSS. I found it in none of the Turkī, but in at least fourteen of the Persian. Reiterated perusal awakened some deferential uncertainty as to Mr. Erskine's reading. It was a most regretful doubt, since this rendering not only provides a critical test of some points in the history of the MSS., but is full of human interest. Everyone would prefer to leave the king-in-exile to his pious task, untroubled by criticism. Everyone, too, who has enjoyed Mr. Erskine's writings, must desire to find him always in the right.

At this point occurred one of those fortuitous dovetailings which now and then fit into one's work the exact thing it needs. Mr. Beveridge, writing from India about a remarkable Persian *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī* which he had seen in Alwar, observed that it, as well as the lithograph of Mīrzā Muḥ. Shirāzī, contains a copyist's note on the "shaving passage" (i.e. Humāyūn's note; *Mems.*, 302-3), to the effect that this passage was copied from Humāyūn's own handwriting.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Shirāzī passage (171, foot), confused and defective in several places, runs thus :—

در همین منزل همین روز همایون در روی خود استره یا مقراض  
رساید چون حضرت مخدومی استره رساندن در آن وقایع ذکر کرده  
بودید (omission) در آن تاریخ هشتده ساله بود من (بودم؟) در  
من چهل و شش سال بوده باشم محمد دمایون از نقل خط مبارک  
حضرت منقول شد

Seen by the light of this remark, the questioned portion of Humāyūn's note, i.e. from *dar san chahal*, appears to me to read more naturally thus:—

"I am 46. Signed [i.e. he writes, حُرِّره] Muḥ. Humāyūn."

*"Copied from a copy of a copy of the blessed handwriting of His Majesty"* (Humāyūn).

The sentence italicized would then read as a scribe's note.

As is well known from Mr. Erskine's preface to the Memoirs, he translated from the Persian text, and collated his finished work with the Turkī MS. which Dr. Leyden had used. He writes (preface, vii): "From some marginal notes which appear on both copies of the translation [Persian, B.M. Add. 26,200 and 26,201] as well as on the Turkī original [Elphinstone MS.], it appears that the Emperor Humāyūn . . . had transcribed the Memoirs with his own hand."

Now the Persian note (Mems., 302-3) on which is based the statement that a transcript was made by Humāyūn, is not "marginal" in either of the above-named Persian texts. These two only were used by Mr. Erskine. In both, the whole of the passage which Mr. Erskine attributes to Humāyūn, is incorporated uncritically in the text. Nothing differentiates it in any way. This is true also of all the other Persian MSS. that I have examined.

Mr. Erskine, however, chose to use the word "marginal." This raises the surmise that the note may be truly marginal in the Elphinstone Turkī MS., since if Mr. Erskine had seen it embodied only in the text, Turkī or Persian, it seems probable that some word other than "marginal" would have passed from his pen, e.g. *interpolated* or *reproduced from a marginal note*. On the other hand, it must be remembered that his considered translation was made from the Persian, and that he collated only with the Turkī. If in collating he had had revealed to him by a marginal note on the Turkī MS., a fact, veiled in the Persian wording, of such great interest as the copying of Bābar's book by Humāyūn, it would have accorded with his practice in the case of

variants elsewhere for him to comment upon the discovery and upon the variation of the texts.

If Mr. Erskine's reading be correct and indisputably based on the Turkī, the copyists of the Persian MSS. have gone wrong, since they vary the note as their copies descend from the original. (Cf. Table, *infra*.) The reading adopted by the later scribes is of course of little weight, since this is due to the initiative of the earlier ones and in particular and chief of the earliest.

The later copyists indicate for their work three degrees of descent from the source, viz. :

(a) Copied from a copy of a copy of the handwriting.

Going back a step, the passage stands :

(b) Copied from a copy of the handwriting.

Earlier than this must have been a form of which I have no examples, viz. :

(c) Copied from the handwriting.

Perhaps this (c) existed only in the Turkī texts.

It seems that the first scribe, i.e. he who wrote as in example (c), either did not read what Humāyūn wrote in the way Mr. Erskine has read and translated, or that he did not set down his reading so clearly as to prevent his successor from falling into error and adding a 'naql.'

Both the Persian texts used by Mr. Erskine are worded like example (a), which allows the inference of three descents from the "blessed handwriting." How would Mr. Erskine have worded his translation if example (b) had been before him?

If the whole of the note under discussion be attributed, as Mr. Erskine has attributed it, to one hand—Humāyūn's,

the reading is strengthened by the use of *an* in *an ḥazrat* and not *ain*. But if the words "Muḥ. Humāyūn" be taken as a signature and the following words as a copyist's note, the scribe would have no reason to make a distinction between Bābar and Humāyūn, and the grammatical force of *an* would be less. As Mr. Erskine read the passage, *an* is applied to the one person named by Humāyūn, i.e. Bābar.

Mr. Erskine's reading is not without a grammatical difficulty, since "Muḥ. Humāyūn" is the nominative of *manqūl shud*. Two other points attract attention in Mr. Erskine's translation—

(1) To allow of it, either the word *naql*, used without limitation, must be read in two senses in the same sentence ;

(2) Or the passage contains the information that Bābar wrote down two MSS., since Humāyūn transcribes from the duplicate (copy, *naql*) of His Majesty's handwriting.

Mr. Erskine uses 'copy' as equivalent to 'MS.' Can a first autograph MS. be truly called, *Anglice*, a copy (i.e. as we speak of one book in an edition), or *Persice*, *naql*, a duplicate ?

If *naql* be read as 'narrative,' the main difficulties would remain.

If one were to readjust a little and let in a copyist to account for one *naql*, an objection of a different nature would be started. Humāyūn would commemorate the descent of his transcript from Bābar, to the scribe, to himself—an undignified and improbable 'switchback.'

So much has of necessity been said as to the Persian MSS. that a few discursive complementary words further may be allowed.

In the thirteen MSS. tabulated below, the note attributed by Mr. Erskine to Humāyūn is essentially identical as far as and inclusive of the words *ḥarara-hu*, *Muḥ. Humāyūn*. The word *ḥarara-hu*, حراره, was perhaps a puzzle to some of



the scribes; it takes various forms, never carries the *zamma*, and has sometimes a vagrant dot.<sup>1</sup>

After the word "Humāyūn" the MSS. show a good deal of variation. This may be seen in the following table. It includes some details of reference, and, moreover, indicates some correspondence between the date of the MSS. and their degree of descent.

<sup>1</sup> As illustrating the use of the Ar. *ḥ* in this expression, Mr. William Irvine referred me to the inscription under the portrait of Juhāngir which faces p. 116 of Mr. W. Foster's "Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe," and where the parallel expression *ṣāqama-hu* is used. The *ḥ* would explain the abnormal *mim* on which Mr. Wollaston comments (J.R.A.S., Jan., 1900, p. 71). Mr. Irvine has mentioned to me another instance of *ḥarūa-hu* حروءه, which occurs in the colophon of a B.M. Persian MS., *Munīsh-ul-asrār*, by Jahān-ārā Begam, daughter of Shāh-jahān.

DESCRIPTION OF MSS. (Pers.).	FOLIO REF.	DATE OF MS.	VARIANTS.	REMARKS.
B.M. Or. 3714 ...	363a ...	End of 16th cent. (Rieu).	<i>naql az naql-i-khaṭ-i-muḥṣiḥ</i>	An unusually fine illustrated MS.
" Add. 24,416 ...	238a ...	" " "	<i>manqūl shud ...</i>	
" " 16,623 ...	202a ...	1638 A.D. (Rieu)	<i>az naql-i-khaṭ manqūl shud</i>	Mr. Erskine's better MS.
" " 26,200 ...	248a ...	Prob. 16th cent (Rieu).	" "	
" " 16,691 ...	131a ...	1735 A.D. (Rieu)	<i>az naql-i-naql-i-khaṭ manqūl shud</i>	
I.O. 29 (old cat.) ...	218a ...	" "	" "	
Bodleian-405... ..	264a ...	" "	" "	Evidently related. Both have a mistake which makes Humāyūn go to Kābul the day preceding the entry of his note.
" 180... ..	141a ...	Not dated, and no estimate made by the Bodleian ...	" "	
" 341... ..	165 ...	" "	" "	
A.S. Bengal 324 ...	No paging	No date	" "	
Bib. Lind. 160 ...	No paging	c. 1780 (Bib. Lind. Cat.)	" "	
B.M. Add. 26,201 ...	118 ...	Early nineteenth century.	<i>naql dar naql-i-khaṭ</i>	
I.O. 330 (old cat.) ...	163 ...	" "	" "	

IV. *Elphinstone MS.* : *T̤uzuk-i-bābari* (*Mems.*, 183 n.).

This is the copy translated from by Dr. Leyden, and with it Mr. Erskine collated his finished work. It was purchased in Peshāwar by Mr. Elphinstone when on his mission to Kābul in 1809. On Dr. Leyden's death it would seem to have met with some misadventure, since Mr. Erskine speaks of it as "fortunately recovered" by Mr. Elphinstone, who had believed it sent to Europe with Dr. Leyden's papers. Mr. Elphinstone, having again become possessed of it, sent it to Mr. Erskine, and thus "reduced" him, "though heartily sick of the task, to the necessity of commencing work once more," i.e. of collating his own translation from the Persian and incorporation of Leyden's translation from the Turkī, with Leyden's original. This will have occurred before 1816, the date of completion of the Memoirs. Since that time I have found only one mention of the MS., viz. in a manuscript note made by Mr. Erskine and dated 1848, and I have not found the MS. It is one of special value and interest; by dwelling at length on my inability to find it, information may be obtained and the precious volume located.

Mr. Erskine's note is made upon a flyleaf of the B.M. *T̤uzuk-i-bābari* (Add. 26,324), which was once his own. This MS. is imperfect and disarranged. Mr. Erskine has analyzed its contents. The analysis is followed by the remark : — "N.B. The folios 25 38 are wanting in Mr. Elphinstone's copy of the original, *now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.*" The whole entry is signed by Mr. Erskine, and is dated Edinburgh, 25th December, 1848.

Led by this note, which was and is my only clue to the MS., I wrote to the Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Mr. J. T. Clark, for permission to see it. He replied that the Advocates' Library did not possess the MS., and incidentally mentioned that a copy of the Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine) had been missing for more than thirty years. After fruitless enquiry elsewhere for the MS., I acted upon

the coincidence of learning the loss of the translation when I had sought the original, and troubled the Keeper with questions as to the receipt of the Memoirs. It was possibly a gift, I thought, and some record of this might name the MS. This slender clue failed. The annals of the Library lead to the view that Mr. Erskine's work was received in due course under the Copyright Acts. The Keeper assures me as to the MS. that "recent exhaustive enquiries have failed to show that it has ever been the property of the Faculty of Advocates, there being no entry of it in either of the catalogues of the MSS., nor is it in the manuscript collection *uncatalogued*, as a recent individual examination of the contents of the MS. Room shows." The italics are the Keeper's. The word so distinguished is depressing to those who do not know the safeguards of the Library.

Of course, even Mr. Erskine may have been mistaken, but the reasons which led me to trouble the Keeper with repeated enquiries and to hope for success are not light. They are—

(1) Mr. Erskine's own intimate knowledge of and interest in Mr. Elphinstone's MS. This interest was persistent, as is shown by the memorandum just quoted, which was made thirty-two years after he had finished his translation. His literary work, however, had been faithful to *Bābariana*.

(2) Mr. Erskine made the note in the close neighbourhood of the Advocates' Library, i.e. in Edinburgh.

(3) The note is not hasty or casual. The information as to location of the MS. is designed and carefully inserted.

The MS. may be in private hands. It is not in any of the great libraries of London, Oxford, or Cambridge. It is not any one of the other MSS. enumerated in these notes. This is shown by consideration of their respective contents. It would be truly regrettable if it were lost. It has special features of great interest, and in particular the note which might decide the question of Humāyūn's transcript. Mr. Erskine describes it as "very correct" and "unfortunately

incomplete." Its continuous narrative ends before the battle of Khānwā<sup>1</sup> (Mems., 355 n.), and a short fragment only follows (Mems., 382 top to 389 top). It is unique amongst the Turkī texts which I have seen or know, in the particular that it contains both the notes of Humāyūn. This is a remarkable distinction. The notes may be autographic.

In quoting the *amratphul* note (Mems., 330 n.), Mr. Erskine says: "There is in the Turkī copy the following note of the Emperor Humāyūn. It is not found in either of the Persian translations." Unfortunately he does not quote any Turkī words, and it is only from his preface that one infers the note to be "marginal." It would be most useful to know in what way the note is vouched for in the Turkī as Humāyūn's. If with *harara-hu*, this would throw light on the other.

Dr. Leyden, as has been said, gives no help, his MS. ending at a point some eighty pages earlier in the Memoirs.

V. B.M. Add. 26,324. (Title absent.)

Mr. Erskine gives, on a flyleaf of this book, the following account of its contents: "This volume contains scattered fragments of the original Turkī Commentaries of Bābar, being apparently some leaves preserved from a copy that had gone to pieces, and which have been bound together out of order. These fragments are six in number, with a portion of a tailpiece containing the name of the transcriber and the date of transcription. The following table will assist in restoring them to their proper place."  
. . . . "N.B. The folios 25-38 r. are wanting in Mr. Elphinstone's copy of the original, now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. See Memoirs of Bābar, p. 355, note." . . . . (Signed) "William Erskine, Edinburgh, December 25th, 1848."

<sup>1</sup> By a slip of memory Mr. Erskine (pref. xi) has indicated Pānipat (307) instead of Khānwā (355) as the last topic of Mr. Elphinstone's MS. In the intermediate pages (307-355) are eight notes referring to the Turkī text, and these include Humāyūn's on the *amratphul*.

This volume was formerly Mr. Erskine's, and was given to him by Major Yule in 1836. It was therefore not used in the preparation of the Memoirs.

The tailpiece states that the MS. was transcribed<sup>1</sup> by the "humblest of those who have charge of the *khānazādān*, Daud, son of 'Alī'u-l-kashmīrī, in 1629-30." Eight years later this same copyist produced a fascinating *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī* (which is catalogued as B.M. Add. 16,623), thus working twice after Bābar, once on the Turki<sup>2</sup> and once on the Persian. The latter copy was made at Lahōr in 1638.

Neither of Humāyūn's notes occurs in this volume; their place falls in a *lacuna*.

### راعی کمترین خانزادان داود بن علی کشمیری<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The date of this transcript and its finished beauty testify to the continued interest felt at Akbar's Court in the Turki text. Mr. William Irvine assures me that this interest persisted much later. "Turki," he writes to me, "was spoken, i.e. understood, at the Mughal Court well into the eighteenth century, and up to that time there were numbers of Qalmaq, Uzbek, and Qirghiz women servants and slaves in the harems. Within 50 or 60 years of the Mughal arrival in India, how much more usual must such knowledge have been."

By critics, Bābar's literary style is accounted one of the best amongst Turki authors. His writings, like Mīr 'Alī Shīr's, would be a textbook for all who read Turki and who could get access to them. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm presumably made acquaintance with them in early youth, since there must have been a strong Turki element in his father's household. His mother was a Mewatī, and his father died when he was three; but Bairam Khān was a full-born Turkomān, and of a family so distinguished amongst the Black Sheep that tribal position would be a source of pride. Bairam was great-grandson, through a son, of 'Alī Shīr Bahārī. His mother also was of good Turki birth. One of his wives, Sālīma, was of the same degree of descent from 'Alī Shīr, through a daughter, Pāshā. Sālīma married Akbar later, and 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was brought up with Akbar's sons, of whom it is known that at least Sālīm learned Turki.

'Abdu-r-raḥīm's parentage and upbringing presuppose familiarity with the Turki language; his bias to learning presupposes that he would early become familiar with one of the masterpieces of that tongue. These things would naturally suggest him to Akbar as a fit translator of the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī*.

The author of the last fragment of Kehr and Ilminski's text says, in the words of Pavet de Courteille, "Quant au livre appelé *Bābariyah*, بابریہ, Mīrzā Khān, fils de Bairam Khān, a été chargé de le traduire du turc en persan pour en faciliter la lecture à ceux qui ignoreraient la première de ces deux langues."

It is somewhat strange that the earlier translation of this *Tūzūk*, by Mīrzā Pāyanda Ḥasan and Muḥ. Qulī, which was finished in 1586, four years before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's, is passed over by contemporaries. It may be noted here that the B.M. copy of this translation does not contain Humāyūn's notes. They fall in a *lacuna*.

[Cf. Pers. Cat., Rieu, p. 799; I.O. Cat., s.r. *Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī*; Bodl. Cat., s.r.]

# VI. *India Office MS., Bib. Leydeniana, No. 178. (No title.)*

The India Office enjoys the reputation of possessing an unusually fine copy of the Turkī *Tāzūk-i-bābari*. Several *a priori* considerations lead to the expectation that this will be the Mysore MS. (Tipū's), but the only example of our *Tāzūk* to be found in the Library is the one named above, which came from Dr. Leyden's collection.<sup>1</sup>

Everyone approaches a famous MS. with deference and pleasurable anticipation, and in the case of the I.O. Turkī *Tāzūk-i-bābari*, I most assuredly was not the proof of this rule. Unfortunately my respectful attitude towards it has been so rudely changed and by a disillusion so complete as to be comic. If I dwell upon my experience here, it is only to emphasize the case of the MS., and for this reason the personal intrusion will, I trust, be excused.

I had asked the loan of this MS., and the I.O. Library Committee had, upon a security bond, heavy as being the value of a book, acceded to my request. Pending final arrangements, I came to know more of our poverty in this *Tāzūk*, and took alarm at the risk to which a MS. is exposed in a private house, since a forfeited bond is no compensation for the loss of a valuable MS. I accordingly withdrew my request for the loan to be made to myself, and later on, by the kind intervention of Professor Robert K. Douglas, obtained permission for the MS. to be sent to his safe charge in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> A passage may be appropriately quoted from the *Journal Asiatique* (January, 1842) which shows that a hygone *savant* did not clearly distinguish between Tipū's MS. and *Bib. Leydeniana*. "Les Mémoires de Bābar, تازوک بابری, \* faisaient partie de la bibliothèque de Tippou Sahib, tué 4 Mai, 1799 " "la bibliothèque entière fut offert à l'East India Company, à l'exception de quelques manuscrits réservés pour la société asiatique." "C'est maintenant dans cette bibliothèque, ainsi que nous lisons dans la grammaire turque de Davids que se trouve l'original des Mémoires." The writer of the above has not, however, observed that Davids names Leyden's MS. and not the East India Company's. "Heureusement," says Davids, "l'original de cet ouvrage intéressant existe encore, et le MS. se trouve dans la bibliothèque de la Compagnie des Indes. Il appartenait autrefois au feu Dr. Leyden." The *Journal Asiatique* leaps from the Mysore MS. to *Bib. Leydeniana, No. 178*. The former is not found in the Library; the latter is an ancient possession. It was at latest in 1832 that Davids saw it, and presumably, since Dr. Leyden died in 1811, it had passed much earlier into the hands of the East India Company.

It is with something like consternation that I find No. 178 unable to account for its reputation. It discloses itself so defective as to provoke the surmise that for some ninety years it has subsisted, in unquestioned honour, upon the fame of another transcript. It has contrived to deceive all round, and up till now, since the latest official utterance about it flatters it as "complete."<sup>1</sup>

The grounds of this unpleasant surmise are as follows:—

(1) Competent advisers assure me that the transcript is modern and of nineteenth-century date. Its former owner, Dr. Leyden, died in 1811. The flyleaves of the binding are water-marked "S. Wise & Patch, 1805."<sup>2</sup>

(2) It carries no credentials either of its own rank or of owners earlier than Dr. Leyden. It does not bear the stamp of the East India Company or of the India Office. The sole indication of its ownership is, "*Bib. Leydeniana*, 2,538" upon a flyleaf, an entry apparently made in its entirety in the library to which it passed after Leyden's death, i.e. either that of Fort William in Calcutta or of the East India Company in London. (The same flyleaf bears a pencilled "85" and an I.O. shelf-mark.) The binding is the identical brown of other books formerly Dr. Leyden's. The transcript has no distinction: no marginal frame, no frontispiece, no colophon, no title, no seals, no rubrics; year runs into year and event into event in the casual fashion of poorer Persian transcripts.

Dr. Étché's description, which, it should be noted, is placed amongst those of Persian MSS., says nothing of how or when No. 178 passed into the possession of the India Office. It is catalogued as a *W'āqī'āt-i-bābarī*, but it bears, strictly speaking, no title, since these words are casually dropped by a hand not the copyist's on a binder's flyleaf.

(3) The earlier part of the MS. has been much corrected, roughly and with disrespectful pen. The corrections appear

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Étché's as yet unpublished Catalogue of the India Office Library.

<sup>2</sup> The flyleaves of a volume of Dr. Leyden's own MSS. (B.M. Add. 24,253) are water-marked with the same names and dated 1809.



suddenly. Mistakes occur after this point. Perhaps the attempt at rectification was abandoned.

A few of the errors which lower the character of the MS. for accuracy and careful transcription may be enumerated:

- (a) Cf. Ilminski, p. 40, ll. 8 and 6 from foot, "*khalīfa*" in each line. In No. 178, f. 42*b*, the words between the two *khalīfa* are absent. On the same page and in the last line the same fault occurs between two *si*.
- (b) On the earlier pages of No. 178 it can be seen that a considerable number of omissions have been supplied by marginal corrections in a hand not the copyist's.
- (c) No. 178, f. 97*a*, has a marginal note at the beginning of an erased passage, "*as in jā tā nishān-i-diyar ghalut ast.*" The complementary *nishān* is at the foot of f. 98*b*. Thus nearly two folios are interpolated. This is not a case of simple misplaced folios, since five and a half lines of the text are repeated. These are erased by the corrector at the beginning of the passage, and occur again f. 99*a* top.
- (d) No. 178, f. 223*b*. Here a few words which introduce the story of Bābar's poisoning by Ibrāhīm's mother (Mems., 347) are followed by a passage about Beg Mirak Mughal (Mems., 352, l. 9; cf. Ilminski, 396 and 402). After a few lines of interpolation the poisoning story is resumed.

Other similar errors might be added to this list.

(4) The MS. is singularly incomplete. This the following table (A) endeavours to show. Details are given to facilitate reference, and these include the initial page of each year. The English translation is the standard of reference, and this reference is further defined by mention of events. Through the events, collation with the French version is made facile.

The table sets down the minimum of *lacuna*. A second table (B) notes the gaps by the standard of Ilminski's imprint, and shows the maximum proportion of this which is contained in No. 178.

A.N.	Mems. Page.	I.O. No. 178. Folio.	FIRST TOPIC OF EACH YEAR OR FRAGMENT.	LAST TOPIC OF EACH YEAR OR FRAGMENT.
899	1	15	Bābar's accession ...	Verses about Sī. Mahmūd M. (p. 27).
900	27	314, foot	'Abdū'l-qadīs' embassy ...	Mub. Khan Kūrtān-Uratippa (p. 35).
901	35	49a, l. 4	Sī. Husain M.—Tirmiz ...	Mahdī and Khamsa leave Bābar (p. 41).
902	42	50a, l. 7	Bayasungha M.'s prosperity ...	Mub. Mānim M. defeated (p. 46).
903	46	56a, l. 2	Camp at Bāgh-i-maidān ...	Sayyid Kāmil to Bāran (p. 63).
904	63	77a, l. 1	Return to Khojend ...	Ibrāhim Saris in Ush (p. 70).
905	70	86a, foot	Qambar 'Alī summoned ...	Zāhri Begi and Shaibani (p. 83).
906	83	105a, l. 2	Shaibani at Bāgh-i-maidān ...	Ahmed Beg ridionles Tambob (p. 97).
(a)		119b, l. 8	Lacuna from Mems., 94 to 246	Battle of Kardzin and the three Iurāhins (f. 119e), (p. 94).
907	97	...	Distress in Samarqand ...	Bābar's flight from Akhsi (p. 122).
908	104	...	Bābar's distress ...	Loss of Bābar's golden clasp.
			Supplement from Mems., 123-27.	
910	127	...	Leaves Farphāna ...	Death of Khusrāu Shāh (p. 169).
911	169	...	Death of Qutluq-Nigār Khānān ...	Joint kingship (p. 199).
912	199	...	Bābar goes towards Khurāsān ...	Repentance of Nāsir M. (p. 220).
913	230	...	Bābar leaves Kābul ...	Birth of Humāyūn (p. 234).
914	234	...	Desertion of officers ...	Rebellion (fragment), (p. 235).
			Supplement from Mems., 236-45	
925	246	119d, l. 8	Bābar marches for Bajaur...	Bābar goes to Lamghān (p. 281).
(b)		157b, l. 8	...	Kepek return Aug. 5th (p. 273).
926	261	...	Bābar at Khwāja Sayārān ...	Return to Kābul (p. 284).
			Supplement from Mems., 284-90.	
932	290	157b, l. 8	Fifth invasion of India ...	Sikandar Shāh (p. 343).
(c)		220d, foot	...	Days of week and hours (p. 331).
933	343	...	Birth of Faruq ...	Visit to Koel (p. 373).
(d)		...	Waste of Biana ...	Guns and fortifications—Khāwa (p. 353).
...	345	...	Lacuna from Mems., 353 to 425	Hunting expedition (p. 381).
...	363	...	I.O. No. 178 ends here	Honours to officers (p. 424).
934	373	...	Camp at Koel ...	
384	384	...	Arrival of 'Aankari ...	

The four principal gaps in No. 178 swallow 247 pages of the Memoirs, viz. :

<i>Lacuna</i> (a).	94 to 246 = 152 — 4 pp. Supplement	=	148
„ (b).	272 „ 290 = 18 — 5 pp. „	=	13
„ (c).	331 „ 345	=	14
„ (d).	353 „ 425	=	72

Memoirs' pages lost by *lacunæ* in No. 178      247

N.B.—Bābar's narrative ends with the Guāliār passage, Mems., p. 425. The 425 pages include 19 of Supplement (i.e. pp. 123 to 126, 236 to 245, 284 to 289), leaving a total of 406 pages of translation. At the most then, No. 178 contains the equivalent of 159 out of 406 pages of the Memoirs ( $425 - 19 = 406$  translation pages of the Memoirs.  $406 - 247 = 159$  Memoirs pages in No. 178).

If we refer No. 178 to Ilminski's imprint we find :

<i>Lacuna</i> (a).	Ilminski, 111 to 276	=	165 pages.
„ (b).	„ 306 „ 324	=	18 „
„ (c).	„ 374 „ 394	=	20 „
„ (d).	„ 403 „ 494	=	91 „

Ilminski's pages lost by *lacunæ* in No. 178      294

N.B.—Ilminski's 494 pages (to the Guāliār passage) are equal to 425 pages of the Memoirs.

At the most then, No. 178 contains the equivalent of 200 pages out of 494 of Ilminski's imprint ( $494 - 294 = 200$ ).

There may be other gaps in No. 178. I have made no further examination.

Some marginal notes in the earliest pages, it is of interest to observe, do not seem to be emendations of mistakes but attempts to harmonize the text with some other. This may be a point of great interest in considering the history of the MSS. Words are struck out and others or phrases are substituted. This occurs certainly in some places where No. 178 is in accord with Ilminski; e.g. No. 178, f. 6a, has two lines marked with a marginal query and the word *rdq* erased. These lines are in accord with Ilminski, where the *rdq* occurs (p. 6).

It may be that No. 178 is a copy made for Dr. Leyden at the time when his interest was first drawn towards Bābar's book by acquaintance with the Mysore MS. Dr. Leyden obtained it, as may be inferred from the watermarks (1805) of the binding, before he became possessed of the Elphinstone MS., which was purchased in Peshāwar in 1808. The intimate relation subsisting between I.O. No. 178, and A.S.B. No. 121, is dwelt upon under the heading of the latter MS. (No. VII). Whether their common defects are due to the 'scamping' of their copyists or are reproductions from their source, I am unable to say.

No. 178 is annotated here and there by an English hand, in writing which, to the amateur eye, resembles Dr. Leyden's. The same may be said of those Turkī notes which I have conjectured attempt to harmonize the text with that of some other example.<sup>1</sup> Corrections of faults seem to be in another hand.

No. 178 does not appear to have had honour from Dr. Leyden. He did not translate from it. Nor, it may be added, did Mr. Erskine collate it with his translation or name it amongst MSS. which he used or knew. Having regard to his account of his work with Leyden's original (Elphinstone MS.), this seems to be an early disparagement of the copy.

It may be that the marginal notes, which appear to aim at producing agreement with some other text, are taken from the Elphinstone, one of the MSS. which most unfortunately I have been unable to trace.

Three facts, amongst others available, support the statement that Leyden did not translate from No. 178,—

(a) The broken passage about Būbar's flight from Akhai (Mems., 122) is not in No. 178. It, together with the copyist's note quoted by Mr. Erskine and Dr. Leyden's own ejaculation, occurs in Leyden's MS. of his translation from the Turkī (cf. B.M. Add. 32,629-30).

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of Dr. Leyden's English and Arabic writing can be seen in his manuscript remains at the British Museum.

(b) No. 178 does not contain Humāyūn's notes; their place occurs on f. 176a, last line, and the passage (marked with asterisks by Ilminski) is absent.

(c) No. 178 ends with a passage corresponding to Mems., 353. Mr. Elphinstone's MS., which was used both by Leyden and by Erskine, ends on Mems., 389

VII. *Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. D. No 121 (Cat. 1890):*  
*"Tuzuk-i-bābari."*

This MS was formerly the property of the College of Fort William, and on this ground may earlier have been in Tipū's Şāhib's library.

Ignorance as to the details of the College library system forbids my knowing the import of the date given on a book-plate which, in this MS., is inscribed "C. of F. W., 1825." Many other MSS. formerly in the College and now in the India Office Library bear the same date. One has an interpolated "[1809]" before the 1825. This suggests that 1825 is not a date of acquisition, but of binding or cataloguing or inspection.

If it were a date of acquisition, the fact would make against the supposition that A.S.B. No. 121 came to the College from the Mysore library, because the great gift of the Mysore MSS to the College was in 1800 (*circa*).

A consideration which predisposes against the conclusion that No. 121 was in the royal library at Seringapatam is its insignificance. All that has been said of I.O. No. 178 as an undistinguished MS. may be applied to this one. It has no mark of ownership earlier than the College stamp with date 1825.

It is closely related to I.O. No. 178.<sup>1</sup> Possibly they are parallel in descent, and possibly they are source and copy. In every point which I have examined they are identical. By rough computation, the volume of their

<sup>1</sup> This I have been able to ascertain by the courtesy of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who have sent it for me to the British Museum, through the kind intervention of Professor Robert K. Douglas.

contents is the same. Both have the error of transposing the poisoning of Bābar with the affair of Beg Mirak. Both have been much and carelessly corrected. In both are changes which take them out of verbal agreement with Ilminski. Neither has Humāyūn's note of Mems., 302-3. At the place of its possible occurrence (*circa* 339*b*; there is no paging) the two MSS. are identical, and the text runs on from "Raḥmat piāda" to the "Sun in Aries."

Unlike I.O. No. 178, A.S.B. No. 121 has a tailpiece. It is of no value unfortunately, being merely "*Tamām shud ain kitāb ba 'awan-i-mulku-l-wahhāb; tam-tam-tam.*" (These words occur also in No. XI, St. Petersburg University Library MS.)

If this were the Mysore *Tūzuk*, one would expect to find its satellite dictionary in the same library. This is not included in either of the A.S.B. Catalogues, at any rate under Stewart's designation of it—*Kitāb-i-ṣarfū nehv turkī*.

The size and character of A.S.B. No. 121 are those noted of Tipū's by Stewart.

This MS. is shown by the "No. 241" inscribed on a fly-leaf to be the example catalogued by Zuhūr 'Alī Barelawī in A.S.B. Cat. 1837.

#### VIII. Mysore MS. (Tipū's): "*Tūzuk-i-bābarī*."

This and No. VII may coincide. If they do not, I am unable to locate the Mysore MS.

The only places where I have seen it mentioned by name are Stewart's Catalogue of the Mysore MSS. (1808) and B.M. Add. 26,583. This latter is a volume of Dr. Leyden's own manuscript remains, the paper of which is water-marked "S. Wise & Patch, 1809." It contains a list of books which "formed part of the library of Tippu Sulṭān, and still [N.B., Dr. Leyden died 1811] remain in the College of Fort William, viz. exclusive of those taken to England by Marquis Wellesley and of the books presented by the prize agents to the Asiatic Society [1808]." In this list the *Tūzuk-i-bābarī* and its satellite dictionary are catalogued.

It is not altogether clear whether the MS. went from the College of Fort William to the Asiatic Society of Bengal or to the India Office. Inferentially the following two statements concern it, and would locate it in the library of the A.S.B. :

(1) Stewart (pref., i) writes : "Marquis Wellesley was pleased to order [*circa* 1800] that the Mysore MSS. should be transferred [i.e. from the E.I.C.] to Fort William and deposited in the College."

(2) In the Centenary Review of the A.S.B., Bābu Rajendra Lall Mitter writes (i, 25) : "On the abolition of the C. of F. W. the whole of its Sanscrit, Arabian, Persian, and Urdu works . . . were placed [1835] under the custody of the [A.S.B.] Society. . . . In 1846 . . . the books and MSS. became the property of the Society."

But there is evidence, as to the first of these statements, that *all* the Mysore MSS. did not go to the College of Fort William ; and as to the second, that all which went to the College did not go on to the A.S.B.

This can be conveniently seen by consulting Dr. Loth's Arabic Catalogue of the India Office Library in connection with Stewart's Mysore Catalogue. If one takes (e.g.) Stewart's Arabic list (p. 31 ff.), one finds that of ten MSS. named, three went, not to the A.S.B., but to the India Office. (Loth, s.n. *Rausatu-l-abrār*, *Muludu-l-nabbi*, *Bohjatū-l-muḥaṣṣil*.) Dr. Loth notes them as "C. of F. W., 1825," and in the case of the first-named "C. of F. W., [1805] 1825." Another of the same set of ten is marked "[Tippu]," from which it would seem that it went neither to the College nor to the A.S.B. This is the *Mirātu-l-jinān* (Loth, No. 706).

Dr. Loth's Catalogue has other MSS. marked in both the above ways. It would therefore not be safe to accept either Stewart's or Rajendra Lall Mitter's statement without restriction.

If we now turn to what points to possession of the Mysore *Tūsuk* by the A.S.B., we find that an example of the

work is included as No. 241 in A.S.B. Cat., Zuhūr 'Alī Barelawī, Calcutta, 1837, 8vo, and again in A.S.B. Cat. 1890 (D. No. 121). In neither place is any description given. This example is our No. VII. As has been said, it bears no marks which may allow of its identification with Tipū's.<sup>1</sup>

If now we turn to consider the possibility that the Mysore *Tuzuk* went to the India Office. It is not certain that it went to the A.S.B. The alternative location is the I.O. It is, however, not catalogued in this library.

It would be strange that the I.O. Library should acquire the reputation of possessing a fine *Tuzuk*, if it had never owned another example than Leyden's (No. 178). When Stewart catalogued Tipū's and had to get information as to what it was, from an Afghān trader, the rarity of the MS., taken with the almost certain absence of another copy for comparison, would explain an over-estimate by him of an inferior MS. (e.g. if A.S.B. No. 121 were Tipū's). But this would not account for the high repute in which Leyden's is held at the India Office. Can the past century, since 1811, have slipped by and left it unchallenged? The publication of the Memoirs aroused interest abroad and at home,—witness the works of Kaiser and Caldecott. Did Mr. Erskine never consult an I.O. copy, who knew well a good MS. (the Elphinstone), and was even in 1848 examining another?

There is a point in Dr. Ethé's Pers. Cat. which stirs hope that the I.O. may possess two *Tuzuk-i-bābarī*, and that one is good and the Mysore. The Turkī No. 178 (Bib. Leydeniana) is there said to be "complete." Of No. 180, an 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translation, Dr. Ethé says that it

<sup>1</sup> In considering questions of A.S.B. MSS. regard must be had to the great losses of which Bābu Rajendra Lal Mitter speaks as occurring from 1835 to 1884, and which exceeded 167 in Persian MSS. only. It is to be feared that losses continue. At the risk of being thought ungrateful for the kindness of the Society which has lent me two MSS., I cannot, when on the topic of losses, omit to say that both these MSS. brought to the British Museum a goodly company of book-worms, plump if sluggish. Both the books have newly cut incisions, the work of the worms. So much they gain by their European trip: they have been dealt with as mummies and quarantined in naphthaline. They will exist at least until their return to Calcutta. Everyone who has lived in Bengal knows the uphill fight for books. Should MSS. be allowed to remain in a climate which favours the book-worm and disfavours its pursuit?



corresponds with the Turkī text, and that both end with the Guālīār passage. The Turkī text he refers to cannot, as the Catalogue stands, but be the "complete" No. 178 (Bib. Leydeniana). This, however, does not contain the Guālīār passage.

Has there been a slip in the printing? Did Dr. Ethé describe two Turkī MSS., and have the two notices been disarranged and mutilated? Dr. Ethé compared Pers. No. 180 with a complete text (i.e. containing the Guālīār passage). He incidentally names Ilminski's imprint under No. 180, but if he had compared No. 180 with this, he could hardly have avoided reference to Ilminski's continuation—the "fragments"—and he would also certainly have compared the Bib. Leydeniana MS. with Ilminski's imprint before pronouncing it "complete."

*A priori* the double mistake in Dr. Ethé's catalogue seems more probably to have come in at the printing stage than at the time of his inspection of the MSS.

It is not practicable for me to judge (1) whether the A.S.B. No. 121 is Tipū's, or (2) whether Tipū's came to the I.O. or went to the A.S.B.? To decide this, more acquaintance with library annals and catalogues than is in my reach is needed. If evidence is forthcoming that the A.S.B. *Tūsuk* is really the Mysore, a part of what has been said here falls to the ground. It would be satisfactory to find that a more regal and worthy MS. had been Tipū Šāhib's, and that the I.O. and A.S.B. copies are (scamped) extracts from this.

#### IX. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (Lord Crawford's).

This MS. was purchased in Paris at the sale of M. Alix Desgranges in 1865, and is now kept at Haigh Hall, Westmoreland. Its date is estimated in the Bib. Lind. Catalogue as *circa* 1780.

It is incomplete, ending with Mems., 75, where Qambar 'Alī asks leave to go to his country. It therefore stops far short of Humāyūn's notes, the first of which is on Mems., 302-3.

In the lower margin of the last page is a confused signature, of which so much is legible: *dastkhat Nār Muḥ.* . . . *Abū'l-faẓl* . . . (P) *tamām*. This is written over what may be the catchword of the page next due.

### X. *Hyderābād MS.*

Mr. Beveridge recently (February, 1900) saw this MS. in Hyderābād. It is a fine example, and owned by the family of Sir Salar Jung. I regret that the fuller information for which I hoped, has not reached me in time for insertion.

### XI. *St. Petersburg University Library MS., No. 683 : Bābarnāma.*

For most of the following particulars about this MS. I am indebted to Mr. C. Salemann, the director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.

Its former owner was Mīrzā Kāzīm Beg on whose death in 1871 it was purchased by the University. It was No. 193 in his collection catalogue, and is a comparatively modern transcript which Mr. Salemann thinks, on consideration of the handwriting, may have been made by Mullā Faiẓkhānov (فیض خان اوعلي). Its source is not known, but a marginal note on the last folio reads, <sup>1026</sup> اصل نسخه ده تمت سنه یازلمشدر, i.e. the original of this copy was written in 1026 (A.D. 1617).

Comparison of the dates of transcription shows that it is not Kehr's source, but Mr. Salemann states that its text is "nearly the same" as Ilminski's. It and Kehr's may be copies of the same source.

It has no seals. It ends with the words which conclude the narrative of 935 H. (Ilminski, 494, l. 2). These are followed in the same line by *و تمت ال کتاب بعون الملك* و *تمت فی سنه* . . . *تابشوروب*. Then, after a blank, *الرواہ*. The colophon runs: *تمت فی سلخ شعبان سنه خمس و خمسين و* مائت بعد الألف, "Finished on the last day of Sha'bān in

the year 155 after the thousand (i.e. 1155 H., 1742 A.D.)." Kehr's transcript was made in 1737.

XII. *St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS., No. 360 (Cat. 1890): Bābarnāma.*

This MS. was the sole source of Nicolai Ivanovitch Ilminski's imprint (Kazan, 1857).<sup>1</sup> It was transcribed in St. Petersburg in 1737, from an unnamed source, by Dr. George Jacob Kehr.

A few words as to the life of this German scholar are fitting in view of his important services to Bābariana. He was born on August 8, 1692, at Schleusingen, was educated at Hallé, and became in 1727 Professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Leipzig. His first book was published in the town of his birth when he was 19. Five of his works—all unrelated to the *Bābarnāma*—are catalogued by the B.M. and Bodleian Libraries. These were published in Leipzig from 1724 to 1730. One of them deals with Muḥammadan coins. In 1731 he was attached to the College of the St. Petersburg Foreign Office, and here, as he tells us himself, became Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Turkī. He was also entrusted with the task of elucidating the Muḥammadan coins of the Foreign Office.

Bernhard Dorn enumerates others of his works, of which one has the great interest of being a Latin translation of the *Bābarnāma*. Judging by Dorn's place and mode of entry, this seems to be an imprint in two quarto volumes. The MS. of this work is on the interleaves of Kehr's transcript of the *Bābarnāma*. Dr. Kehr's varied and laborious work marks him as a devotee of literature. He died in St. Petersburg, circa 1760.

Kehr's transcript being, comparatively, so ancient, the greater value attaches to his source. What this was, it is clear that Ilminski did not know; Kehr, he says, tells us nothing direct. All one learns of it, either from Kehr

<sup>1</sup> A translation of Professor Ilminski's preface is appended to this article.

or his editor, Ilminski, is that it contained so many folios, and that in the opinion of the latter it was written in Māvaran-negra (? Māvaru-n-nahr). Kehr's silence appears to point to the fact that the MS. from which he copied was well known and—of MSS. within his reach—unique.

It strikes one as singular that Ilminski should not have discovered and mentioned what was Kehr's source. One wonders the more at his silence on the point, because he regrets the defects in Kehr's MS. and is clear in his perception of the need of collation for production of a good text. There must have been difficulties in his way of which we are not informed. It should also be borne in mind that, in publishing his imprint, he did not aim at more than the production of a Chaghatai-Turkī textbook. His object was not primarily historical, but scholastic. This comes out clearly in his preface; so that, however much one may regret the limitations he has imposed on himself, one cannot blame him for keeping within them. Still, one regretfully wishes he had been more adventurous in his search for another MS. with which to collate Kehr's. Confessed failure to find one would have been more instructive than silence.

If, allowing a digression, we pass on from Kehr and Ilminski to the latter's translator, Pavet de Courteille, we are again confronted by a silence, and one still more remarkable, as to the source of the material worked upon. M. Pavet de Courteille relies implicitly on M. Nicolaï Ivanovitch Ilminski. He looks no further back than the printed *Bābar-nāma* of 1857, and does not name the source even of this—i.e. Kehr's transcript. He does not appear to know that Ilminski expresses great obligation to Erskine's translation for the solution of difficulties and the filling up of *lacunæ*. It is therefore not without amusement that he is found in his preface underrating the direct Turkī element of the Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine) and highly estimating the purity of his own original—German-copied, Russian-edited, English-amended, and uncollated. While there is nothing in his own preface to indicate that he had

read the Russian preface of Ilminski, there is a good deal in the latter which leads to the supposition that he had not.<sup>1</sup>

At the time when he undertook the monumental labour of copying the *Bābarnāma* and of translating it into Latin, Kehr was Professor in the College which now owns his transcript. As has been said, his Latin version is written on the interleaves of the Turkī MSS. Ilminski judges from it and from defects in the Turkī text that Kehr was not master of the Turkī tongue. He appreciates the patience and exceeding carefulness of the German scribe, and notes that on close examination every sign set down by him proved to have value. In worm-eaten passages the remnants of words were copied, and forms were traced where there had been failure to read sense. These difficult places were amended by Ilminski, with Erskine's help, and are indicated by him in his imprint.

The St. Petersburg Foreign Office Catalogue, for acquaintance with which in the B.M., I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis, contains an interesting notice of Kehr's work on the *Bābarnāma*, from which the following passage may be quoted. The annotations of the patient scribe which it chronicles will say a good deal to those readers who are initiated in the same toilsome Way.

"Le professeur Kohr écrit de sa main en 1737 cet exemplaire, sur lequel a été faite l'édition de Kasan de 1857 entreprise par Nicolas Ivanowitch Ilminski, et la traduction française, due à la plume de Pavet de Courteille. Gr. in folio, papier fort et blanc, très gros caractères nasta'liq; les lignes, d'inégale grandeur, sont tantôt plus, tantôt moins nombreuses à la page. De loin en loin, une note en Latin ou en allemand nous renseigne sur la marche du travail de Kehr (f. 370, r.): 'Huc usque scripsi ad vesperam d. 28 Martii, 1737' . . . 'd. 1 Aprili, 1737, Petropoli.' 'Bisher sind 17 Blätter vom dritten Zwölftheil'; enfin 'd. 27 Maji, 1737, Petropoli, huc usque scripsit Georgius

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this, I have seen some words of Professor F. Tenfel which may indicate an opinion that Pavet de Courteille did not read, or at least assimilate, Ilminski's preface, since he says of some parts of this that Pavet de Courteille "hat [sic] nicht beachtet oder nicht bekannt" (D.M.G., vol. xxxvii, 142).

Jacobus Kehr, doctor philosophiæ et professor linguæ Arabicæ, Persicæ atque Turcicæ in Russo - Cæsareo Legationum Collegio.' ”

Again: “Hier endigt sich das achte Zwölftheil, folglich das zweite Drittheil von dem original Codice des *Bābar-nāma*; sind also von *den darinnen befindlich 420 Blättern* abcopirt 280. Restiren demnach noch 140 Blättern.”

Kehr's MS. opens with a pious invocation, which I have not found elsewhere, and has the distinction, rare amongst the Turkī texts, of carrying the narrative down to the Guālīār passage which ends the Persian translation (936 H. = 1529 A.D., Mems, 425). The following table gives details which allow comparison on the point of completion with other Turkī texts. The standards used are the Memoirs and Ilminski's imprint.

	MEMOIRS AND ILMINSKI.	LAST TOPIC.	LAST PAGE.	
			MEMS.	ILM.
1.	Bābar's autograph MS. .. ..	Guālīār ... ..	425	494
2.	Khawāja Kilān's MS. ..	Not known to exist now.		
3.	(Humāyūn's transcript) .			
4.	Elphinstone MS. ... ..	Khaw. Obeidu-l-lāh	389	448
5.	B.M. MS. (fragments only)	Rawal Udī Singh	367	419
6. <sup>1</sup>	I.O. Bib. Leydeniana MS. ..	Guns ... ..	353	403
7.	A.S.B. MS. ... ..	Guns . . . .	353	403
8.	Mysore MS. ... ..	(No information.)		
9.	Bib. Lindesiana MS. ... ..	Qambar 'Alī ...	75	88
10.	Hyderabad MS. ... ..	(No information.)		
11.	St. Petersburg University MS. ...	Ḥasan 'Alī ...	424	494 <sup>2</sup>
12.	St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS. (exclusive of fragments) ...	Guālīār ... ..	425	494 <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This MS. is erroneously reputed to be complete, and is so catalogued. Cf. No. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Supplementary fragments extend to p. 506.

Besides giving us this valuable addition of Turki text, which is equivalent to 54 pages of the Memoirs, the F.O. MS. has with it the interesting supplements which are well known through the French version. Iliminski regards at least one of these as indisputably authentic, viz. the plain tale of the battle of Khānwā. There is no inherent improbability of the authenticity of some other portions, which fill out or carry on Bābar's own narrative. They await the criticism and judgment of an expert.

It is clear that Kehr's MS. and its attached fragments are likely to yield valuable results. As yet they are practically uncriticized,<sup>1</sup> since uncollated.

Besides the *Bābar-nāma* (Turkī and Latin) and the "fragments" above referred to, Kehr's great volume contains a second work. It is separated from the first by two blank pages, and is thus described in the F.O. Catalogue:—

"Un autre ouvrage chaghatai, incomplet d'après Iliminski dans la copie de Kehr, occupe les ff. 778–836. Une longue introduction vante la haute mission qui incombe aux souverains terriestres, et particulièrement aux monarques musulmans (ff. 784b–787b), après quoi on lit de courts extraits de la biographie des princes Timurides qui ont régné sur l'Asie Centrale jusqu'à Humāyūn, sur lequel l'auteur s'arrête plus complaisamment. En voici la table des matières." The names which follow are (stripped of titles): Tīmūr, Shāhrukh, Ulugh Beg, Sa'īd (Kāshgharī), Husain (Herāt), Ahmad (Mīrzā), Maḥmūd (Mīrzā), 'Umar Shaikh, Bābar, Humāyūn.

At this point the Foreign Office Catalogue has: "La date 1126 (1714) qui clot l'ouvrage est selon toute vraisemblance celle de l'original qui a servi à Kehr." Its position would seem to negative Iliminski's suggestion that it is the date of Kehr's source.

I have had occasion to collate somewhat in detail the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tenzel, l.c., for philological criticism of the "fragments" and conjectural source.

French and English versions of the *Bābarnāma*. This, with some other convergent work, has made it seem to me possible that Kehr's original may claim descent from Bābar's earlier and less polished MS. This view rests, lightly and conjecturally only, upon the following considerations :—

(1) Some minor divergencies of statement (omissions, additions, variants), seem to indicate revision.

(2) Kehr's text includes an important passage about the adoption of Hindāl by Māham Begam, which is not in Erskine,<sup>1</sup> and therefore presumably not in the Elphinstone MS. As a record of domestic life and custom it is interesting, and it is, moreover, the only place where Bābar names Dildār, the mother of Hindāl, Gulrang, Gulchahra, and Gulbadan. Its intimate character, however, would lead to the expectation that it would be omitted rather than inserted on revision.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Neither of Humāyūn's notes is included (cf. Ilm., 340, 372).

(4) With Kehr's MS. is Bābar's plain tale of Khānwa. It may have formed part of another MS. It looks as though it were the original for which Bābar substituted Shaikh Zain's ornate *farmān* (Mems., 359). This *farmān* is in Kehr's MS.

A most interesting passage given by Kehr is that which P. de Courteille (II, 459) entitles "Dévouement de Bābar." It is followed by an account of Bābar's death; and of this Ilminski says that it differs from the *Bābarnāma* in diction and orthography, and is clearly the production of a person well acquainted with Bābar and his surroundings. He

<sup>1</sup> For a curiously contracted and, as it seems on examination of facts, erroneous parallel passage, cf. Mems., 350.

<sup>2</sup> Pavet de Courteille, II, 44-5. Bābar's mother is here spoken of in the French translation as alive and active in the episode of the adoption, i.e. in x. 925 (1519). Qutlūq-nigār Khānan died in 911 (1505-6). Ilminski's words which Pavet de Courteille transforms into "ma mère," i.e. Bābar's, are *hasrat wālida*. This is, I think, the counterpart of *sultān wālida*, the mother of the heir-apparent, here Māham. To Māham the context applies.



hazards the suggestion that it is taken from the introduction to the *Āin-i-akbarī*.<sup>1</sup>

Another of the advantages afforded by Kehr's MS. is that it contains the conclusion of Bābar's adventurous flight from Akhsī (Mems, 122), a passage provokingly interrupted in the Persian translation. It was this rupture that prompted the double note (1) on the Elphinstone Turki text by the copyist—"The remaining transactions of this year, 908 H., may God grant that they come to hand"; and (2) on Leyden's manuscript translation of the same text,—“In this I heartily join.” The St. Petersburg MS. fulfils the petition.

Before leaving this topic, it is useful to remember that although the Elphinstone MS. appears to be of early date, it was copied from another which was also incomplete, whether by reason of the loss of pages or of unfinished work. The fact is singular in view of the early date of the *lacuna* and the value of the MS. I have not yet examined earlier Persian texts on this point, and these may contain the passage wanting in No. 26,200.

<sup>1</sup> The *Albarnāma*. In the *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, art. Bābar, M. Langlès writes: “Ces Commentaires, augmentés par Jahāngir, ont été traduits en persan par ‘Abdu-r-rahīm.” Mr. Erskine (pref., ix), who had no acquaintance with the St. Petersburg MSS., expresses doubt as to the statement that Jahāngir added to the *Wāq‘āt*. It may be that M. Langlès' statement is based on the St. Petersburg MSS., and that both scholars are right as far as each knew the MSS.

It is not groundless to conjecture that Sālim Jahāngir wrote the Kehr MS. fragment about his father's death, character, deeds, etc., under counsel of eye-witnesses. Sālim studied Turki: ‘Abdu-r-rahīm was his *atāliq*; Gulbadan Begum, whose interest in Sālim is historic, was alive after the presentation of the Persian translation to Akbar by ‘Abdu-r-rahīm in 1586, and so too were other contemporaries of Bābar. Jahāngir (Sālim) says that he made additions to his father's book. Mr. Erskine emphatically states his opinion that as we have them, i.e. as he knew them, *excluding the St. Petersburg MSS.*, the *Memoire* are as Bābar left them. This opinion does not touch the fragments which continue the narrative close down to Bābar's death.

The last fragment, which is by another hand († Sālim s), (P. de C., II, 462), contains this passage: “Quand au livre appelé *Bābar-nāmah*, Mirzā Khān, fils de Bairām Khān, a été chargé de la traduire du turk en persan, pour en faciliter la lecture à ceux qui ignoraient la première de ces deux langues.” Why was this irrelevant information about the Persian translation inserted? Is it a touch of local colour, as it well might be, if the fragment were Sālim's, and issued from the Turki studies connected with his readings in Turki and ‘Abdu-r-rahīm's translation of the *Tūzūk-i-bībānī*?

XIII. *St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS., No. 590<sup>bba</sup> :*  
*Bābarnāma of Senkovskī.*

For knowledge of the existence of this MS. and for the following particulars, I am indebted to Mr. C. Salemann.

This copy is known as the *Bābarnāma* of Senkovskī, a designation drawn from its colophon, which reads: "N.B. J'ai achevé cette copie le 4 Mai, 1824, à St. Petersburg; elle a été faite d'après un exemplaire appartenant à Nazar Bay Turkestānī, négociant Boukhari, qui était venu cette année à St. Petersburg. J. Senkovski."

The MS. is incomplete, and ends on p. 183 with the words خملى يخشى طوى بولدى. Immediately follows the original colophon—

وقایع نامۀ پادشاهی موسوم | و مستی بولعای سد و بویش ملا  
 عبد الوهاب | اخوند مجدوانی عفا الله تعالی عما علطت [یده]  
 | و نصر جده سنۀ احدى و عشرين و مائة و الف | مطابق بارس  
 ثملی رجب مرجب آیی نینک بیشی دا | دو شنبه کونی  
 بخارای شرفدا | منسوخ بولدى | و تمام بولدى | الحمد | لله | م

This gives a new designation for Bābar's book, i.e. *Waqāyī'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*. From the emphatic *pādshāhī*, this title may indicate a distinguished source which seems likely to be the MS. belonging to the brother of the Amīr of Bukhārā (cf. No. XIV). Senkovskī's original was, we learn from the above colophon, copied by Mullū 'Abdu-l-wahāb, *akhūnd*, Ghazdewānī, in Bukhārā, and finished on Tuesday, Rajab 5th, 1121 H. (1709 A.D.).

The MS. opens with a passage of which I have seen no other example:

بسم حق سبحانه عز و جل | حمد و سباس بی نهاییه عالم نینک  
 اول خداوندیغه و کاینات نینک پرورد کاریغه | بولسون کیم روی  
 زمین نی ادمیلارغه میراث بویوروب و انینک اوستیدا کوناگون

ایں لار | و طایفه لار نی احداث وابداع قلیب استیفا مراسم نسق  
و عدالت و اداه لوarm [sic لوازم i.e.] ضبط | و محافظت اوچون  
سلاطین و ملوک نینک طبقاتی نی اول طایفه لار نینک اوستیکا  
تبکیب | آلا ر نی اوزی نینک حمایت و رعایت شریفه سیدا  
قویدی و اول مصطفی پیغمبر غه بی حد و بی | حساب ثنا  
و ستایش بولسون کیم جهانی لار غه دین و شریعت بیریب الارنی  
دوسرا نمک | افلاح و سعادت لاری غه مستحق قیلدی امین  
وصف ولایت فرغانه تنکری تعالی نینک | الم

It is of interest, as indicating Professor Ilminski's continued occupation with Bābar's text, to know that this MS. was sent to Kazan for his use, and was returned by him on March 12th (st.v.), 1885. Copied as it was from a MS. belonging to an inhabitant of Bukhārā, its penultimate source may be No. XIV.

#### XIV. *Bukhārā MS.*

Mr. C. Salemann informs me that his friends in Turkestan say the Amīr's brother at Bukhārā possesses an old and very fine copy which he will not even show to Europeans.

#### XV. *Nazar Bay Turkestanī MS.*

This is the MS. named as the source of the *Bāburnāma* of Senkovskī (No. XIII).

## APPENDIX.

APPROXIMATE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE OF THE *Bābarnāma*  
OF N. T. ILMINSKI. (Ka/un, 1857.)

The personality and deeds of the author of the *Bābarnāma*, Zahiru-d-dīn Muhammad Bābar, as well as the importance of his book, have been made known in the learned article *s.v.* Bābar, of the "Encyclopædic Lexicon" (vol. iv). The work itself has been translated into English ("Memoirs of Bābar," Leyden & Erskine, 1826). It remains for me to give some information about my edition of the Chaghatūi text. My object in publishing it is to facilitate the study of the Chaghatāi dialect and of Turkī in general.

Chaghatūi, one of the numerous group of Northern Turkī or Tātār dialects, is the speech of those countries in which science and poetry flourished under Tīmūr and some of his cultivated descendants. Although in Māvaran-nagra (? Māvaru-n-nahr), as in all Musalman lands, Arabic was exclusively the organ of learning, and although its poets liked to use the language of Sa'di and Hūfīz, they did not abandon their mother tongue. The greatest and most important monuments of Chaghatāi literature are the writings of Rubguzī, Mīr 'Alī Shīr, and Būbar, which belong to the ninth and tenth centuries of the Hījra. Foreign influence is clearly seen in them by the use of Arabic and Persian words and expressions, and not infrequently by the combination of sentences according to the Persian idiom, but, nevertheless, the structure of the sentence itself remains Tātār.

We may also conclude that Arabic and Persian had succeeded in influencing equally the conversational language of the more highly educated inhabitants of Mavran-nagra. No admixture, however, of other Turkī dialects can be traced in the above-mentioned writings.

Bābar remarks that the "common speech of Andījān is the same as the correct language of composition, so that the works of Mīr 'Alī Shīr, though he was born and flourished at Herī, are written in this dialect." [*Bābarnāma*, 3; Memoirs, L. & E., 2.] Bābar, writing without pretension to literary style and having

Mir 'Alī Shīr's works before him, has undoubtedly preserved his native Andījānī tongue in all its purity. The writings above-named afford the opportunity of studying Chaghatāī at its best period. Amongst them the *Bābar-nāma* is pre-eminent: since it at once sets forth the author's personal impressions, is interpenetrated by his' character, and shows the natural force, precision, and flexibility of the language.

Chaghatāī, if it cannot serve as a basis for the investigation of other northern dialects, can at least afford important help towards forming conclusions as to the essential features of the original form of primitive Turkī. It was spoken in lands close to the cradle of the Turkī tribes, and the nomadic life in which Turkī thought and speech were born offered elements familiar and easy of comprehension to the townsfolk of Māvaran-nagra, who were in constant intercourse with the wandering tribes. Later on, the primitive faith underwent change (? by conversion to Islām) and science introduced new ideas, but, nevertheless, the persistent conditions were more favourable to the preservation of the primitive tongue than of any other Tātūr dialect. Moreover, the Turkī authors named above are more than 300 years older than the Tātārs of to-day. It follows that we may with greater confidence look to the works of Rubguzī, Mir 'Alī Shīr, and Bābar for authentic features of primitive Turkī than to modern dialects, although these are more accessible to us. So far as can be judged by their transcription<sup>1</sup> (i.e. in Arabic character) the Chaghatāī sounds have retained their ancient guttural character and force, and Chaghatāī words form an obvious link between their corresponding words in modern Turkī and the primitive forms from which, by the action of phonetic laws, they have departed. In Chaghatāī the verbal forms are more numerous, more varied, and more comprehensive in meaning than in modern Turkī; and they reveal the origin of the altered forms existing in living dialects, and sometimes explain even their formative elements.

To serve as a trustworthy basis for the study of Chaghatāī, the *Bābar-nāma* ought to be edited with the greatest accuracy from reliable and, as nearly as possible, contemporary MSS. written by native scribes. Unfortunately the Chaghatāī text is now forgotten

<sup>1</sup> Translation doubtful. I have brought it into agreement with the facts of Bābar's work.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "transliteration" is better. I am not sure whether the action is from spoken Chaghatāī to inscribed Arabic character or from sounds written down in the Chaghatāī character and transliterated to the Arabic.

in the very scene of Bābar's achievements; partly owing to the existence of the Persian translation, and partly because of the habitual indifference of Musalmans to works of secular history.

The sole source of my edition is a MS. which belongs to the School of Oriental Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (St. Petersburg), and which was transcribed by Professor Kehr in 1737. It is an enormous volume of 837 folios, interleaved for a Latin translation. The Chaghatāi text is written in a large, clear hand; the lines are far apart and of unequal length. Kehr gives no important information as to his source, saying merely that it contained 420 folios. At the end of his copy he has entered, in Arabic, the words "Finished in 1126 [A.D. 1714]." This is probably the date of his source.<sup>1</sup> From certain orthographical marks and signs which Kehr endeavours to reproduce, we are led to conclude that his original was written in Mavranāgra.

If Kehr's MS. be collated with the English translation of the *Bābarnāma*, it is found defective in few points only. Of these the following may be named:—

(a) Kehr, 188. The Chaghatāi text is interrupted, and in its place is written, in the margin, an extract from the Persian translation, in which also several words are mutilated. I have restored this to its right place in the narrative, and have indicated the passage by asterisks. (*Bābarnāma*, 38-9.)

(b) In some places a few words and proper names are missing. Relying upon the English translation, I have indicated them by brackets.

(c) Kehr, 586-7. Here occur dotted spaces, which lead one to suppose that this passage was worm-eaten in the original MS. After comparing the remnants of words with the English translation, I have inserted conjectural readings and have indicated these by quotation marks. (*Bābarnāma*, 260-1.)

(d) Manifest omissions from Kehr's MS. (ff. 672b and 763b) are to be found at the end of his volume (ff. 809b and 813b).

On the other hand, Kehr's MS. makes important additions to the English version (cf. *Mems.*, 122, and *Bābarnāma*, 144-6; *Mems.*, 334, and *Bābarnāma*, 379-80):—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 12, Foreign Office MS., where it will be seen that the application of this date to the *Bābarnāma* is of uncertain accuracy.

(1) The events of 908 H., which are broken off in the English version (Mems., 122) at their most interesting point, are completed here.

(2) A detailed account of the revenue of the Indian provinces is given, of which the English version names the total only.

The text of the *Bābarnāma* terminates on the last folio of Kehr's copy,<sup>1</sup> but ff. 764b and 809b contain some additions:—

(1) A detailed account of Bābar's battle with the Indian *rājas* (i.e. Rūnā Sangā), a brief enumeration of subsequent events, and details of Bābar's last illness.

The last fragment, which begins abruptly, differs in style and orthography from the *Bābarnāma*. Moreover, the description of the battle with the *rājas* appears from some emphatic expressions to have been written by Bābar himself and given to the *munshi* Zainu-d-dīn, as the basis of his verbose *firmān*. It is impossible to refuse positively to regard this as authentic.

(2) Next comes a curious *addendum* about Bābar's death, his merits, writings, children, learned friends, etc., by an unknown writer, who was evidently intimately acquainted with Bābar and his surroundings. Possibly it is taken from the introduction to the *Āin-i-akbarī* of Abū'l-faẓl. Both these supplements are placed at the end of my edition.

Following the *Bābarnāma*<sup>2</sup> is a distinct and unfinished work—a brief review of the Tīmūr dynasty down to Humāyūn, about whom there are many details.

Kehr's determination to devote some months to the labour of copying the *Bābarnāma* is evidence that he esteemed it highly. His Latin translation shows that he was not fully master of Chaghatāī. There are indications throughout of scrupulous and laborious transcription. Where he failed to read or understand a word he was reduced to tracing, by guess, indistinct signs, and his pen, owing to his inexperience in writing Chaghatāī, of necessity made some lapses and omissions.

Faulty though it be as a MS., Kehr's copy can serve for an edition of the *Bābarnāma*. Exclusive reliance, however, must not

<sup>1</sup> This form of translation has been given to me by each of my several helpers. There is a mistake somewhere, since the statement is contradicted both by Ilminski's context and by Professor Smirnov's account of Kehr's MS. in the Catalogue of the Foreign Office Library. An appropriate reading would be "Kehr's transcript contains the last page of the *Bābarnāma*," i.e. the Guāfār passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Bābarians* would be more correct, since the fragments are also indicated.

be placed upon it, and other help must be had. For these reasons,<sup>1</sup> I have tried to purify the text of the *Bābarnāma* by eliminating, on examination, what seemed faulty in Kehr's transcript. For this purpose the MS. itself served me best, since, after careful scrutiny of every (doubtful) word and turn of expression, I concluded that their employment by Kehr had weight. Next, the English translation was of constant and valuable assistance. Lastly, help was found also in a Chaghatāi-Persian dictionary, published in Calcutta, and in the Chaghatāi-Turkī dictionary attached to the works of Mīr 'Alī Shīr.

I cannot hide from myself that, these being the means at my disposal, it was not possible to make my edition wholly exact and accurate. To have done this it would be indispensable to collate several good Chaghatāi texts. Notwithstanding its defects, I venture to hope that it will prove of use to students of Chaghatāi and of general Turkī philology.

<sup>1</sup> Variant translation: "Such is the basis upon which I have tried," etc.



ART. XX.—*Addenda to the Series of Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli.* By H. NELSON-WRIGHT, I.C.S.

THE work of filling in the interstices left by Mr. Thomas in his Catalogue of Pathán Coins has of late made such steady progress, that the time would seem to have come to collect the scattered notices of new coins brought to light during the past twenty years, and to prepare a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of this period. Under present conditions the private collector, who desires to know how far his own coins add to the general knowledge, has to devote to his object an amount of research for which he is often little able to spare time, through journals and proceedings to which he possibly may not have easy access.

In order, however, that the catalogue suggested above may, when it is issued, be as complete as possible, the publication of the rarities in individual collections is an important preliminary, and partly with this idea and partly in the hope of encouraging other similar papers, I have written the present article. To my knowledge there are three private collections which contain a number of coins of the Pathán period not hitherto described.

To satisfy myself that the coins here given are unpublished, I have consulted the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay, and the Numismatic Society, together with the Catalogues of the British Museum, the Lahore Museum, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Mr. Rodgers's article on the Suri silver coins in the *Indian Antiquary* has also been examined.

The coins described are, with very few exceptions, from my own cabinet. By the kind permission of the British Museum authorities I have been able to add three coins

of Sher Shah, and I hope in a subsequent paper to notice some further Pathán coins in the Museum Collection which have been acquired since its catalogue was published, and which are new to Numismatics.

The coins have been weighed in the British Museum.

1. *Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh.*

Silver. Weight 155·2 grs. Mint ?

Date 62-. Pl. I, 1.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم  
شمش الدنيا والدين  
ابو المطير ايلنتمش  
سلطان بال (ن) صرامر  
المومنن

Rev.

Area in circle.

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الناصر لدين الله  
امير ..... ر

Margin. عشرين وستمايه

This coin is interesting as being the first of this weight, bearing the name of Al Násir la Din, the Khalif who reigned in Baghdad before Al Mustansir billah, and who died in A.H. 622. It may thus be assumed to be an earlier issue than the coin described by Mr. Thomas on p. 46 of the "Chronicles" as "the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Patháns." This coin came into my hands some years ago from Mr. C. S. Delmerick, of the Opium Department.

2. Mixed Metal. Weight 52·2 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 2.

Obv.

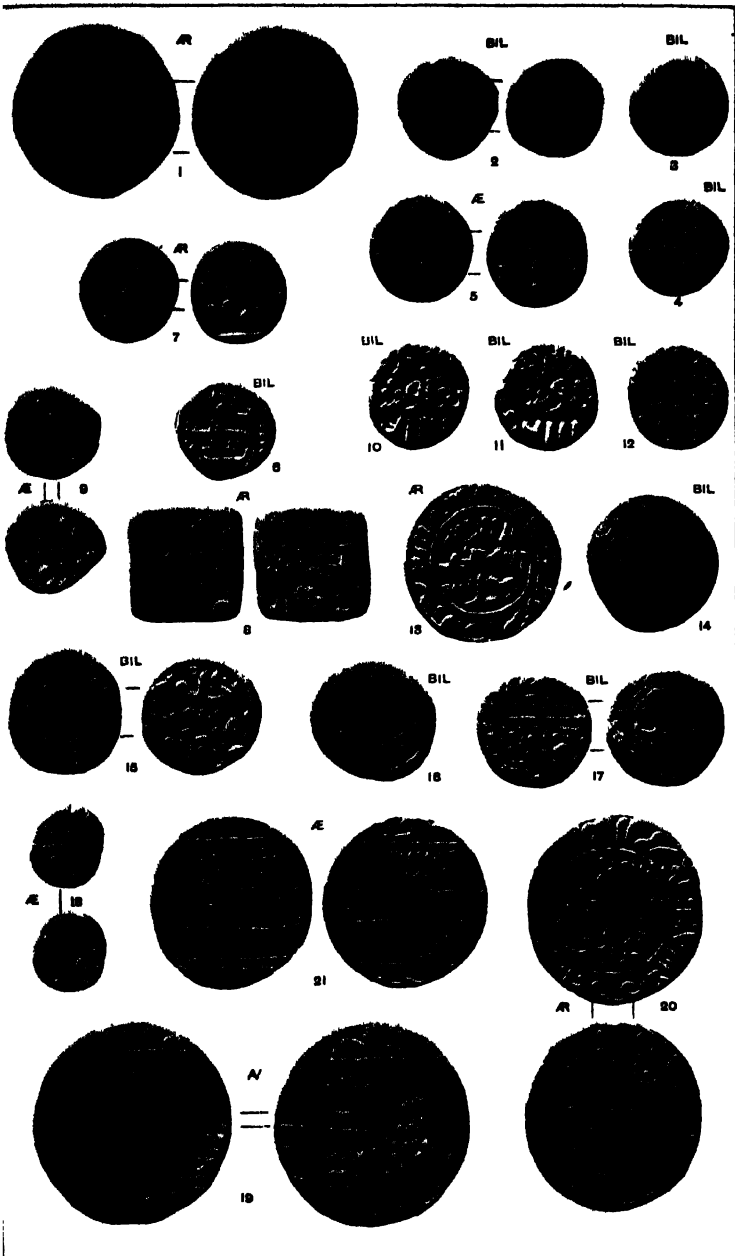
In dotted circle.

.....  
.. المعظ  
.. ايلتته  
.. السلطا

Rev.

Horseman to right.





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The characters of the obverse and the outline of the horse are similar to those on the coin which is No. 5 on p. 15 of the "Chronicles." The coin is therefore probably of Sind mintage. The following three coins are unfigured varieties of the same king's issues :—

### 3. Mixed Metal. Weight 57·2 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 3.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الا عظم شمش الدنيا والدين	Debased horseman to right.

### 4. Mixed Metal. Weight 53·8 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 4.

Obv.	Rev.
الدنيا شمش والدين التمش .....	Debased horseman (traces of).

### 5. Copper. Weight 53·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 5.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان ..... الاعظ	Horseman to right.

(Probably of Dehli mintage.) Cf. Thomas, pl. i, 9.

I ascribe this coin to Altamsh. I know of no duplicate.

6. *Ala-ud-din Khwarizm.*

Copper. Weight 50·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 6.

Obv.

[السلطان]  
 الاعظم ابو  
 الفتح محمد  
 السلطان

Rev.

Kurman style of bull to left.  
 Above in Nagri, "Sri Muj."  
 On side of bull, عدل

Compare Thomas, No. 65 (p. 89). There are five coins in the Lahore Museum Catalogue (Nos. 36–40) which I take to be similar to mine. I see that Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who brought to light a great many varieties of Ala-ud-din's coins, has read the word on the body of the bull as غزنه, Ghazni. The coins have not, as far as I know, been figured, but, judging from my own coin, 'adl' seems to be the more probable reading.

7. *Muizz-ud-din Kaikubad.*

Silver. Weight 27·3 grs.

No mint or date. Pl. I, 7.

Obv.

معز الدنيا  
 والدين

In a square with two dots in  
 each segment.

Rev.

السلطان  
 الاعظم

In a square with two dots in  
 each segment.

This is, I believe, the only silver coin of this weight known to have been struck by the earlier Pathán Sultáns. Smaller pieces of slightly over 13 grains are known of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, and Jalal-ud-din Firoz. Further research will doubtless bring to light two-anna pieces of these sovereigns also. I obtained the coin described from Mr. C. S. Delmerick some years ago.

8. *Ala-ud-din Muhammad.*

Silver. Weight 161·8 grs. Size ·7.

Square. Mint? Date? Pl. I, 8.

Obv.

سكندر الثاني  
يمين الخلافة ناصر  
امير المؤمنين

Rev.

.....  
علاء الدين والدين  
ابو المظفر محمد شاه  
السلطان

Mr. Gibbs, in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1885, edited two gold square coins of similar legends to the above. I have a third, but I have not heard of any other square silver coin of Ala-ud-din.

## 9. Mixed Metal. Weight 26·5 grs.

Date 712. No mint.

Obv.

Parts of السلطان  
عظم علاء الدين  
نيا والدين

Rev.

Parts of ابو المظفر  
محمد شاه  
السلطان ٧١٢

## 10. Copper. Weight 21·7 grs. (a worn coin).

No date or mint.

Obv.

السلطان  
عظم علاء الدين  
.....

Rev.

In circle شاه محمد  
No trace of margin.

## 11. Copper. Weight 34·5 grs.

No date or mint.

Similar to No. 10 except in weight. A crudely executed coin.

## 12. Copper. Weight 21·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. I, 9.

Obv.	Rev.
In plain circle with an outer circle of dots	In plain circle
علا الد نيا والدين	السلطان الاعظم

These three varieties correspond in legend and design with the coins of higher weight given by Thomas as Nos. 135, 136, and 137 on p. 172 of the "Chronicles."

13. }  
 14. } *Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak I.*  
 15. }

Mixed Metal. Weight about 55 grs. Pl. I, 10, 11, 12.

These coins are varieties of Thomas, No. 163. They are published to illustrate peculiarities in the dies in use at the time. On one coin (No. 13) the date has been omitted. On the other two, by an inversion of figures, 721 is made to read as [7]16 and [2]17. The former appears to be similar to the coin noticed by Thomas in his footnote to p. 191. On p. 115 of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June, 1893, Dr. Hoernle, in describing a find of these coins, notices five coins bearing date 726 and three of 727, and remarks in connection with them that "the coins with the dates 726 and 727 are posthumous. Those of date 727 have not been found hitherto so far as I know." I suspect that on these coins only the last figure was legible. The coins now illustrated, however, show that the decimal figure is in both cases "1," and that the coins are not posthumous, but probably, as Mr. Thomas suggests, the work of an ignorant artificer. Similar coins exist in the British Museum.



16. *Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs.

Date 726. Mint, Dar-ul Islam (Dehli). Pl. I, 13.

Obv.

ابوبكر  
المجاهد في  
سبيل الله  
محمد بن تغلق شاه

Rev.

Area. Kalima in circle.  
Margin. ضرب هذه السكه  
بدار الاسلام في سنة ست وعشرين  
وسبعماية

This coin is similar to No. 184 in the "Chronicles," but the mint name was not there read. *Dar-ul Islam* is new in this variety. The British Museum possesses a duplicate.

17. Mixed Metal. Weight 125·5 grs.

Date 756. Mint? Pl. I, 14.

Obv.

الامام الاعظم  
خليفه الله في  
العالمن

Rev.

Area (in circle) المسنكى  
بالله امير المو  
منبن  
Margin  
سال برهفتصد خمسين وست

A coin similar to this was published by Thomas as No. 215 of the "Chronicles," but in the coin there figured the margin was illegible. This is the case with most coins of this type. The Khalif Al Mustakfi Billah ceased to reign in 740 A.H., but though news may well have travelled slowly in those days, coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak struck in the name of "Al Hakim Abu'l Abbas Ahmad," a son of Al Mustakfi, who succeeded to the Khalifate in 741 A.H., are known bearing dates from 748 A.H. onwards. The date 756 is therefore remarkable.

18. *Firoz Shah III.*

Mixed Metal. Weight 140·5 grs.

Date? Mint: The Plain of Sind. Pl. I, 15.

Obv.

فروز شاه  
السلطاني  
صربت بساحت  
سد

Rev.

الخليفة  
امير المؤمنين  
خلدت خلافة

If my reading is right (and it does not seem to admit doubt) this coin probably marks the reduction of Tatta by Firoz Shah, or was struck during the sojourn of his army in the deserts of Sind prior to that event. The monarch made two expeditions to Sind, neither of which was very satisfactory in its results. The first was concluded by a retreat to Gujarat, while in his second attempt the Sultan got the better of his opponents by starving them into surrender, but only after considerable loss to his own army. A duplicate which I had of this coin is now in the British Museum. I know of no others.

19. Mixed Metal. Weight 134·1 grs.

Date 759. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 16..

Obv.

فروز شاه  
سلطاني ضربت  
بحصرت دهلي  
٧٥٩

Rev.

الخليفة امير  
المؤمنين خلدت  
خلافة

The peculiarity of this coin is that the date is on the obverse instead of, as usual, on the reverse. In the British Museum Catalogue, No. 372, is a smaller coin of this type.

20. *Tughlak Shah II.*

Mixed Metal. Weight 72 grs.

Date 790? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 17.

Obv.	Rev.
سلطان تغلق شاه	In circle الله عبد ابو
	Margin خلادت [خلافته بحضرت] دهلى ٧٩٠?

I know of no duplicate of this variety, which seems to have been unknown to Mr. C. J. Rodgers.

21. *Abubakr Shah.*

Copper. Weight 162·6 grs.

Date 792. Mint?

Obv.	Rev.
ابوبكر شاه ظفر ابن فيروز شاه	المومنين نائب امير ٧٩٢

In view of the existence of coins of Abubakr bearing the legends "Abubakr Shah Zafar Sultani," i.e. omitting the word 'ibn' before Zafar, I have classified this as a coin of Abubakr Shah. I am, however, doubtful whether it ought not to be ascribed to the son of that Sultan who appears to find no mention in history. In his fourth and sixth Supplements Mr. Rodgers describes coins—one of which bears considerable similarity to mine—which seem to prove the existence of a Firoz Shah, son of Abubakr. In the present coin the position of 'ibn' in the legend certainly points to the reading Firoz Shah Zafar bin Abubakr Shah. The legend on the reverse also reads from the bottom of the coin upwards. I know of no duplicate. It is unfortunately too imperfect a specimen to be figured.

22. *Nasrat Shah.*

Copper. Weight 34 grs.

Date 797. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 18.

Obv.

سah  
نصرت  
۷۹۷

Rev.

حضرت  
دهلی

This is an unpublished type, and the smallest coin of Nasrat Shah so far known.

23. *Sher Shah Sur.*

Gold. Weight 166.9 grs.

Date 949. Mint, Shergarh. Pl. I, 19.

Obv.

Area. In double-lined square

شاه سلطان  
شاه  
املكه  
خلد لله

Margins :

top فرید الدنیا و  
right الدین ابو المظفر  
bottom 949 ضرب شیرگرده  
left सीसरसाही

Rev.

Area. In double-lined square  
The *Kalima*.

Margins. The names and  
titles of the four companions.

This coin is in the British Museum Collection, and was obtained from General Cunningham. There are many forgeries of the gold coins of Sher Shah. Genuine ones are very rare, but this coin appears to me above suspicion. Its legends are similar to those on the silver coin of the same mint described as No. 346 in the "Chronicles."

24. Silver. Weight 170·9 grs.

Date 951. Mint: Fatehabad, Faridpur. Pl. I, 20.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle	Area in circle. The Kalima,
شاه سلطا	below which is a word which
شمرن	I cannot read
خلد الله ملكه	
وسلطانه	
Margin	Margin
فريد الدسا والدین	ابانكر عمر عثمان على
ابوالمظفر	السلطان العادل
فخاكان سبه	عرب . . . . . 60
۹۵۱	

The reading of this coin presents considerable difficulty. I have been able to compare it with another coin struck at Fatehabad by an independent Bengal sultan, and I am satisfied that the word between the date and the Nāgri characters on the obverse must be taken as the mint name and read as Fatehabad. At the same time, the presence of the word ضرب (or what looks very like it) on the reverse margin, followed by words which I have tried in vain to decipher, admits an element of doubt in my reading.

The characters are crude, as frequently found in Bengal-struck coins. There is an uncatalogued duplicate of this coin in the British Museum. I know of no others.

24a. Silver. Weight 174 grs.

Date 946. Mint: Fatehabad, Faridpur. Pl. I, 21.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square
شمر شاه	above The Kalima
السلطان خلد	below السلطان العادل
الله ملكه ۹۴۶	
سبب سبب سبب سبب	
Margins.	Margins.
right	right عثمان
top	top ابو بكر
left	left على
bottom	bottom عمر

This coin has been figured by Dr. Hoernle in the J.A.S.B., 1890, to illustrate the reduplication of "Sri" in the Nagri. The mint, however, was not there read. It will be seen that the method of writing the mint name compares closely with that adopted in the coin described above (No. 27). In this case also the ill-formed characters stamp the coin as of Bengal origin.

25. Silver. Weight 171·6 grs. Pl. II, 22.

Date 949. Mint: Hazrat Rasulpur urf Patna ?

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square السلطان شیر شاہ محمد الله ملكه श्रीसिंहाह	Area in square The Kalima
Margins.	Margins. The names and
left الموم (!) المظفر فرید	titles of the four companions.
top الدنيا والذين	
right ۹۴۹	
bottom حضرت رسولپور عرف پتنہ ?	

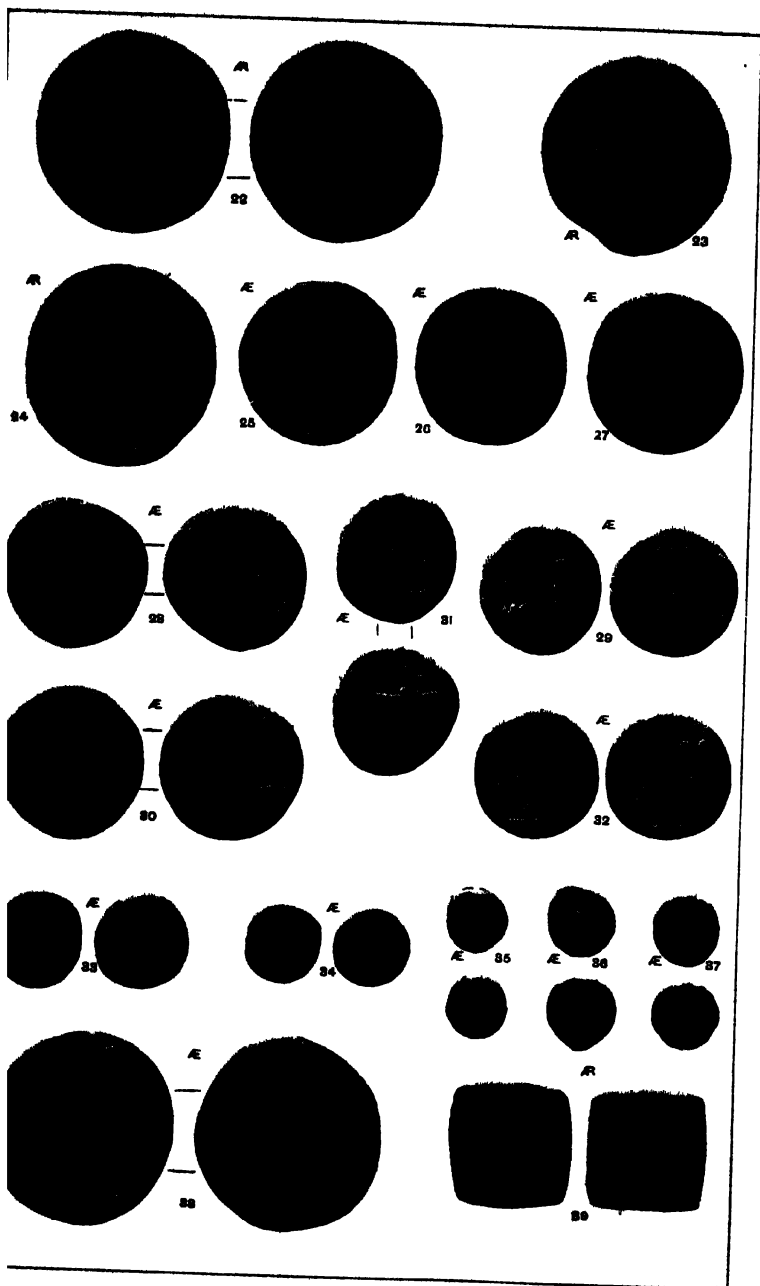
The above reading of the mint names is professedly tentative. I can think of no better. Patna was considerably enlarged by Sher Shah and a fort was built there by him. It was also an important mint town in Akbar's reign. I cannot, however, find that it received the name of Hazrat Rasulpur. The coin is, I believe, unique. I figure it in the hope that some collector may possess a duplicate which will aid to a more correct identification. I obtained the coin at Shahjahanpur in the N.W.P. about four years ago.

26. Silver. Weight 160 grs.

Date 948. Mint, Shergarh. Pl. II, 23.

This coin is a variety of No. 346 in the "Chronicles," the legends of which are given above (see No. 23). The





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difference lies in the fact that the date and mint are in the right margin, and the Nágri in the lower one. This coin belongs to the British Museum.

Mr. Thomas identifies this mint with Rohtás in Bengal, the fortress which Sher Shah took from its Hindu Raja by stratagem. I think it is more likely to be the fort of Rohtás, near Jhelum, which, we are told by the author of the *Tárikh-i-Sher Shahi*, was built by Sher Shah "on the road to Khurásán to hold in check Kashmir and the country of the Ghakkars," and which he called Little Rohtás (*vide* Elliot's *History of India*, vol. iv, p. 419). The perfection of the die points to the coin being struck in the Punjab rather than in Bengal. It is worthy of notice, too, that where the title Shergarh was affixed to a town already in being, the older name is given on the coins as an *alias*: cf. Shergarh urf Kanaúj, Shergarh urf Shakk-i-Bhakkar, and Shergarh urf Dehli. It seems probable, therefore, that the Shergarh where this coin was struck was a new town built by Sher Shah.

27. Silver. Weight 174·8 grs.

Date 949. Mint : Shergarh, *alias* Hazrat Dehli. Pl. II, 24.

Obv.		Rev.	
Area in square. The usual legend (see No. 25, ante). Date at top.		Area in square The Kalima.	
Margins.		Margins. Names and titles of the four companions.	
left	ابوالمظفر فرید		
top	الديا والدين		
right	ضرب شبرگرد عرف		
bottom	حضرت دهلی		

This coin has been figured by Thomas as No. 344 in the "Chronicles." He there calls it "unique"; though not that, it is very rare. I publish it here partly to supplement Thomas's reading, which ignored the right marginal legend, partly to confirm my remarks on the three dāms of Shergarh, Nos. 28, 29, 30, given below.

28. } Copper. Weight approximately 320 grs.  
 29. } Dates 951 and 952. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Dehli.  
 30. } Pl. II, 25, 26, 27.

Obv.		Rev.
Area in square	سلطان شاه شیر ضرب شیرگره	Not figured. The usual legend.
Margin. top	ابوالمظفر	
right	خلد الله	
bottom	ملکه عر	
left	ف دهلی	

My object in figuring the obverses of these coins is to bring to notice the reading of the bottom and left margins. Dr. Hoernle, in his useful paper on the Copper Coins of the Suri Dynasty, assumed, in the absence probably of good specimens, that the marginal legend read *وسلطانه* on this as on other coins of this type. The above coins, however, leave no doubt that the reading is *عرف دهلی*. Sher Shah is known (cf. *Turikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Elliott, *History of India*, vol. iv, p. 419) to have destroyed the old city of Dehli and rebuilt it by the Jumna, erecting two forts—"the smaller fort for the governor's residence, the other the wall round the entire city that it might be a *Jahánpanáh*." The Shergarh of the coins, except when used in connection with Bhakkar and Kanauj, has hitherto been assumed to be Rohtás (cf. Thomas, p. 397, footnote). But these coins and the silver coin noticed above (No. 27) show that Shergarh was a synonym of Dehli also. The similarity of the writing of the word 'Shergarh' on the silver and copper coins is striking. I think it possible that the use of the term Shergarh on the coins of Dehli was meant to show that they were struck in "the smaller fort" mentioned above as distinct from those struck within *Jahánpanáh*, the larger space round it.

## 31. Copper. Weight 157·7 grs.

Date 950. Mint : Shergharh, *alias* Dehli.

The legends are the same as those given above on the *dám*. A half-*dám* of this mint has not, I think, been previously figured.

## 32. Copper. Weight 314·2 grs.

Date 949. Mint Kalpi. Pl. II, 28.

Obv.

السلطان العادل  
ابو شير شا  
المظفر  
سلطان

Rev.

خالد الله ملكه  
ب كالبه \*  
۱۴۹

This type is not included in Dr. Hoernle's article, and has never been figured so far as I am aware. The coins of similar legends in the Lahore and Calcutta Museums appear to be without the distinctive mint mark—a six-rayed star—present on this coin.

## 33. Copper. Weight 148·5 grs.

Date? Mint, Kalpi. Pl. II, 29.

The legends are similar to those on No. 32. The mint mark is, however, different. A *dám* of this type was published by Dr. Hoernle in the J.A.S.B., 1890. I know of no other half-*dám*.

## 34. Copper. Weight 321·3 grs.

Date 951? Mint? Pl. II, 30.

Obv.

ابو المظفر  
شاهر  
سلطان  
خالد الله ملكه

Rev.

في عهد  
الامير الحاج  
الدين الدنان  
۱۵۱

35. Copper. Weight 160 grs.

Date ? Mint ? Pl. II, 31.

Legends as on No. 34. Nos. 34 and 35 are a new variety of dām and half-dām of Sher Shah, not given by Dr. Hoernle.

36. Copper. Weight 153·1 grs.

Date 951. Mint, Sambhal. Pl. II, 32.

A half-dām, with the same legends as are usual on coins of this type. A dām of this mint was published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in his Second Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1880. This coin is in the British Museum.

37. Copper. Weight 39·5 grs.

Date 947. Mint ? Pl. II, 33.

Obv.

سلطان ؟  
شیر [ساد]  
العادل [ل]  
۹۴۷

Rev.

زینا  
خليفة

One-eighth of a dām. A new type. The British Museum has a duplicate not catalogued.

38. Copper. Weight 29·5 grs.

No mint or date. Pl. II, 34.

Obv.

شاه  
شیر  
سلطان

Rev.

خليفة  
الزمان

Probably one-tenth of a dām. The coin is worn. Mr. Rodgers published a coin similar in design, but weighing 63 grs., in his sixth Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1896. That must have been a fifth of a dām. I do not see how it can be called a quarter of a dām. In the same paper he gave another, probably a tenth of a dām, weighing 33 grs. The British Museum also have a coin weighing 31·4 grs.

39. Copper. Weight 21·4 grs.

Date 946. Mint ? Pl. II, 35.

Obv.

شیرین  
السلطان

Rev.

الزمان  
٩٤٦

A sixteenth of a dām. Coins of this weight are very rare. Mr. Rodgers noticed one in the J.A.S.B., 1896. I publish this to complete the set.

40. Copper. Weight 13 grs.

Date 94—. Mint ? Pl. II 36.

Obv.

شاه  
السلطان

Rev.

الزمان  
٩٤٦

Probably a twentieth of a dām, the full weight of which should be about 16 grs. The smallest coin hitherto published of this Sultan weighed 18 grs.

41. Copper. Weight 11·5 grs.

No date or mint. Pl. II, 37.

Obv.

شاه  
[السلطان]

Rev.

[ز]مان  
خليفة

I believe this to be a coin of Sher Shah. If it is, it may be meant for a thirty-second part of a dām, and is probably the smallest coin that Sher Shah struck. The above set of five coins is remarkable as showing what minute fractions were provided for in the copper coinage of this Sultan.

42. *Islam Shah Sur.*

Copper. Weight 460·6 grs.

Date 960. Mint, Shahgarh ? Pl. II, 38.

Obv.

ابوالمظفر  
اسلام شاه  
سلطان  
شير شاه  
خلد الله

Rev.

في عهد  
الامير الحامض  
لدين الدنان  
شاه ٩٦٠  
[گره]

No other coin of this weight is known, as far as I am aware, among the issues of the Pathán Sultans. It foreshadows the heavy tankas of Akbar. The locality of Shahgarh is doubtful.

43. *Muhammad Adil Sur.*

Silver. Weight 168·1 grs. Square.

Date 96—. Mint ? Pl. II, 39.

Obv.

Area in square

شاه سلطان  
محمد عادل  
خلد الله ملكه  
شاه محمد

Margins cut away.

Rev.

Area in square

The Kalima.

Margins cut away.

No square coin of this Sultan has been published. A similar, but I believe heavier, coin than mine was obtained by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., shortly before I came across this one in the Cawnpore bazar. Square coins of Sher Shah and Islam Shah are known in gold, and the British Museum has a square silver coin of Sher Shah, which was figured

by Mr. Rodgers in the J.A.S.B., 1894. It is possible that Akbar took his idea of square rupees from the Suris, just as he continued in his copper coinage the system inaugurated by Sher Shah.

NOTE.—Since this paper went to press I have had an opportunity of seeing the Bodleian coin collection at Oxford. I found that it possessed specimens of the two coins described above as No. 1 and No. 8.





ART. XXI.—*On the Languages spoken beyond the North-Western Frontier of India. With a map. By*  
 GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

BETWEEN the north-west frontier of our Indian Empire and the Pāmirs there is a tract of mountainous country inhabited by many different nationalities, speaking many different tongues. The Pāmirs themselves are a polyglot region. Taking Zēbāk, for instance, the district round it is the home of no less than four distinct speeches—one West-Iranian, Persian, and three East-Iranian, Wakhī, Shighnī, and Ishkāshamī. These last belong to the same Aryan group as Pakhtō. To the south-east of the Pāmirs we come to the Burushaskī spoken in Hunza and Nagar, a language of Scythian stock, whose immediate affinities have not yet been identified. South-east, again, of the Burushaskī area we come to Bāltistān, where another Scythian language, the Tibeto-Burman Bālti, is the vernacular. In the valley of Kāshmir, there is Kāshmirī, and in the lower reaches of the Jhelum and in the Murree Hills, Chhibhālī, both of which are Indo-Aryan, and can be traced up to ancient Sanskrit. West of the Chhibhālī tract lies the British district of Hazara, of which the principal language is a form of Western Panjābī. Crossing the Indus we come to the Northern Pakhtō dialect of Pakhtō spoken in Peshawar, Śwāt, and Bajaur. West of Bajaur, beyond the Kunar River, we come to Laghmān. North of Laghmān lies Kāfiristān, through which we again reach the Pāmirs.

We have now described a circle, and it remains to consider the interior portion of this tract. It consists of a number of river systems. The first is the Gilgit Valley, leading

into the Indus shortly after the latter debouches from Bāltistān. Lower down, the Tāngīr and the Kāndiā fall into the Indus, which has hitherto been flowing westwards, but takes a southerly course after its junction with the latter river. The language of the Gilgit Valley, and of the Indus Valley from Bāltistān to the Tāngīr, is Shīnā in various dialects. This form of speech also extends to the south-east of the last-named river, and occupies a large block of mountain country between Bāltistān and the valley of Kāshmir.

From its junction with the Kāndiā to its entry into British territory, the Indus runs in a southerly direction through groups of hills, known collectively as the Indus Kōhistān, and inhabited by a number of wild tribes who all speak varieties of a language of Indo-Aryan origin, which, like Chhibhālī, can be traced to ancient Sanskrit, and which is called Indus-Kōhistānī or Maiyā.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Biddulph has given us vocabularies of two of these dialects under the name of Gowro and Chiliss. The Linguistic Survey of India, on which I am at present engaged, gives further details, including a brief grammar and specimens.

To the west of the Indus-Kōhistān lie, in order, the valleys of the Śwāt, the Panjkōrā, and the Kunar. Those of the first two are known as the Śwāt- and Panjkōrā-Kōhistāns respectively. Here the language of the bulk of the people was formerly an Indian one, allied to Indus-Kōhistānī, but is now, owing to Paṭhān domination, almost invariably Pakshtō. Only a faithful few still cling to their ancient language, though they have abandoned their Aryan religion, and the dialects which they speak are called Gārwi and Tōrwālī. These three, Indus-Kōhistānī, Gārwi, and Tōrwālī, together form one well-defined group of languages, Indo-Aryan in origin, and evidently descended from ancient Sanskrit. They form a connecting link in the chain of North-Western Indo-Aryan languages, commencing with Sindhī, and passing *via* Western Panjābī, through them, into Chhibhālī and

<sup>1</sup> The sign ~ over a vowel indicates a nasal pronunciation.

**Kāshmirī.** The Survey has made available grammars, vocabularies, and specimens of all of them. In this part of the country, Pakshtō itself hardly gets further west than the hills forming the eastern side of the Kunar Valley. Nowhere does it cross that river.

North of the *Ṣwāt* and *Panjkōrā* Valleys we find the country of *Chitral*, lying on both sides of the Kunar River, which is here known as the *Qāshqār*, *Chitrār*, or (to Europeans) *Chitral*. The main speech of this country is called *Chitrārī*, or *Khō-wār*, and is spoken as far east as *Yūsin*, where it marches with *Burushaskī* and *Shinā*. *Khō-wār* is evidently related to the latter language. They form a pair belonging to the Irano-Indian stock, and to the Indian branch of that family. They are hence to be classed as Indo-Aryan. This is at once established by a consideration of their phonetic systems, but their grammars present certain peculiarities which will be alluded to shortly.

The two main affluents of the *Chitral-Kunar* River are the *Bashgal* and the *Waigal*, both of which join it on the west after passing through the hill country of *Kāfiristān*. The first-named is the most northern, and takes its rise in the southern face of the *Hindū Kush*. It joins the *Chitral* near the village of *Narsūt*. The *Waigal*, after itself receiving the waters of the *Wēzgal*, falls into the *Chitral* some way below *Asmār*. It is formed in the interior of *Kāfiristān*. The Valley of the *Bashgal* is the home of the *Bashgalī* language, which is the speech of the *Siāh-pūsh* *Kāfirs* generally. A vocabulary and a few grammatical forms have been published by Colonel Biddulph, and a formal grammar by Colonel Davidson is now, I believe, in the press. East of the *Bashgal* Valley, *Wasī-veri*, another *Kāfir* language, is spoken in the *Wēzgal* Valley. A grammatical sketch, specimens, and a vocabulary of this will be published by the Linguistic Survey. It is evidently distantly related to *Bashgalī*, and, like the remaining *Kāfir* languages, is spoken by the *Sufid-pūsh* *Kāfirs*. These remaining ones are *Ashkun*, spoken in the heart of the *Kāfir* country, and *Wai*, the language of the *Waigal* Valley. Regarding

Ashkun, no information of any kind is as yet available. All the efforts of my kind friends in Chitral and the Khaibar Pass have been unavailing. For Wai, we have some vocabularies of doubtful authority. This exhausts the list of the known languages of Kāfiristān. The two about which we have any certain knowledge, Bashgalī and Wasī-veri, are, like Khō-wār and Shīnā, certainly Indo-Aryan in their phonetic systems, but, also like them, possess grammars which present difficulties to the student.

We know that in prehistoric times the Aryan, or Irano-Indian, language split up into two, an Iranian and an Indian. We know also that the Iranian again split up into two branches, a Western and an Eastern. The modern representative of Western Iranian is Persian, and the most important one of Eastern Iranian is Pakshtō. The modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are the present-day representatives of the Indian branch. These three branches are recognizable by well-defined phonetic laws. A convenient shibboleth is the Persian *dast*, 'a hand,' which corresponds to the Pak-htō lās and the Indian *hath* or *hast*. These four languages—Wasī-veri, Bashgalī, Khō-wār, and Shīnā—agree in following the Indian phonetic system, but in some grammatical particulars they show remarkable points of agreement with the Eastern Iranian tongues. The modern Indo-Aryan languages can all be traced back to the ancient Sanskrit spoken in Vedic times. This is true both of their phonetic systems and of their grammars, but by no course of derivation with which I am at present acquainted can I recognize the Sanskrit originals of some of the grammatical forms presented by these four. This may be my fault; it very possibly is so, for we lack the connecting link between them and the ancient language from which they are derived, which we possess in the Prakrits for the vernaculars of India. If we had such a link, i.e. specimens of the mediæval language spoken below the Hindū Kush, the affiliation of the four with Sanskrit might be easy, but till this is the case, the most that we can say is that while their phonetic system is the same as

that of the Sanskrit-derived languages spoken further south, we are unable to say positively that they are derived from the Sanskrit with which we are acquainted. Judging from the well-ascertained facts regarding the origin of the modern true Indian languages, we may argue from analogy and say that it is probable that the four *were* derived from Sanskrit, but how they were derived, and by what stages, we are not at present able to say. This fact, together with the remarkable circumstance that some of their grammatical forms agree with those of the Eastern Iranian languages, has led certain scholars to suggest, with at least equal probability, that while the four are undoubtedly Indian, they are not necessarily Sanskritic, but are descended from a mother-dialect closely akin to Sanskrit, of which, possibly, ancient Sanskrit was a further developed form. This mother-dialect was, so to speak, left behind below the Hindū Kush, while the bulk of its speakers went on into India, and there founded the Indo-Aryan civilization, and the Indo-Aryan speech.<sup>1</sup> While it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to prove this contention, it can at least be said to be not impossible, and to explain some difficult points. If it is true, then the four languages represent a stage of the Indian branch of the Aryan family older than Sanskrit, a stage which had already developed all the phonetic system of that branch, but which still retained some linguistic connection with its Iranian sisters on the other side of the Hindū Kush. It only remains to state that there is no sudden change between these languages and the definitely Indian ones of the North Panjab. The two sets merge into each other by stages. The first stage consists of the Kalāshā, Gawar-bati, and Pashai languages, about which I am now going to speak, which are *almost* certainly Sanskritic, yet still show remarkable points of contact with

<sup>1</sup> An interesting point of agreement between these four languages and the Eastern Iranian ones is the infinitive in *k*. Thus, with the Eastern Iranian Wakhi of the Pāmira, *chilgāk*, 'to desire,' and the Ormuri of Waziristān, *ghotik*, 'to say,' compare the Wasi-veri *perum-timik*, 'to beat,' the Khō-wār *dik*, and the Shinā *lōki*, 'to become,' and, finally, among languages to be dealt with later on, the Kalāshā *āk*, and the Gawar-bati and Pashai *lik*, 'to be.'

Khō-wār ; and the second of the Kōhistān languages already described, which are *quite* certainly of Sanskrit origin. This points us to a state of affairs in the olden time which is just what might have been expected, viz. the old parent language of the four gradually merging into its sister, the Sanskrit of the north-west of the Panjab, by insensible gradations, and not separated from it by any hard and fast lines.

The Kalāshā Kāfirs dwell in the *dōab* between the Chitral and Bashgal Rivers. They have a language of their own, which is called by their tribal name. Dr. Leitner gave some information about it many years ago, which has now been supplemented by the Survey. Lower down the Chitral, at the junction with the Bashgal, in and about the country of Narsāt, dwell the Gawars, who also have a language of their own known as Gawar-bati, or Gawar-speech, of which a vocabulary was given by Colonel Biddulph under the name of Narisati. Still lower down, on the right bank of the Chitral, which has now become the Kunar, dwell the Pashais, who also have a language of their own. Pashai is spoken as far west as Laghmān, and extends as far north as the Waigal Valley, though whether it is the same as the Wai Kāfir already alluded to I have not yet been able to determine satisfactorily. At any rate, it is by far the most western outpost of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is an island of Indian speech in the heart of Afghanistan, and is bounded on the north by the Kāfir dialects and on the other three sides by Pakshtō. These three languages, Kalāshā, Gawar-bati, and Pashai, are all very closely connected. They are certainly Indo-Aryan, and nearly certainly Sanskritic, though it must be pointed out that they possess some of the typical grammatical peculiarities of the four languages with which we have just been dealing.<sup>1</sup> Kalāshā, whose habitat is close to that of Khō-wār, possesses most points of continuity with that language, and forms a bridge between it and the other two, which in their turn

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the infinitive in *k* to which attention was called in the last footnote.

bridge over the gap between *Kalāshā* and the undoubted Sanskritic languages of the *Panjkōrā*, *Śwāt*, and *Indus Kōhistāns*.

To complete this list of languages spoken on the north-west frontier, wandering shepherds, known as *Gūjars*, inhabit the country between the *Kunar* and the eastern border of *Kāshmir*, and perhaps still further to the east. These have a language of their own—a purely Sanskritic one—which, curiously enough, is nearly the same as the *Mēwārī* spoken in distant *Rajputana*, and is closely allied to *Gujarātī*.

Full descriptions of *Kalāshā* and *Gawar-bati* appeared in the papers which I had the honour of presenting to the last Oriental Congress. Since then, through the kindness of Mr. J. G. Lorimer, I.C.S., Political Officer of the *Khaibar*, I have received complete specimens of *Pashai*, and, as this language has hitherto been almost unknown, the following further particulars concerning it will be of interest. The only information which up to the present time has been available has been a short list of 'Pushye'<sup>1</sup> words by Burnes, and two brief vocabularies, one of *Laghmānī* and one of *Pashai* by Leech. Leech was under the impression that these two were distinct languages, but really the names only connote two dialects of the same form of speech.

*Pashai*, properly speaking, is the name of the language spoken by the *Dēhgāns* of *Laghmān* and the country to the east of it. It is also called *Laghmānī* from the tract in which it is spoken, and *Dēhgānī*, because most of its speakers belong to the *Dēhgān* tribe. The boundaries of the language are said to be, roughly, on the west the *Laghmān* River, on the north the boundary of the *Kāfir*, on the east the *Kunar* River, and on the south the *Kābul* River, but the riverain villages on the left bank of the *Kābul* speak *Pakshtō*, not *Pashai*. A certain number of *Pakshtō*-speaking communities are also found interspersed

<sup>1</sup> The only importance of this list is that the spelling of the name misled Lassen, who put it down, on Burnes' authority, as a distinct language. I owe this piece of information to the kindness of Dr. Kuhn.

LIST OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN BEYOND THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA,  
EXPLANATORY OF THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

FAMILY.	GROUP.	LANGUAGE.	DIALECT.	WHERE SPOKEN.
Serthian	?	Burushaski, Kharjuna, or Kunjuti	Standard Warchikwar	Hunza and Nagar.
"	Tibeto-Burman	Tibetan	Balti	Yasin and neighbourhood.
Iranian	Western	Persian	Badakhshi	Balistan.
"	Eastern	Wakhi	Standard	Badakhshan.
"	(Chalchah sub-group)	Shighni or Khugni	"	Wakhan, and near Zebak.
"		Sariq-qoli	"	Shighnan, Roshan, Gharan, and near Zebak.
"		Ishkashami, Zebakhi, or Sanglichhi	"	Teghdumbash Pamiir and Sarikol.
"		Munjanf or Mungi	"	Ishkasham, Zebak, and valleys of the Döräh and Nuqsan Passes.
"	"	"	"	Munjan.
"	"	"	Yudghā or Leotkuhi-wār	Upper part of the Lutkho Valley, south of the Hindū Kush.
"	Eastern	Pakhtō	Northern or Pakhtō	Swāt, Dir, and Bajaur. Parts of Hazara, Peshawar, and the country to the west. As a <i>lingua franca</i> , up the Indus Valley for a considerable distance.
Indo-Aryan			North-western	North-west of Gilgit.
		Shinā	Gilgit	Gilgit Valley.
	"	"	Astōr	Astōr Valley.
	"	"	Brotpā of Dāh-Hanū	On Indus, near Balistan, and Ladakh Frontier.
	"	"	Chilasi	Indus Valley from near Astōr to Tangir and Sasin.
	"	"	Standard	Chitral and part of Yasin.
	"	Khō-wār, Arniyā, or		



Indo-Aryan	Kids	Bachgali	Standard	Notes
"	"	Wai-ved or Veron	"	North <del>Kashmir</del> , especially the <u>Bachgat Valley</u> .
"	"	Wai-gali or Waf	"	Spoken by the <u>Prisnu Kafra</u> .
"	"	Ashkun	"	The valley of the <u>Waigal</u> .
				Nothing is known about this language except its name, and the fact that its speakers live to the south-west of the <u>Prisnu</u> . Its classification is therefore provisional.
"	N.W. Sanskrit	Kalashā	"	The <u>Dab</u> between the <u>Bachgal</u> and <u>Chitral Rivers</u> .
"	"	Gawar-bati or Narsaji	"	Round the confluence of the <u>Bachgal</u> and <u>Chitral Rivers</u> .
"	"	Pachū	Eastern	East <u>Laghman</u>
"	"	"	Western	West <u>Laghman</u>
"	N.W. Sanskrit	Indus Kohistan or Manā	Kili Dubēri Jib	Kandā and <u>Dubēr Valleys</u>
"	"	"	Eastern	East side of <u>Kohistan</u>
"	"	"	Western	Western <u>Kohistan</u> , round <u>Koli</u> , <u>Paluc Batā</u> , <u>Chila</u> , and <u>else where</u>
"	"	"	Southern	South <u>Kohistan</u>
"	"	Garwi	Standard	Swat <u>Kohistan</u>
"	"	"	Diri	Dir
"	"	T rwāli	Standard	Swāt and <u>Panjra Kohistan</u> below <u>Gairwi</u> .
"	"	Kāshmiri	"	Valley of <u>Kashmir</u>
"	"	Chhibbali	"	Hill country between the <u>Kashmir Valley</u> and the <u>Indus Kohistan</u>
"	Central Sanskrit	Hindi (Rajasthani)	Gujari	Spoken by <u>Gujars</u> over the country to the east of the <u>Chitral-Kunar River</u> .

Total Twenty-four languages, thirty five dialects.

NOTE.—Between Chitral and Chila there is a mountainous tract of country which has not yet been linguistically explored. It is said to be principally peopled by Gujars who speak their own language. There are several sub-dialects of Gujari which differ slightly from each other.

at ~~other~~ places within these limits. The principal places and neighbourhoods in which Pashai is spoken are Barkōṭ, Sutan, Waigal on the side next the Kāfirs, Janjapur, Amlā, Sūr<sup>a</sup>oh,<sup>1</sup> Badiālī, Islāmpur, Bādshāh K<sup>a</sup>le, Balatak, Kunada, Dēogal, Nurgal, Chaman, Najīl, Sāū, Kulmān, Tagāo, Siāū, and Kulāb. Some of these are considerable tracts.\* The number of people speaking Pashai has been estimated at 100,000, and with regard to the Pashai region and its probable character this estimate does not appear to be unduly large or unduly small.

There appear to be different dialects of Pashai, but the variations are said to be not great. The distinction drawn by the people themselves is between the 'harsh tongues' of the hills<sup>2</sup> and the softer tongue of the more level country. I have myself examined specimens in two dialects, a western and an eastern. The differences are mainly ones of pronunciation. Thus, the short *a*, which is so common in Pakshtō, also occurs in the eastern dialect, but usually appears as a long *ē* in the western one. For instance, Eastern *puṭh<sup>a</sup>*, Western *puṭhlē*, a son. Again, an Eastern *sh* becomes a Western *kh*, as in Eastern *shūring*, Western *khōring*, a dog.

In order to explain the accompanying map, I append a table giving the names of the various languages spoken beyond the North-Western Frontier of India, with their <sup>a</sup> dialects and habitats.

<sup>1</sup> The small *a* above the line indicates the very short *a*-sound known as the *fatḥa-e afghāni*, which is so common in Pakshtō.

<sup>2</sup> One of these is called Kulmāni from being spoken in Kulmān.





ART. XXII.—*The First Preparers of the Haoma (Indian Soma).*

The Pahlavi translation and commentary on Yasna IX, 1-48 inclusive, for the first time edited with the collation of MSS., and now prepared from all<sup>1</sup> the MSS. also deciphered. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS.

As this edition of a short section of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna is intended to be followed by similar publications ultimately embracing the entire Pahlavi texts of the Yasna with the exception of those which have been already treated in my Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas, I make here full allusions to the MSS. which have been consulted in producing it.

The oldest codex provided with a Pahlavi translation is that catalogued as C I among the Zend MSS. in the Bodleian Library; but also known as J<sup>2</sup>, referring to its former possessor, the late revered Destoor Jamaspji Minochoherji Jamasp Asana, High Priest of the Parsis in Bombay, by whom it was generously given to the Bodleian Library at the suggestion and on the responsibility of the present writer in July, 1889. It was at the time on private loan to me in domicile in Oxford, and from my residence it went to the Library. In this present article this MS is designated as D.J. (Destoor Jamaspji), as it was so designated by me in my first interrupted edition of the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas many years before the MS. came to Europe for the first time, I having had possession of a collation of it kindly loaned by Dr. E. W. West. As I began with the designation 'D.J.' in the book referred to above before any collation of it had ever been published, and as I continued this usage in my Gāthas later, I preserve it here.

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of that numbered 4 in the Moola Firuz Library in Bombay, which is, however, practically identical with D. (Pt. 4), being a copy from the same original.

[I should in passing recall the fact that this MS. was collotyped in its full original form and published by the Clarendon Press with an introductory note\* by me, as its Zend Avesta text had been entirely translated as collated in vol. xxxi of the Sacred Books of the East, and both the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts had been edited and translated as collated in the book referred to above. This collotyped facsimile may still be had of the publisher; see his latest catalogue. The volume consists of some 770 odd large pages (collotyped photographs), and is a most masterly piece of artistic workmanship completed at the Clarendon Press Works in Oxford. The actual tint of the ancient paper has been preserved, and is well set on a ground of brilliant white manufactured, as I believe, for such a purpose.]

The MS. which I termed D. was so called from Destoor Darab Peshotan Sanjana, the son of its late possessor, Destoor Doctor Beramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D. Here again I was first indebted to the kindness of Dr. E. W. West, who included a partial collation of it with Spiegel's text, in the same copy which contained the first collation of D.J. (C1 or J<sup>2</sup>); see above.

This very valuable, but apparently not very ancient, MS. was later kindly loaned by its possessor the Destoor in Bombay to me for my use in domicile in the year 1890. And while it was present in Oxford, permission was accorded by the owner to have it collotyped. This was accordingly done at the expense of the Bodleian Library, with the result that we have a most effective facsimile, even more convenient for use (because safer) than the original MS. itself; and this is the document which has been used for this second time for the present purpose. Its press-mark in the Bodleian Library is Zend, d, 2. It is elsewhere referred to as Pt. 4. (I had termed it D. years before it came to Europe.)

The third MS. used for the present section is that numbered 12a of Haug's Collection in Munich.

Both its Pahlavi text and its Parsi-Persian translation stand in the Perso-Arabic character. It has, however, two

items which especially recommend it. First, it is said to have been transcribed by a person who was not a Parol, a certain Mohammedan, as I am informed, and this shuts out the most mischievous source of all error in ancient documents, namely the inconsiderate zeal of the would-be emender. And secondly, the individual (P) in many parts of his work seems to have been afflicted with extraordinary caution, not to say timidity, refraining from translation where he felt the smallest doubt, and so erring on the side of safety. On the other hand, the MS. in some places is carelessly written as if in haste, and this makes it at times very difficult to decipher. To an eye constantly practised by reading Persian it is, however, seldom hopelessly obscured, especially when compared with the Zend, with the ordinary Pahlavi, and with Neryōsang. The codex was kindly sent to the Bodleian Library for my use only last year, in February, 1899; but the second part, or volume, of it had been most cordially sent me in Hanover for my use at the end of the seventies.

I do not designate the variations in its Pahlavi text from my own text or from that of Spiegel, not merely because its transliterations are of the old traditional type, and therefore more difficult to the student, but because it is my intention to edit it in its entirety, as I did that portion of it which reproduces the Gāthas (see the edition).

The fourth MS. is that leading one of Haug's Collection which I note as M. This codex, like the one just mentioned, was kindly sent to the Bodleian Library by the librarian of the Hof and Staats Bibliothek in Munich (much earlier than the others) in the year 1887 (April 5th), for my use in perfecting my text of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthas; and naturally I did not fail to transcribe its variations from Spiegel's printed text throughout. It is correctly considered to be a transcription from Copenhagen 5, but as it differs clerically in many places from Spiegel's text, it cannot be an absolutely exact copy in so far as Spiegel's text approaches that description.

Fifthly, I carefully noted the chief variations in the codex

of Yasna fragments from Haug's Collection,<sup>1</sup> which consists of fragmentary texts, and which was sent for my use to the Bodleian in 1889 (May 25th). The variations have not very often been reproduced, as the texts differed in places so widely as to make it hardly fair to call a comparison of the document (with the others at hand) a 'collation' as of the same general texts. I term it *Mf*.

Sixthly, I regard Spiegel's printed text as being like *M*., in view of his notes to it, a valuable approximate transcript of the ancient codex 'Copenhagen number five' already referred to.

These are all the Pahlavi MSS. of the Yasna of which I have any accredited knowledge, with the exception of the one numbered four in the Moola Fīrūz Library in Bombay, to which reference has been already made in the note on p. 1 as practically identical with *D*. (Pt. 4), and it is therefore in so far replaced by that codex.

I should mention, however, three very valuable Zend MSS. with Sanskrit translations (texts of *Neīyōsang*) which have been most kindly placed at my disposal, being sent to me personally in Oxford from Bombay by distinguished friends. The first is one which I describe as *J*\*, loaned to me by the late revered Destoor Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp Asana, and which is destined by his son and successor to be a gift to the Bodleian Library when I have finished my use of it. It was executed by an ancestor of the Destoor some time in the seventeenth century. I have described it more fully in the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. ii, p. 523. Another is the MS. sent me by the courtesy of the owner, Mobed Mancherji Barozji (?) Powri. The codex was formerly in Surat; and it has been lately referred to as *S*<sup>1</sup>. On opening it, I was immediately struck by the strong resemblance of the paper in texture and in tint to that of our Oxford MS. referred to above as *D.J.* (CI Bodleian, or *J*<sup>2</sup>). The handwriting likewise

<sup>1</sup> The numbering has, I think, been changed since I made my request for it to the Librarian, I therefore do not quote it.



has some points of similarity; but it also shows traces of the workmanship of different penmen. It extends from Yasna 1, 6 to Yasna 46, 19 (unfinished).

A third is a small MS. somewhat darkened by the rubbing off of the heavy ink upon the coarse paper; but it is evidently a codex of the greatest value. It only extends, however, from Yasna 1, 6 (1-5 prefixed by a later hand) to Yasna 19, 10 (in middle). It bears the two names—one Meher Naurozji Kutar in the interior at the end, and that of Mr. Manockji Perloz\* of Orizah\* (so?) on the front external cover. It has been bound for convenience, and this somewhat cramps its texts. I am on the point at present of returning it to Bombay. It was procured for me, as was S<sup>1</sup>, through the most kind influence of my learned friend the Rev. J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsis in Colaba near Bombay, and Secretary to the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund. I will take another opportunity to describe it more fully. (Still another MS. of the Yasna was sent me at the same time, but it is decidedly modern.)

These three Zend-Sanskrit MSS. have been used to correct and confirm the text of Neryōsang, which, of course, as in the Gāthas, I have closely consulted for my Pahlavi text.

It is with these materials that I offer my deciphered version, incomparably more difficult, though less impressive, than merely reproducing the original Pahlavi characters with no attempt to render their very obscure equivalents in our intelligible Latin letters.<sup>1</sup> And surely when we employ the printer to impress documents in letters which we ourselves do not explain, our occupation is not a very dignified one.

Referring to my venerated predecessor in this attempt, let me say that our indebtedness to our eminent *balnbrecher*, Professor Frederick von Spiegel, is very great for having printed for us a text from one codex. It stands, however,

<sup>1</sup> I hope to add the text in the original characters in a future issue of this Journal.

to reason that his valuable work would have been greatly improved had he gained access to more than a single version. I reserve an English translation of my own text for a future work, or for future articles, in which I hope to re-edit Neryōsang's Sanskrit texts and treat the whole subject synoptically as I did in the Gāthas.

I beg, however, emphatically to call the attention of searchers to the remarks made in the Introduction to the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas and in my contribution to the Transactions of the Ninth Congress (see above) as to the peculiar treatment necessary in explaining these *quasi verbatim* renderings of the Pahlavi commentators. An ordinary literary translation of them, such as would be naturally attempted by an unguarded writer, would be worse than useless, for it would be calculated to mislead investigators as to the true character of the work, so affording an excuse for superficial procedure from an ill-informed exaggeration of the inevitable defects. It was truly astonishing that no-one, not even those who most adhered to the importance of the Asiatic commentaries, had ever thought of guarding against the most obvious sources of error. First of all, the texts are thrown out of all natural order (as Pahlavi writings) by being forced to follow the order of sequence of their original the Zend, while the order of sequence of the words in a good Pahlavi sentence is of unusual importance to the syntax. They also offer, what had never been noticed, which is more than a single translation for the same word, the result of the frequent attempts of previous versions. But I need say no more here save to point the principle, fully acceded to verbally by scholars (old acquaintances of my own in Germany). A translation of the Pahlavi translations should be 'exposition,' interrupted at every step with explanation or additional translation of the alternatives. No literary rendering of a fluent character could be other than dangerously incomplete.

## YASNA IX, 1-48.

- (1) Pavan hūvanō raḍih<sup>1</sup> [pavan hūvan i<sup>2</sup> gā<sup>3</sup>] hōm madam  
sātundō<sup>4</sup> avo zartūshō
- (2) pavan ātūsh<sup>5</sup> pīrāmūn<sup>6</sup> yōshādāsarinishōh [amatash  
ātūsh gā<sup>7</sup> kāmīstō<sup>8</sup> khalelūnastano<sup>9</sup>] (pavan) gā<sup>10</sup> sūnō  
srāyishnih<sup>11</sup> [amatash<sup>12</sup> zak ashemvohūko<sup>13</sup> i<sup>14</sup> i<sup>15</sup> i<sup>16</sup>]
- III gūt mūn<sup>17</sup> fravarānih<sup>18</sup> avō levīno<sup>19</sup>].
- (3) afash min valman<sup>20</sup> pūrsīdo zartūshō aīgh<sup>21</sup> : mūn gabrā  
hōmanih<sup>22</sup> [hōmand<sup>23</sup> lā pavan yasht<sup>24</sup> frātūm yehevūnd<sup>25</sup>  
min levīnō pēḍūk afash khavītūnasto<sup>26</sup> aīgh hōm avo<sup>27</sup> i<sup>28</sup> i<sup>29</sup>  
yāmtūnēḍ amat<sup>30</sup> maḍo yehevūndō<sup>31</sup> ash pūrsīdō<sup>32</sup>  
avāyast<sup>33</sup> i<sup>34</sup> i<sup>35</sup> mitrōkō<sup>36</sup> khūp aīto<sup>37</sup> zartūshō<sup>38</sup> zak  
pēḍūk aīghash shnākhto<sup>39</sup> hanā rāi maman<sup>40</sup> zak

<sup>1</sup> So, according to Parsi-Persian analogies.<sup>2</sup> D.J. om i, D. has stroke.<sup>3</sup> D. ravad.<sup>4</sup> D.J. om gā<sup>3</sup>, which K<sup>5</sup> and M. ins.<sup>5</sup> D. pīrāmūn; D. ins. va, or read -ō.<sup>6</sup> Diff. word from gā<sup>3</sup> above (cf. gātu).<sup>7</sup> M. kāmīstō, D.J., K<sup>5</sup> kāmīstō.<sup>8</sup> So D.J., K<sup>5</sup> shūstanō.<sup>9</sup> D. om. from 'amatash' to 'srāyishnih'.<sup>10</sup> D.J. om ash.<sup>11</sup> So D.J. i.<sup>12</sup> D.J. ins i.<sup>13</sup> In this edition Spiegel's printed text without his conjectural emendations is regarded as representing approximately the celebrated MS. "Copenhagen, No. 5." But if M. is really a 'copy' of K<sup>5</sup>, it is difficult to see how it can differ so often as it does from Spiegel. Both may be copies with variations at times very useful, its Pahlavi should have been examined.<sup>14</sup> D.J. om. mūn.<sup>15</sup> Citation from Y. 12 (Sp. 13), fravarānē.<sup>16</sup> So D.J., D. valman, K<sup>5</sup> anō.<sup>17</sup> D. homōnih.<sup>18</sup> So D.J., D.; possibly used here in the sense of 'i' as hōman is at times.<sup>19</sup> D. points 'y' in "yasht"; so D.J. yasht.<sup>20</sup> D. yehevūnd.<sup>21</sup> D. slightly differs.<sup>22</sup> D.J. ghal.<sup>23</sup> D.J., D., M. om. 'ham.'<sup>24</sup> D. mūn.<sup>25</sup> So D.J. -dō.<sup>26</sup> D.J. om. a sign, avāyast.<sup>27</sup> Citation (origin will be discussed later).<sup>28</sup> So D.<sup>29</sup> So D.J.<sup>30</sup> D. om. maman.

damānō<sup>1</sup> levatman yazadānō<sup>2</sup> vēsh<sup>3</sup> yehevūnd yekavimunādō<sup>4</sup> afash yazadō khshnākhtar<sup>5</sup> būd<sup>6</sup> hōmand<sup>7</sup> afash denman fargardō narm yehevūnd<sup>8</sup> afash avā-yastō<sup>9</sup> rūi levatman hōm lālā gūft<sup>10</sup> aīt mūn aētūnō yemalēlūnēd hōmand aūharmazd gūft yekavimunād aīgh kolā II (dō) avo<sup>11</sup> yāmtūnd<sup>12</sup> amat hōm mađō yehevūnd<sup>13</sup> ash mađō shnūsēdō<sup>14</sup>].

- (4) mūn li min harvi-pō ahūō i ast-hōmand<sup>14</sup> am nēvaktar khaditūndō hōmanih mamam at zak i<sup>15</sup> nafshman khadih<sup>16</sup> nēv ikō<sup>17</sup> kardo<sup>18</sup> yekavimūnēd hōmand<sup>19</sup> amarg<sup>20</sup> [hōmand khadih<sup>21</sup> pavan frārūnōih<sup>22</sup> amarg kardō yekavimūnēdō va<sup>23</sup> lā aētūnō chīgūn valmanshūn mūn bisrayā<sup>24</sup> i yim jaldo afshān dēn tanō amarg kardō yekavimūnādō vid batū min tanō kolā aīsh I<sup>25</sup> amarg (27 " amoreza gayehya<sup>26</sup> stūna " 27) ]
- (5) avo li valman<sup>29</sup> pusukhvo yemalēlūnd<sup>30</sup> hōm i ahaiūbō

<sup>1</sup> D daman

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that D means 'veh'

<sup>3</sup> So D I M -ud K -ud

<sup>4</sup> D khshnaktar / Not printed

<sup>5</sup> D J bud, K yehevund D yehevund

<sup>6</sup> So D J but D h m ud

<sup>7</sup> So D J etc yehevund D uned

<sup>8</sup> So D J others avayado

<sup>9</sup> D J D gūft K yemalēlūnd

<sup>10</sup> So D J K<sup>2</sup>, etc, ghal

<sup>11</sup> So D J, D, K -tund D ins va or o

<sup>12</sup> So D J, etc, ūnd D -und

<sup>13</sup> D looks like shnakhō but is probably as above

<sup>14</sup> D divides with a str ke d a mere dividing mark (

<sup>15</sup> D J om i

<sup>16</sup> So D, D J, K<sup>2</sup> jau

<sup>17</sup> So D

<sup>18</sup> So D J

<sup>19</sup> D J ins hōmand, D adds -o or va

<sup>20</sup> I place the beginning of the gloss here

<sup>21</sup> D marks the 'd' here

<sup>22</sup> D om tanō

<sup>23</sup> So D J, D -noih and D ins a sign not easily explained, 'a,' 'h,' or 'kh' (?)

<sup>24</sup> D J, D om va

<sup>25</sup> D seems bisrā (?)

<sup>26</sup> D, J, D, M aīsh I. Sp 's K<sup>2</sup> (?)

<sup>27</sup> This citation is in Zend characters, its location will be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> The word 'gayehya' has been heretofore deciphered 'gayehē (or ē)', but see my solution in S B E, xxxi, Introd. p. xxiv, as followed by Darmesteter and others

<sup>29</sup> D, J ins. valman.

<sup>30</sup> D J. -ūnd, D gūft

- <sup>1</sup> dūraōsh [hōmand<sup>2</sup> dūraōshih<sup>3</sup> hanā aigh aōsh min  
 rūbānō i<sup>4</sup> anshūtān<sup>5</sup> dūr yakhsenūnēd<sup>6</sup> : rūshānō gūft  
 aē<sup>7</sup> hōmand ahōshih<sup>8</sup> pavan hōm yehevūnēd<sup>9</sup>]. (6)  
 hōm<sup>4</sup> hōmanam zartusht hōm i aharūtō i dūraōsh;  
 zaku i<sup>9</sup> zak i (sic) li [bavi-<sup>10</sup>]-hūn<sup>10</sup> avō<sup>11</sup> khūrishn  
 [khūrishn<sup>12</sup> rāi] barā hūn.<sup>13</sup> (8) madam li pavan  
 stāyishno sitāy<sup>14</sup> dēn yazishno<sup>14</sup> chīgūn li akharich i<sup>15</sup>  
 sūd-hōmand stāyēnd<sup>16</sup> [ash zak i<sup>17</sup> lak va<sup>18</sup> lak rāi].  
 (9) afash gūftō zartušto aigh namūz avō<sup>19</sup> hōm.  
 (10) mūn lak<sup>20</sup> fratūm hōm min anshūtān dēn ast-  
 hōmandān<sup>21</sup> gēhānō hūnēd<sup>22</sup> hōmanih<sup>23</sup> va<sup>24</sup> mūn<sup>25</sup> zak  
 tarsukāsh<sup>26</sup> kardō aigh<sup>27</sup> zak nēvakih aigh vad am<sup>28</sup>  
 yehevūnād maman avō valman mađō āvūdih.  
 (11) avō li valman pasukhvō gūft<sup>29</sup> hōm i<sup>30</sup> aharūtō i<sup>31</sup>  
 dūraōsh. (12) vīva[n]ghūn<sup>32</sup> li fratūm min anshūtān<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>2</sup> M. seems to ins. -ālā, but it has the signs of cancelling over it.

<sup>3</sup> D. adds -ash.

<sup>4</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>5</sup> So D.J., K<sup>6</sup> maidūman.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. ins. aē.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly ahōshash.

<sup>8</sup> D. seems hōmano (-).

<sup>9</sup> D.J., D. ins. i.

<sup>10</sup> So I restore 'hūn' in view of the Zend text and of Neryōsang, also in view of the following hūn.

<sup>11</sup> So D., others val-, no vacant space in D.J., D., or M.

<sup>12</sup> D., K<sup>6</sup>, M. and D.J. val., D.J. ins. khūrishn (or 'khvarishn').

<sup>13</sup> D. ins. liturgical item.

<sup>14</sup> D. ayaz-.

<sup>15</sup> D.J. ins. i, perhaps irrational.

<sup>16</sup> So D.J., or read with others -yend.

<sup>17</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>18</sup> D.J. ins. va.

<sup>19</sup> D. om. avō.

<sup>20</sup> D.J., D., M. om. hōm here.

<sup>21</sup> D.J. ins. i.

<sup>22</sup> D.J., D. a<sup>4</sup> often extra stroke.

<sup>23</sup> D. hōmōnih

<sup>24</sup> D.J., D. ins. va

<sup>25</sup> D.J., M. irrational min (accidental omission of signs).

<sup>26</sup> So D. clearly; others -agahih (v), or the like.

<sup>27</sup> D.J. ins. aigh.

<sup>28</sup> Did he suppose erenāvi to be a first personal like 'soji'?

<sup>29</sup> So K<sup>6</sup>; D.J. yemalēnēd.

<sup>30</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>31</sup> D.J. or M. ins. i (-ābf).

<sup>32</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>33</sup> D. marđūmān.

dēn ast-hōmandān<sup>1</sup> gēhān hūnīdō<sup>1</sup> 'm; valman zak ī<sup>2</sup> tarakāsīh<sup>3</sup> kardō avō valman maḍō āvūdih. (13) amat min valman<sup>4</sup> benman<sup>5</sup> lālā zerkhūndō<sup>6</sup> mūn yim ī<sup>7</sup> shēt ī hūramak. (14) mūn gadman-hōmandtūm min zerkhūndūn<sup>8</sup> yehevūnd [khvēshkūrtum] khūrkhshētō-<sup>9</sup> (va)<sup>10</sup> -nigīriahntūm min anshūtānō yehevūndō [hūchashmtūm hōmand gadman aītō<sup>11</sup> ī khvēshkārīh va aītō<sup>12</sup> ī pavan tanō ī gabrā va<sup>13</sup> zak ī<sup>14</sup> pavan tanō ī yim ham-dēnū<sup>15</sup> yehevūnd hōmand<sup>16</sup> aīgh khvēshkārīh hōmand<sup>17</sup> rūshanō gūft hōmand gadman hanā aītō ī<sup>18</sup> pavan tanō ī<sup>19</sup> gabrā gadman-hōmand<sup>20</sup> yakhsenūnēd va<sup>21</sup> khvēshkārīh zak rūbūk vabdūnyēn<sup>22</sup>].

(15) mūnash kardō pavan zuk ī valman khūdāyih<sup>23</sup> amarg pūh va<sup>24</sup> vir ahōshishnīh<sup>25</sup> muyā va<sup>26</sup> aūrvar [aīgh zak ī<sup>27</sup> lū avūyust<sup>28, 29, 30</sup> khōshk<sup>31</sup> lā khōshkō].

<sup>1</sup> All

<sup>2</sup> D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>3</sup> So D.; we must reproduce D.J., etc., as tarakagūhīh (*mf*) or the like. *Mf.* seems to add -aah

<sup>4</sup> D.J. ānō

<sup>5</sup> So D.J., D. or harman, cf. 72, K<sup>2</sup> pūv.

<sup>6</sup> So D.J.

<sup>7</sup> D.J., D. in i.

<sup>8</sup> So D.J., D., M., K<sup>2</sup> zerkhūndak

<sup>9</sup> So D.J., others om. the 'kh' in khūrkhshēt (or 'khvat-').

<sup>10</sup> Superfluous va.

<sup>11</sup> D.J., D. aītō.

<sup>12</sup> Neryōsang has 'astī.'

<sup>13</sup> D.J., D. in. va.

<sup>14</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>15</sup> D. has ham-dādīstān.

<sup>16</sup> D. hōmōnd as often

<sup>17</sup> D.J. om., so D.

<sup>18</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>19</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>20</sup> D. hōmōnd.

<sup>21</sup> D.J., D. in. va, or end -ō

<sup>22</sup> (otherwise vādūnyūn.

<sup>23</sup> D.J., D. khūdāyih (D.J. has ānō for valman). K<sup>2</sup> khūdāyih (or 'khvad-').

<sup>24</sup> D.J. om. va.

<sup>25</sup> So; see the Zend and the Pārsi-Petr. Pahl. text ahoeshūmōnd. That was erroneous, for it was understood as 'deathlessness'; but it may have arisen from an 'akhōshk-'. D.J. seems to have anavā<sup>26</sup>shishnīh (or -shishn); but if so, the word is over-written. I do not think ahōō-zāyiahnīh (so) was meant here, though the characters might correspond.

D. seems to have aōshishnō with vir repeated; hardly nir-aōshishnō. Should it be emended to read dār-aōshishnō, or dār-khōshishnō, or dār-booshishnō (?)?

<sup>26</sup> D.J. om. va.

<sup>27</sup> D.J. om. i?

<sup>28</sup> D. avūyud diff. shape.

<sup>29</sup> K<sup>2</sup> avūyast.

<sup>30</sup> D. (?), M. in. lā here.

<sup>31</sup> D. om. khōshk here.

- (16) khūrishn i vashtamūnānō<sup>1</sup> anavāzhishnō [aigh amat khadūk I vashtamūnō būd<sup>2</sup> khadūk maḍo yehevūnō].  
 (17) pavan sak i<sup>3</sup> yim<sup>4</sup> khūdāyih<sup>5</sup> i arvand lā earmāk yehevūnō<sup>6</sup> va<sup>7</sup> lā garmāk<sup>8</sup> (18) lā zarmāno yehevūnō va<sup>9</sup> lā margih va lā arēshko<sup>10</sup> i<sup>11</sup> shēdāu-<sup>12</sup> -dūdō [hōmand hūmāi<sup>13</sup> yehevūnō hōmand<sup>14</sup> barā min vinās lakhvār dāsht yekavimūnād<sup>15</sup> hōmand<sup>15</sup>]  
 (19) xv-sālako<sup>16</sup> hu-(bū)-rōdishno<sup>17</sup> frūzātūnd hōmandabū va benman<sup>18</sup> kadārzāi [hōmand būrzak<sup>19</sup> pavan stāyishnō i pūsar gūft aigh benman<sup>20</sup> aētūno nēvak yehevūnō i<sup>21</sup> abū<sup>22</sup> va<sup>23</sup> abū<sup>24</sup> aētūno nēvak yehevūnō obīgūnō<sup>25</sup> benman<sup>20</sup>] (20) hamāi<sup>26</sup> vad amat shalitāi<sup>27</sup> yehevūnō (i)<sup>28</sup> hūramak yim i<sup>29</sup> shēt i<sup>30</sup> vīva(n)ghāno<sup>31</sup> benman [denman mindavam aētūnō yehevūnō].  
 (21) mūn lak daḍigar hōm min anshūtān<sup>32</sup> dēn ast-hōmandān

<sup>1</sup> So D, Mf, and Ner's original others ntin; DJ places khūrishn (khvār-) in (16), K<sup>6</sup>, M -munānō. I can only suggest this, but M seems anavāzhishnō (sic, so DJ)

<sup>2</sup> So DJ

<sup>3</sup> DJ om i

<sup>4</sup> DJ ins i

<sup>5</sup> D seems -dayih

<sup>6</sup> DJ om yehevūnō

<sup>7</sup> DJ, D om va

<sup>8</sup> DJ might be garmāi (?)

<sup>9</sup> DJ om va

<sup>10</sup> DJ, D om o in the word

<sup>11</sup> DJ om i

<sup>12</sup> D shēdayān

<sup>13</sup> DJ hamāi, but possibly meant for hamak, Ner favours the last with sarvam

<sup>14</sup> D extra stroke

<sup>15</sup> D hōmōnd (or hōmanend), M hōmand.

<sup>16</sup> So DJ, K<sup>6</sup> shnatak

<sup>17</sup> Parai-Pers marks the 'hu-'

<sup>18</sup> So DJ, K<sup>6</sup> pūs, DJ, D om va, or misplaces it

<sup>19</sup> So the Parai-Pers and D, and not burzok (sic) or būrzōk with K<sup>6</sup> (nor-zāk).

<sup>20</sup> So DJ, D, others pūs

<sup>21</sup> DJ ins i.

<sup>22</sup> DJ., D om -ō from abū

<sup>23</sup> DJ. ins va

<sup>24</sup> DJ ins i

<sup>25</sup> DJ, D om i

<sup>26</sup> So DJ., D.

<sup>27</sup> DJ., D -tāl.

<sup>28</sup> I supplied when reading shalitāi

<sup>29</sup> DJ, D, M. ins i in 'yim-i-shēt.'

<sup>30</sup> D ins i.

<sup>31</sup> DJ., D. om. -ō.

<sup>32</sup> So D.; DJ. marḍāmin.

gēhānō hūnīd<sup>1</sup> hōmanih mūn zak tarsakāsīh<sup>2</sup> kardō  
[zak<sup>3</sup> nēvakīh aīgh vad am yehevūnūd] va<sup>4</sup> maman  
avō valman mađō<sup>5</sup> nēvakīh.<sup>6</sup>

(22) avō li valman<sup>7</sup> pasukhvō gūft hōm ī aharūbō ī<sup>7</sup> dūraōsh.

(23) āvīyān<sup>8,9</sup> li dadīgar min anshūtān<sup>10</sup> dēn ast-hōmandānō  
gēhānō hūnīd<sup>11</sup> hōmauam valman<sup>12</sup> zak tarsakāsīh<sup>13</sup>  
kardō va avō valman mađō āvādīh. (24) amat<sup>14</sup> min  
valman pūs<sup>15</sup> lālā zerkhūnd<sup>16</sup> mūn afzārvis ferīdūnō<sup>17</sup>  
[hōmand afzārvi-īh<sup>18</sup> hanā<sup>19</sup> yehevūnd aīgh ash<sup>20</sup> khā-  
nakō<sup>20</sup> min mudam-mānd<sup>21</sup> ī abīdarūn kabed yehevūndō  
va<sup>22</sup> zakīch ī<sup>23</sup> dahāk pavan stahmakīh<sup>24</sup> lakhvār  
vakhdūnd afash khūdāyyīh<sup>25</sup> hanā va<sup>26</sup> khvērshāno ī aē<sup>27</sup>  
pēdāk lā yehevūnd valman dāshto]. (25) mūnash makhī-  
tūnd<sup>28</sup> azo<sup>29</sup> ī dahāk ī III-zufar<sup>30</sup> ī III-kamār ī VI-  
ash ī hazāro<sup>31</sup>-jōstār [ī<sup>32</sup> adādok<sup>33</sup> ī pavan gōharākō]

<sup>1</sup> D J., D., M. insert extra stroke, can it be hūnō-id, 'ō' before the verbal termination?

<sup>2</sup> So D. plainly, others -agahīh.

<sup>3</sup> D J., D. om. i.

<sup>4</sup> D J., D. om. va.

<sup>5</sup> D J., om. i.

<sup>6</sup> D., M. (notice this striking difference of M. from K<sup>1</sup>, D J., K. avādīh.

<sup>7</sup> D J. has and and om. next two v's.

<sup>8</sup> Or athvīyau (so I much prefer.

<sup>9</sup> D J., om. i.

<sup>10</sup> So D J., D., K<sup>1</sup>, etc., marduman.

<sup>11</sup> D J. again extra stroke.

<sup>12</sup> D J. avō, or ano.

<sup>13</sup> So D. plainly, others agahīh as .

<sup>14</sup> So D J. amat, K<sup>1</sup> mun.

<sup>15</sup> D J., D., M. pūs, K<sup>1</sup> banman.

<sup>16</sup> D J. om. 'v'.

<sup>17</sup> D J., Mf. -ūn.

<sup>18</sup> Does M. mean -visī-ash?

<sup>19</sup> D. seems ānō.

<sup>20</sup> So D J., D. nearly, khanō- or khānō (cf. Ner.'s veçmani; D J., K<sup>1</sup> khadūk.

<sup>21</sup> So D J., K<sup>1</sup> and others avarmaud.

<sup>22</sup> D J. ins. va.

<sup>23</sup> D J. om. i.

<sup>24</sup> Or 'stahmakash'; D. stahmō (av.

<sup>25</sup> So D J.; K<sup>1</sup> might be khūdāī ('au or 'khvad-''

<sup>26</sup> D J. om. va.

<sup>27</sup> D J. om. aē.

<sup>28</sup> So D J., D.; K<sup>1</sup> zad.

<sup>29</sup> So D J., D., K<sup>1</sup> azōk (so).

<sup>30</sup> D. seems zifar.

<sup>31</sup> D J. seems to divide differently.

<sup>32</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>33</sup> D J., Mf., and D. om. ō and have adāqak, K<sup>1</sup> (Sp.) has adāqōk.



- (26) i<sup>1</sup> kabad aōjō shēdayyā drūjō i<sup>2</sup> saritar<sup>3</sup> avo gēhān  
 ānō<sup>4</sup> zyānkār [i<sup>2</sup> darvand] (27) munush kabad aōjtūm  
 drūj frāz karinīd<sup>5</sup> gaurāk<sup>6</sup> mīnavad madam<sup>7</sup> avō ast-  
 hōmandānō gēhāno pavan margih i<sup>7</sup> zak i<sup>8</sup> aharūyih<sup>9</sup>  
 gēhāno [aighash min drūjo] i<sup>10</sup> i sth khalūko<sup>9</sup> zak  
 stahimaktar yehabūd<sup>9</sup> " ko thvam yma ahurem  
 mazdam<sup>11</sup> " zak hāmā<sup>12</sup> amāt aigh kolā zak  
 zyān zīsh pavan dāmāno i aūharmaza tubāno yehavūd  
 ash barā<sup>13</sup> kardo va liūman<sup>14</sup> ? (so) (or better var-  
 hōmand) yehavūd, mindavam zish tubāno<sup>15</sup> yehavūd  
 kardano afasn lā kardo !
- (28) mūn lak sudgar hōm min anshūtān dēn ast-  
 hōmandāno<sup>16</sup> gēhāno hūnd<sup>1</sup> hōm mih<sup>18</sup> va mūn zak  
 tarsakāsh<sup>19</sup> kardo va maman avo valman mado āvūdh
- (29) adinosh<sup>20</sup> avo li valman pasukhvo yemafēlūd<sup>21</sup> horn  
 i<sup>22</sup> aharūbo i dūraōsh
- (30) sūto (better thruto<sup>23</sup>) i sāmānō<sup>24</sup> i sūd-khvāstār (!)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D ins i<sup>2</sup> D J om i<sup>3</sup> D J om the 'h' or 'rt' of K<sup>9</sup> Sp), but seems to mean saritaran, so D<sup>4</sup> Instead of avo M seems ano (tr in later hand)<sup>5</sup> D J seems kirinid (sic) but the first 'i' is somewhat elevated<sup>6</sup> D has ganak om the supposed 'r'<sup>7</sup> M D ins i<sup>8</sup> D J ins i, others om<sup>9</sup> So D<sup>10</sup> D J perhaps has I<sup>11</sup> Citation in Zend characters, location discussed later the words are simple<sup>12</sup> D, or M ano<sup>13</sup> D J om bara<sup>14</sup> So according to the signs, also 'val duman' would be represented by them but Var's vañakō so reading suggests an emendation Var gūman is also a possible decipherment 'hesitating' I am not at all confident as to 'human' as - 'us' or in any respect of Old P P G J, perhaps 'var-h mind' is to be substituted<sup>15</sup> D J tubāno (sic)<sup>16</sup> So D J om i<sup>17</sup> D J superfluous stroke<sup>18</sup> D hōm mih, as often<sup>19</sup> So D, but with accidental '-shih' for 'sh' others -gahih (?)<sup>20</sup> D J, D om adinosh<sup>21</sup> So D J, others guft<sup>22</sup> M om i<sup>23</sup> I strongly hold to this decipherment<sup>24</sup> Or sāmānō.<sup>25</sup> D J. ins. i<sup>26</sup> One of the translator's rare egregious blunders, caused doubtless by the separation of the termination '-shih' from 'shih' (so, in some an ext MS. In

[hōmand <sup>1</sup> sritīhash <sup>1</sup> (thrītīhash <sup>1</sup>) hanā yehevūnd aigh benman <sup>2</sup> i sadīgar yehevūnd afash sūd- <sup>3</sup> -khvāstārih hanā <sup>4</sup> yehevūnd <sup>5</sup> aīghash <sup>6</sup> sūd i <sup>7</sup> damān nēvak <sup>8</sup> khavitūnastanō <sup>9</sup> bavīhūnastō <sup>10</sup>] li sadīgar min anshūtāān dōn ast-hōmandānō <sup>11</sup> gēhūnō hūnīdō <sup>12</sup> am <sup>12</sup> valman zak <sup>13</sup> tarsakāsīh <sup>14</sup> kardō maman <sup>15</sup> avō <sup>16</sup> valman zak <sup>17</sup> madō āvādīh. (31) amat min <sup>18</sup> valman <sup>19</sup> Il (dō) benman\* lālā zerkhūnd hōmand <sup>20</sup> aūrvakhsh <sup>21</sup> va keresūspō.

- (32) dādōbar\* zak I <sup>22</sup> yehevūnd aūrvakhsh [aīghash vijir va dādō-barīh <sup>23</sup> kurđo] va <sup>24</sup> dād <sup>25</sup> -ārāstār [aīghash <sup>26</sup> dād i frūrūn barā hunkhetūnd <sup>27</sup>]. (33) va zakō <sup>28</sup> i zakāi <sup>29</sup> avarkār <sup>30</sup> yūdān <sup>31</sup> (P or 'gēshānō (ḡ),' same characters and meaning) gēsvar <sup>32</sup> va gadvar keresūspō, [aīghash

itself, however, the rendering is rational enough 'sūd-' is in so far, of course, correct. The same blunder occurs, curiously enough, at Y 28, 5, but the term of *sevitō* or 'se-v-' at Y 33, 11, is not mistaken nor is the suppl. -isht- again mistaken anywhere else in the Gathas though it is left unrendered sometimes.

<sup>1</sup> I strongly hold to this decipherment

<sup>2</sup> Is it 'barman' ? See above.

<sup>3</sup> D. has sūdīhash and khvastarih

<sup>4</sup> D. om. hanā

<sup>5</sup> D.J. om yehevūnd.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. om. ash.

<sup>7</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>8</sup> D.J. ins i

<sup>9</sup> So D.J., D. (v), M. -stō, K<sup>2</sup> -tanō

<sup>10</sup> D.J. has extra stroke, or (v) -nō-astō su)

<sup>11</sup> D.J., D. om i.

<sup>12</sup> D.J. again with the extra stroke. Ner 'vaveda,' reading 'khavitūndō am.'

<sup>13</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>14</sup> So D.

<sup>15</sup> So D.J. and M. ins.

<sup>16</sup> So D.J.

<sup>17</sup> D.J. om. zak.

<sup>18</sup> D.J., D. om. min.

<sup>19</sup> D.J. ūnō.

<sup>20</sup> D. has generally hōmand

<sup>21</sup> D.J., D., M. om i

<sup>22</sup> D. has hanā for i.

<sup>23</sup> D.J. ins. va.

<sup>24</sup> D.J. om. va.

<sup>25</sup> D.J., M. seem dādō i; D. has dād, but 'āi' (sic) for 'ā' in ārstār.

<sup>26</sup> D.J., D. ins. ash, D. om i after dād

<sup>27</sup> So D.J., D.; Sp. -nāq; D.J., D. om fol va.

<sup>28</sup> So D.J., and om. i.

<sup>29</sup> D.J. ins. va.

<sup>30</sup> D.J. om. va.

<sup>31</sup> Some prefer to transcribe gēshānō (P rather applied to animals); D.J. ins. va.

<sup>32</sup> M. has the sign for 'g.'

kār pavan gaḍ vēsh kardō ; māyōdiā<sup>1</sup> gūft aē<sup>2</sup>  
 hōmand<sup>3</sup> dādō<sup>4</sup> i tājik yehevūndo afash min gēvar  
 barā gūft māhgōshō-aspo<sup>5</sup> gūft<sup>6</sup> hōmand hauā'sh lā  
 akikūftih<sup>7</sup> maman<sup>8</sup> gēs<sup>9</sup> tūrkān<sup>10</sup> ich<sup>11</sup> yakheonūd].  
 (34) mūnash makhitūnd<sup>12</sup> azō<sup>13</sup> i<sup>14</sup> srūbar I aspo-aūpard<sup>15</sup>  
 i<sup>16</sup> gabrā-aūpardō i vish-hōmand, i<sup>17</sup> zarḍō. (35) mūnash  
 madam vish<sup>18</sup> rānīnīd yokavimūnēd<sup>19</sup> ausyā<sup>20</sup> -būlā zak  
 i zarḍō [hōmand, denman zak zish<sup>21</sup> pavan kamār lūlā  
 vazlūnd<sup>22</sup> ("kshvāpaya<sup>23</sup> vaenaya bareāna<sup>24</sup>")<sup>25</sup> zak  
 zish<sup>26</sup> pavan zafar barā neflūnast<sup>27</sup> aito<sup>28</sup> mūn<sup>29</sup> (am)<sup>30</sup>  
 aētūnō yemalelūnēd hōmand kolā II (dō) khadūkō<sup>31</sup> zak  
 i ānd<sup>32</sup> būlā<sup>33</sup> lūlā vazlūndō<sup>34</sup> va zak i<sup>35</sup> ānd<sup>36</sup> dirāngih<sup>37</sup>  
 barā neflūnastō<sup>38</sup> aīt mūn aētūnō yemalelūnēd hōmand

<sup>1</sup> So K<sup>3</sup>, M.; D.J., D. have māvindād.

<sup>2</sup> So D.J., D. aigh.

<sup>3</sup> D. om. hōmand.

<sup>4</sup> D. dādih or dādash.

<sup>5</sup> So K<sup>3</sup>, D.; D.J. om.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. om.; D. gūft, K<sup>3</sup>, M. yemalelūnd; D.J. om.

<sup>7</sup> D. shikūftih.

<sup>8</sup> M. om.

<sup>9</sup> So D. pl. (tūrkōnich, N.B.); others tūrkō-ch.

<sup>10</sup> D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>11</sup> So D.J., D.; others zad.

<sup>12</sup> D.J. curiously om. azō i here, but may have mūnash azō before makhitūnd.

<sup>13</sup> M. seems va i.

<sup>14</sup> D. om. i.

<sup>15</sup> D. om. vish (curiously); has madam (avō or ānō).

<sup>16</sup> D.J., D. -nād.

<sup>17</sup> So D.J., D., K<sup>3</sup> asp.

<sup>18</sup> So D.J., D.; K<sup>3</sup> zak ash.

<sup>19</sup> D.J., M., D. khsh, etc. (in Zend characters).

<sup>20</sup> So K<sup>3</sup>, M. (P); D.J. vainaya; D. vanayata.

<sup>21</sup> So K<sup>3</sup> bareina; D. bareina; D.J. barenuš; cf. yt. 19, 40.

<sup>22-24</sup> All in Zend characters.

<sup>25</sup> D.J. begins a new section here. D.J. om second zak i; D. om. i.

<sup>26</sup> So D.J., D., K<sup>3</sup> (Sp.) zak ash.

<sup>27</sup> M. om. Sp.'s final -ō; D. ins. i.

<sup>28</sup> So D.J., M.

<sup>29</sup> So D.J. ins. am; cf. mān, or amānō in 43.

<sup>30</sup> D.J., D. om. final -ō; and D. ins. va.

<sup>31</sup> D.J., D., M. mark 'd.'

<sup>32</sup> Mf. bālā.

<sup>33</sup> So D.J.

<sup>34</sup> D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>35</sup> So D.J., M.; K<sup>3</sup> looks as if it meant 'chand' (the 'ch' Zend).

<sup>36</sup> So most rationally. The Pārsi-Pers. MS. has the traditional d-r-ān-ā; D. separates the final sign which I decipher as '-gih' here; cf. Old Pers. drāngā.

<sup>37</sup> D. ins. i.

kifr\*\*<sup>1</sup> (P) ash<sup>1</sup> madam pōšhtō<sup>2</sup> khōshkō yekavīmūnād.<sup>3</sup>  
 (36) mūn pavan valman madam koresūspō khayā pavan  
 zak asīnīnō<sup>4</sup> dīg<sup>5</sup> pītō<sup>6</sup> pūkhō.<sup>7</sup> (37) zak<sup>8</sup> i avō<sup>9</sup>  
 rapīsvīnō damānō; taftō<sup>10</sup> mar [aighash garm yehe-  
 vūnd] khvisad<sup>11</sup> [aigh II-(dō)-ragelman<sup>12</sup> yehevūndō<sup>13</sup>].  
 (38) afush frāz zak ī<sup>14</sup> asīnīnō<sup>15</sup> dīg<sup>16</sup> frāz spūrd<sup>17</sup> zak  
 ī<sup>18</sup> ashardinīdak<sup>19</sup> mayū barā sūtūndō.<sup>20</sup> (39) fravōn  
 pavan tars barā tajidō<sup>21</sup> gabrā - mīnīshn<sup>22</sup> koresūsp  
 [hōmand mardum\* - mīnīshnīh\* hanā yehevūnd aigh  
 ash<sup>23</sup> libbemman pavan gūs dāsh].

- (40) mūn lak tasūm hōm<sup>24</sup> mīn anshūtūn d'n ast-hō-  
 mandānō<sup>25</sup> gehānō hūnīd<sup>26</sup> hōmanīh va<sup>27</sup> mūn zak ī<sup>28</sup>  
 tarsakūsīh<sup>29</sup> kardō va mūn<sup>30</sup> avo<sup>31</sup> valman mađō āvādīh.

<sup>1</sup> Kafārih? or katārash, if correct, would mean kat = 'truth' + -r. The Pers.-Pars. indicates *kafri*, so, not agreeing to 'ash'.

<sup>2</sup> We are greatly indebted to D here for giving us the intelligible pōshō, or pōshō va.

<sup>3</sup> So D J., etc., D -nīd.

<sup>4</sup> D. has extra stroke as below.

<sup>5</sup> So D.J., M., K<sup>5</sup> δ.

<sup>6</sup> M om pit (curiously), D J pītō.

<sup>7</sup> So D J., M.

<sup>8</sup> D J om i.

<sup>9</sup> So K<sup>9</sup> may be deciphered, but D J has valman.

<sup>10</sup> So, D J.

<sup>11</sup> So, D. khvāst, see Old Pahl Pāzand gl khašt, D.J. khvisad or khvist (?).

<sup>12</sup> D J ins va, or has -mand.

<sup>13</sup> So D.J.

<sup>14</sup> D J. om i.

<sup>15</sup> D has extra stroke (?).

<sup>16</sup> So M., D.J., D digō or -va, D J., D om i., K<sup>16</sup> has -va, or -δ.

<sup>17</sup> D.J., D have spūrd, K<sup>17</sup>, M have extra irrational stroke \*spūrananad\* (?), or was it meant for a causative spūran-, cf pers causat. an-

<sup>18</sup> D ins. i.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Pers. ashardan = 'to bake.'

<sup>20</sup> So D.J.

<sup>21</sup> So D.J., D; K<sup>21</sup> curiously om tajidō, which might also be reproduced as tachidō, or indeed tazidō (?).

<sup>22</sup> So D.J.; K<sup>22</sup>, M. mardam-mm \*\*.

<sup>23</sup> D. om. ash.

<sup>24</sup> D hōmand (?).

<sup>25</sup> So D.J., others have a superfluous i.

<sup>26</sup> D.J., D. continually show an extra stroke, can it be an inserted 'δ' between hūn and id, hūnō-id (?), as sometimes at the term of a noun before a final suffix; possibly it may be hūnīd for hūnīd (causative), but I make the suggestion that the somewhat mysterious sign hitherto rendered as 'δ' may be after all a mere sign of division after, or between, consonants, but irregularly applied; cf. ved. §.

<sup>27</sup> D. ins. va.

<sup>28</sup> D.J. ins. i.

<sup>29</sup> So D., fully and clearly as always; others must be rendered \*tarsagahīh, or something like it.

<sup>30</sup> D J.; K<sup>30</sup> va maman; D. may be va zak (?).

<sup>31</sup> D. zak?

- (41) afash avō li valman<sup>1</sup> pasukhvō gūft hōm i aharūbō<sup>2</sup>  
(1) dūr-aōsh.
- (42) pūrūshaspō<sup>3</sup> li tasūm min anshūtān dēn ast-hōmandān<sup>4</sup>  
gēhānō hūnīdō'm<sup>5</sup> valman zak<sup>6</sup> tarsakūsh<sup>7</sup> kardō va zak  
avō valman madō āvādih. (43) amat miu valman lak lālā  
zerkhūndō hōmanih<sup>8</sup> lak avējak<sup>9</sup> zartūshō den<sup>10</sup>  
mihanō<sup>11</sup> i pūrūshaspō<sup>12</sup> i<sup>13</sup> javīdō - shēdayyā<sup>14</sup> i<sup>15</sup>  
aūharmazd-dēnā<sup>16</sup> [aitō mun javīd - shēdayyā ash<sup>17</sup>  
lakhvār aē<sup>18</sup> mān yemalelūnēd]. (44) dēn zak i nāmik  
aēān-vēj<sup>19</sup> [aigh vēh<sup>20</sup> dāitīk<sup>21 22 23</sup>] lak fratūm zartūshō  
ahunaver frāz srūdō [aighat yashō<sup>24</sup> i vāj<sup>25</sup> li (?) kardō<sup>26</sup>]  
barā yediūnishnih<sup>27</sup> [pavan barā gōbishnih] III. vad<sup>28</sup>  
avō zak i<sup>29</sup> akhar (45) pavan khīrōzyek<sup>30</sup> frāz<sup>31</sup>  
srūyishnih [tūkhshākīhā<sup>32</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> D J., D. om.

<sup>2</sup> D J. curiously om. aharūbō; I supply i

<sup>3</sup> D has ū in Purū-, others Purā-, D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>4</sup> So D.; and D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>5</sup> D.J., D. as usual extra stroke (for n, u, or ō -).

<sup>6</sup> D J., D. om i

<sup>7</sup> So D. as always.

<sup>8</sup> D. hōmōush

<sup>9</sup> Or avēzak

<sup>10</sup> D.J. ins. i.

<sup>11</sup> D. mihān.

<sup>12</sup> D.J., D. have pūrū-; ins. i.

<sup>13</sup> D.J. om i.

<sup>14</sup> So D.J., D. shōdā.

<sup>15</sup> D. ins. i.

<sup>16</sup> D. -dādistān.

<sup>17</sup> D J., D., M. om ash.

<sup>18</sup> So D. seems as mānō for the amānō of the others, the Parai-Pers. has the same; as to amānō, cf. the 'am' in 35. I have among other suggestions thought of a possible lakhvar-hōmand - 'a repeated' javīd-n-, and 'lakhvar-ham- anō' (again the same, that (?))

<sup>19</sup> So D.

<sup>20</sup> D.J., D. om. shapir i; D. has vēh.

<sup>21</sup> So D. -ik. D.J. dāitīhō (?), but perhaps meaning dāitīk, K<sup>5</sup> -tīh (or -āih (?)).

<sup>22</sup> D.J., D. om. i.

<sup>23</sup> D.J. om. va.

<sup>24</sup> So D., also so marked in M. 'y.'

<sup>25</sup> Or for 'bāj'; so D., solving, perhaps, our difficulty. Otherwise it would be a remnant of a shattered ahunaver, i.e. '-naver' (so); the Parai-Pers. has nāver (so). Ner. has unfortunately no gloss here.

<sup>26</sup> So D.J. Ner. has unfortunately no gloss here.

<sup>27</sup> D. marks 'ded-.'

<sup>28</sup> D.J., D. om. the extra stroke.

<sup>29</sup> D.J. om. i.

<sup>30</sup> D. marks 'y' under; forms of the letters are varied in the MSS.; see Zend text. Khraoshdehya; the Pahl. word here imitates the Zend closely. 'k' is a common ending; see even vohāk.

<sup>31</sup> M. might be vaj (?), om. 'fr.'

<sup>32</sup> D.J. curiously om. 'k.' I prefer tvakhsh- to tūkhsh- everywhere, but the trouble to arrange a thoroughly critical edition is so great that I postpone such matters.

- (46) lak dēn damīk nikānō<sup>1</sup> kardō<sup>2</sup> hōmand harvispō<sup>3</sup> shēdayyā zartūshō mūn pēsh<sup>4</sup> min zak vīrā-rōdiahnō patīd hōmand<sup>5</sup> madam pavan denman damīk [pavan shedayyā<sup>6</sup> karpīh hōmand kolā zak mūn tanō mīnavad tūbānō yehevūnd kardānō ash karp<sup>7</sup> barā shikastō<sup>8</sup> va<sup>9</sup> zak mūn lā tūbānō<sup>10</sup> yehevūnd kardānō benafaman<sup>11</sup> barā tebrūnastō<sup>12</sup> kālbut barā<sup>13</sup> tebrūnastō<sup>14</sup> hanā aīgh<sup>15</sup> min zak frūz pavan shedayyā<sup>16</sup> karpīh vinās lā tūbānō<sup>17</sup> yehevūndō<sup>18</sup> kardānō vad pavan stōr-<sup>19</sup> karpīh va anshūtū-karpīh kevanich<sup>20</sup> avo<sup>21</sup> kunend<sup>22</sup>] (47) mūn aōj-hōmand<sup>23</sup> hōmanih<sup>24</sup> va<sup>25</sup> mūn takīk hōmanih<sup>26</sup> mūn tūkhshāk hōmanih<sup>27</sup> mūn<sup>28</sup> tīz hōmanih<sup>29</sup> mūn<sup>30</sup> aītō aīgh pīrūzkartar-yehabūnd<sup>31</sup> yekavīmūnih min zak ī mīnavadān dām [min dāmō<sup>32</sup> ī mīnavadān nafshuman].
- (48) afush gūftō zartūshō aīgh namāzo avō<sup>32</sup> hōm.

<sup>1</sup> D nikān.<sup>2</sup> So D.<sup>3</sup> So D<sup>4</sup> So D , others levīnō<sup>5</sup> D as always (?), homond<sup>6</sup> D shēdā<sup>7</sup> D J. , K<sup>4</sup> M kālbut<sup>8</sup> So D J., D , others tebrūnast<sup>9</sup> D J ins va.<sup>10</sup> Om. -ō<sup>11</sup> So D D J , etc., khōd<sup>12</sup> D shikast.<sup>13</sup> D. om.<sup>14</sup> D. shikast<sup>15</sup> So D.J. , D.J., D om. naman , and D om hanā<sup>16</sup> D shēdā.<sup>17</sup> M tūbān.<sup>18</sup> So D.<sup>19</sup> D J. short vowel.<sup>20</sup> D J. kevanich i<sup>21</sup> D. ghal.<sup>22</sup> So D.J. ; others vabdānafid (so?)<sup>23</sup> D. -mōnd.<sup>24</sup> D. -mōnih.<sup>25</sup> D.J. ins va.<sup>26</sup> D. hōmōnih. I prefer tvakhsh-, but have avoided quibbling departures from usage throughout<sup>27</sup> D. hōmōnih , D J. ins. mūn.<sup>28</sup> D.J. ins. mūn.<sup>29</sup> D J., D. ins. mūn.<sup>30</sup> So D.J., D. , K<sup>4</sup> dāfo.<sup>31</sup> So D.J., D. ; K<sup>4</sup> dāmāno.<sup>32</sup> D.J., D. have thus avō.

ART. XXIII.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* Part III.  
*The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India.* By E. J.  
 RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE identification of the kingdom of Kulūta, which Hiouen Tshang visited, with the present valley of Kullu seems to be quite beyond dispute;<sup>1</sup> and the lapse of more than twelve centuries and a half has effected so little change in the conditions, that Hiouen Tshang's description and the account in Hunter's Gazetteer are curiously similar. Like its neighbour the kingdom of Chamba (Skt. *Canpaka*), it belongs to the eastern or Jālandhar group of Hill States in the Panjab.<sup>2</sup> At present this group consists of twelve states, but, according to Cunningham, there were formerly only four—Jālandhar, Chamba, Kullu, and Mandi. Of the first and third we have a detailed description by Hiouen Tshang,<sup>3</sup> and, as will be seen (*inf.*, p. 541), it is possible that he mentions the second under another name. In our attempts to unravel the tangle of ancient Indian geography, the untying of one knot fortunately often leads to the untying of others. The identification of the Kulūtas may enable us to identify, with a greater or less amount of certainty, other peoples who occur with them in the geographical lists. It may, therefore, serve a useful purpose, if we examine in detail all the known occurrences of the Kulūtas in literature and on inscriptions and coins.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, pp. 130 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> For these references, I am indebted to Fleet's *Topographical Index to the Bṛhat-samhitā*; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Wilson's *Pippin-purāṇa* (ed. Hall); Tola's *Mudrārākṣasa* (Bomb. Skt. Ser.); and the P.W.

## HIUEN THSANG: (in India A.D. 629-645.)

Hiouen Thsang's visit to the kingdom of Kulūta is described in the fourth book of his travels.<sup>1</sup> From *Chi-no-po-ti* (*Cinapati* = the modern *Patti*, according to Cunningham<sup>2</sup>), he had proceeded to *She-lan-t'o-lo* (*Jālandhara*, called also *Trigarṭta*), thence to *K'iu-lu-to* (*Kulūta*), and thence to *She-to-t'u-lu* (*Śatadru*, the kingdom of the *Satlay*). About the identification of these places, broadly speaking, there can be little doubt. In his account of *Kulūta*, Hiouen Thsang also gives the directions and distances of two other places, *Lo-u-lo* and *Mo-lo-so* (possibly to be read *Mo-lo-po*),<sup>3</sup> though it appears that he did not visit them, but obtained his information about them from hearsay. The former has been identified with *Lāhul*<sup>4</sup>; but with regard to the position of the latter there is a difference of opinion. Cunningham<sup>5</sup> identified it with "*Mar-po*, the actual name of the province of *Ladāk*"; but Vivien de St. Martin,<sup>6</sup> on the strength of a note inserted by the Chinese editor to the effect that another name for the place was *San-po-ho*, has no hesitation in identifying it with *Caṇṇakā*. It must be admitted that neither the direction nor the distance given by Hiouen Thsang suits the position of Chamba in relation to Kullu; but he may have been misinformed, or a mistake may have crept in from some other source. *San-po-ho* must surely be intended to represent *Caṇṇakā*, but the Chinese editor may have been mistaken in supposing it to be another name for *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*). We shall have occasion to continue the discussion of this point hereafter (*inf.*, p. 541).

<sup>1</sup> *Si-yu-ki*; Beal, i, p. 177, Julien, ii, p. 203. Also *Life of Hiouen Thsang*: Beal, p. 77; Julien, i, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Vivien de St. Martin, in Julien, iii, p. 331 (but in his *Errata alphabétique*, p. 570, he says, *Efface ce mot*), Cunningham, p. 143, Beal, i, p. 178, note 33.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoire analytique sur la carte*, etc., in Julien, iii, 334.



## MAHĀBHĀRATA.

The Kulūtas are mentioned in the topographical lists contained in the Bhīṣma-parvan of the Mahābhārata under the guise of a description of the country of Bhārata given by Saūjaya in answer to a question of the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. These lists are included in Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. They are, no doubt, late additions to the epic,<sup>1</sup> and, like other similar catalogues of names of persons and places given in the Purāṇas, are now, owing to the ignorance and carelessness of successive transcribers of the MS, in many cases almost hopelessly corrupt. The only hope for the restoration of these corrupt passages lies in the positive evidence afforded by inscriptions and coins. The śloka in which the reading *Kulūta* is to be restored appears thus in the Bombay (1862) edition of the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma-parvan, Adhyāya 8, 52:—

*Kāśmirāḥ Sindhuraśaurīrā Gāndhārā Darśakās tathā |*  
*Abhisārā<sup>2</sup> Ulūtāśca, Saivalā Bahlikās tathā || 52 ||*

Wilson (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ed. Hall, ii, p. 174) reads *Utūta*, and notes also the variants *Ulūṭu* and *Kulūṭu*. He adds: "the Rāmāyaṇa has Kolūkas or Kaulūtas among the Western tribes." The identification thus suggested will be discussed below in our examination of the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to which Wilson refers. The credit of first seeing that the variants in the passage just quoted from the Mahābhārata were mistakes for the name *Kulūta* is due to Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, who, in his note to Wilson, says: "The Kulūtas—not Kulūtas—are a real people: see Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. ii, p. 165; <sup>2</sup> M. V. de Saint Martin's *Mémoire Analytique sur la carte de l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 81–84, and his *Étude sur la Géographie Grecque*, etc., pp. 300–303." It will be seen that this emendation is abundantly supported

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the mention of Hūpas in the second śloka quoted from this passage of the Mbh. There is no reason to believe that there were Hūpas in India before the reign of Skandagupta, c. 452–480 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The first passage quoted from the *Mudrārākṣasa* (*inf.*, p. 525).

by the fact that the peoples mentioned together with the Kulūtas in this śloka also occur with them in other passages of Sanskrit literature.

Farther on in the same passage (śloka 64) we find the mention of a people called *Kulatthas*, of whom nothing else seems to be known :

*Yavandā Cina-Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlecchajātayāḥ |*  
*Sakṛdgrahāḥ Kulatthāśca Hūṇāḥ Pārsikāḥ saha || 64 ||*

These lists are so thoroughly corrupt that it is doubtful whether scholarship will ever succeed in restoring them to their original state. Conjectural emendation is often very tempting, but it will be safer not to make any corrections except such as are supported by some positive evidence. In the present case, it need only be pointed out how liable two forms such as *Kulattha* and *Kulūta* would be to confusion. The possibility of such confusion should be borne in mind when we find the *Kulūtas* in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* (v. inf., p. 535) called *Mlecchas*, and mentioned in association with much the same peoples—*Cīnas*, *Hūṇas*, and *Pārsikas* (or *P'ārsikas*)—as in this passage. It also suggests a possible explanation of the fact that there are two tribes called *Kulūta* in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (v. inf., p. 533).

#### RĀMĀYAṆA.

The passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, to which Wilson refers, occurs in the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, xliii, 8 (Bengal recension, ed. Gorresio):

*Maricipattanam caiva ramyam ca Jaṭilasthalam |*  
*Sucitram Aṅgalokam ca tathā 'Kolūkum era ca || 8 ||*

Wilson's conjecture that *Kulūta* should be restored here is probably founded on the variant *Kaulūta* which he notices. Apart from this, there would seem to be nothing in its favour. The places included in this list are distinctly stated to be in the West. *Aṅga* is undoubtedly the country around Bhagalpur, in Bengal. *Jaṭilasthala* cannot be

identified with certainty; but it is not improbably a variant of *Jaṭharā*, the name of a people who are mentioned together with the *Āngas* in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.<sup>1</sup> Of the position of *Marīci-pattana* nothing seems to be known. It is evident, therefore, that the place, the name of which is disguised under the variant forms *Kolūku* and *Kaulūṭa* in this passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, must be sought for in Bengal rather than in the Panjab.

BRĤAT-SAMHITĀ: (Varāha-mihira, *ob.* 587 A.D.)

Varāha-mihira places peoples of this name in two divisions of his astrological chart—(1) the north-west division and (2) the north-east division. In order to distinguish clearly between these two peoples, it will be well to compare the different passages in which they are mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

(1) KULŪTAS OF THE NORTH-WEST DIVISION.

- XIV. *Diśi paścimottarasyaḍm*  
*Māṇḍavya-Tukhāra-Tāla-Hala-Madrāḥ* |  
*Āsmaka-Kulūta-Lahaḍa-*  
*Strīrājya-Nṛsiṃha-Vana-Khasthāḥ* || 22 ||  
*Veṇumatī Phalgulukā*  
*Guruhā Marukucca-Curmarangākhyāḥ* |  
*Ekavilocana-Śūlika-*  
*Dirghagrīrāsyaśeśa.* || 23 ||

(2) KULŪTAS OF THE NORTH-EAST DIVISION.

- XIV. *Aiśānyam Meruka-Naṣṭarājya-*  
*Paśupāla-Kīra-Kāśmīrāḥ* |  
*Abhisāra-Darada-Taṅgana-*  
*Kulūta-Sairindha-Vanarājīrāḥ* || 29 ||  
*Brahmapura-Dārva-Dāmara-*  
*Vanarājya-Kīrāta-Cina-Kauṇindāḥ* |  
*Bhallāpalola-Jaṭāsura-*  
*Kunaṭha-Khaṣa-Ghoṣa-Kucikakhyāḥ* || 30 ||

<sup>1</sup> Fleet. *Topographical List*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. Kern.*

It must constantly be borne in mind that there is no certainty as to the reading of many of the names in these lists. A glance at Dr. Kern's various readings will show to what extent the existing MSS. differ from one another. No variants, however, are given of the name Kulūta in either passage. We must suppose, then, either that the readings are correct, or that, if there is a mistake in either case, it is one which goes back to a period before the date of the existing MSS. The two passages are quoted by Alberuni<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 973-1048) with variants in the case of many of the names; but here, again, our word Kulūta appears substantially unaltered. It is, of course, sometimes a matter of opinion how words should be divided. In the first passage *Kulūtalahaḍa* is regarded by the Sanskrit editor, Kern, as two words, and by the Arabic editor, Sachau, as one.

Whether there were really two peoples bearing the name Kulūta, or whether, in one case, this form is a wrong reading for some other name, cannot, perhaps, be determined. In glancing through Fleet's *Topographical List*, one cannot fail to notice that, in several cases, e.g. *Abhira*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Bhadra*, *Ghoṣa*, *Kirāta*, peoples having the same name are placed in two or more divisions. The question is whether this represents an actual state of things, or whether, in some cases, other and perhaps less known names have been altered into these by the copyists. In any case, the Kulūtas of the Kullu valley are certainly those of the north-east division mentioned in our second passage.

These Kulūtas must surely, also, be those referred to in x, 11, where they are mentioned together with the Trigarttas and Cīnas, and in the next śloka, x, 12, where they are mentioned with Tūṅgaṇas, Khasas (*i.e.* Khasas), and Kūśmīras. The Kulūtas of iv, 22, and xvii, 18, occurring in lists including the Madras, are probably those of the north-west division.

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Sachau* (ed. 1886), vol. 1, pp. 302, 303. †

**MUDRĀRĀKṢASA : (VIŚĀKHAḌATTA, probably c. 600 A.D.)**

This play was formerly held to be not earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century of our era, chiefly on the authority of Wilson, who identified the Mlecchas, who play an important part in the story, with the Muhammadans, and supposed the period of its composition to be that during which Muhammadan power was gaining the ascendancy in India. This is, however, an assumption which cannot be sustained. The word *Mleccha* has various applications. It is used to denote different foreign tribes, such as the Hūnas, who invaded India and settled in the northern districts of the Panjab; and it occurs in the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skandagupta, which is dated in the 138th year of the Gupta era = A.D. 457-8.<sup>1</sup> The period of the plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is, of course, that of the Maurya Candragupta in the third century B.C.; but there is not the slightest attempt to draw an historical picture, and the conditions of the drama are doubtless those of a period not long anterior to the date of its composition. As Telang has shown, in the excellent Introduction to his edition of the play, a considerable number of indications point rather to the seventh century A.D. as its most probable date. Indeed, if the name *Arantvarman* which, in some MSS., is substituted for *Candragupta* in the concluding śloka, refers, as is by no means unlikely, to the Maukhari prince of that name, the date of the play must be within a few years of 600 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The Kulūtas are mentioned in two passages:—

Act i, p. 48 (ed. Telang):

Cūṇakya. *Āḥ jñātam | Upalabdhasmān asmī praṇidhibhyo  
yathā tasya Mleccharājulokasya madhyāt pradhānatamāḥ pañca  
rājānaḥ parayā suhṛttayā Rākṣasam anucurttante | Te yathā |*

<sup>1</sup> Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii, p. 62. *Topographical List of the Brhat-samhitā*, Ind. Ant., 1893, p. 185, s.v. *Mleccha*. cf. also the ref. given by Telang, *Mudrārākṣasa* (Bomb. Skt. Ser.), p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> That the Maukharis were great patrons of literature may be inferred from other sources, e.g. from the introductory stanzas to the *Kādambari*.

*Kaulūtas Citravarmā Malayānarapatīḥ Siṃhanādo nṛsiṃhaḥ  
Kāśmīraḥ Puṣṣarākṣaḥ kṣataripumahimā Saundhavaḥ Sindhu-  
ṣenaḥ |*

*Meghākhyāḥ pañcamo'smin prthuturagabalaḥ Pārsikādhirājo  
Nāmāny eṣāṃ lūkhāmi dhruvam aham. Adhunā Citraguptaḥ  
pramārṣṭu || 20 ||*

Act v, p. 207 :

Rākṣasa . . .

*Paścāt tiṣṭhantu vīrāḥ Śukanarapatayaḥ sambhṛtāḥ Cīna-  
Hūnāḥ*

*Kaulūtādyaśoa sīṣṭaḥ pathi pathi rṣṇuyād rājaloḥ Ku-  
māram || 11 ||*

In the first line of the latter passage, the Calcutta edition has *Kīrāḥ* instead of *Vīrāḥ*. This reading is probably to be preferred. The *Kīras*, as will be seen from other passages, are constantly mentioned together with the *Kulūtas*. Its reading *pariṣṇuyād* in the second line is also an improvement. On the other hand *Cēdi-* instead of *Cīna-* is an excellent instance of the way in which an unintelligent copyist will constantly substitute a known for an unknown name quite regardless of sense.

The geographical positions of the tribes mentioned in these two passages are discussed by Telang in his Introduction, pp. xxx ff.

KĀDAMBARĪ: (Bāna, c. 600 A.D.)

Probably no historical importance whatever is to be attached to this passage. It occurs in Jābāli's story of the previous life of the parrot Vaisampāyana, and refers to a damsel named Patralekhā, a daughter of the King of Kulūta, who was taken captive when Kulūta was conquered by the great king (i.e. Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī), and was sent by the Queen, Vilāsavatī, to Prince Candrāpīḍa to be his betel-bearer.

*Iyaṃ khalu kanyakā mahārājena pṛamṇa Kulātarājadhānina  
avajitya Kulāteśvaraduhitā Patralekhābhādhānā balikā sati  
bandhjanena saḥānityāntahpuraparicārikāmadhyam upantā |*

p. 101 (ed. Peterson) . trans. Miss Ridding, p. 75.

### CHAMBA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMAVARMADEVA AND ĀṢATADEVA : (c. 1050 A.D.)

The following historical facts bearing on our subject are to be noted from Professor Kielhorn's edition of this inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 7.

The identification of princes of Chamba (Caṇpakā) mentioned both in this inscription and in the Rājatarangiṇī makes it certain that its date is about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. At this period the dynasties of Caṇpakā and Kulūta were related. Śālavāhana, the predecessor of Somavarmadeva and Āṣatadeva—the Śāla of the Rājatarangiṇī who was conquered by Ananta of Kashmir—is described as one "who was asked the favour of bestowing royalty, in return for services rendered, or to be rendered, by his kinsman, the lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage."<sup>1</sup> Neighbouring peoples such as the Trigarttas (Jālandhara) and Kīras, who are elsewhere found in association with the Kulūtas, are also mentioned together with them in this inscription, which is thus of the greatest importance as confirming the testimony of the literary documents.

### COIN OF THE KULŪTA KING VĪRAYAŚA.

The characters of the Brāhmī inscription on the obverse of this coin are those of columns vii, viii, ix of Buhler's Tafel III, i.e. of the first or second century A.D. Another fact leads us to a similar conclusion. On the reverse we find simply the title *ra-ña* in Kharoṣṭhī characters. It has been

<sup>1</sup> p. 8: *avā - vidhā - vyagra - vṛakulya - Kulūtava(śa)ra - karma-vyatikhāra-  
grāhītyanāna-rājyādīpa(rpa)ṇa-prasādaśya.*

noticed before (J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 372) that on coins bearing inscriptions in the two alphabets the importance of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet tends to diminish as time goes on. On the earliest known coins of this class (probably first century B.C.)—e.g. the small silver coins of the Kunindas and Audumbaras—the Kharoṣṭhī inscription is quite as full as the Brāhmī. At later periods it is first curtailed and then abolished altogether. This process can also, as we have seen, be traced on the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas. We shall probably, therefore, not be far wrong if we attribute this coin to the first or second century A.D.—perhaps rather to the second than the first.

#### THE KULŪTAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

We, therefore, find traces of the Kulūtas from about the first or second century A.D. to the middle of the eleventh. They are called Mlecchas in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, where they are found in the company of the same tribes as in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (v. *sup.* Kulūtas of the N.E. Division, p. 533). The term *Mleccha* meant 'foreigner' generally,<sup>1</sup> and was particularly applied to those foreign invaders who had settled on the northern frontiers.<sup>2</sup> But, whatever may have been the nationality of the Kulūtas, they had, as their coin shows, adopted Indian names by the first or second century A.D. So far as we are able to trace the history of foreign invaders in early days, this seems to have been the case regularly. The Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava begin with foreign (perhaps Persian) names,<sup>3</sup> but rapidly become Hinduized; and the occurrence of the name Vāsudeva in the Kuṣana dynasty and of such names as Udayāditya among the Hūṇas points to the same fact. The question whether there were two tribes called Kulūta, as indicated by Varāhamihira, cannot be determined at present. The Kulūtas of the Chamba Copper-Plate (v. *sup.*, p. 537), of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Chinese in *Life of Hsuen Tsang*, Julien, i, p. 230, Beal, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Julien, i, p. 76. "Au nord de Lan-po (Lamghan) les pays frontières portent généralement le nom de Mle-h-tch'e (Mlétch-tcha's)."

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 374.



Hiouen Tsaang, of Varāhamihira's N.E. Division, and of the *Mudrārākṣasa* are almost certainly, as is shown by the common association of names, the ancient inhabitants of the Kullu Valley. There is no reason to doubt that the coin belongs to the same tribe. Its *protenance* (Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 67) and the fact that coins of the Kuṇḍas, who are mentioned with these Kulūtas by Varāhamihira, are found in the same district (*ibid.*) alike point to this conclusion. As we have seen, the supposed mention of Kulūtas in the Rāmāyana cannot be maintained. With regard to the Mahābhārata, a comparison of the first śloka quoted with the *Bṛhat-samhitā* makes us think that the Kulūtas here named must be those of Varāhamihira's N.E. Division. On the other hand, the second śloka, in which we have supposed a possible mistake of *Kulathā* for *Kulūtas*, has so many names in common with the passages from the *Mudrārākṣasa*—Cīna, Hūna, Pārsika and 'Mleccha peoples'—that we should feel inclined to come to the same conclusion in this case also. Altogether, we have here a puzzle of which the solution is not yet apparent.

The constant association of the same names together with the Kulūtas may enable us, perhaps, to identify some of these.—

*Cīnas* (*Cīṇas*). This name has often been translated 'Chinese,' and there has been a considerable difference of opinion among scholars whether or not such a translation was admissible<sup>1</sup>. It would seem more reasonable to suppose that the word simply denoted the inhabitants of *Cīnapatī* (*Chi-na-po-ti*), which Hiouen Tsaang visited shortly before Kulūta<sup>2</sup>. He derives the name from the fact that king Kaniṣka had formerly kept some Chinese hostages there (*i.e.*). As to the present site of Cīnapatī, Cunningham's identification with Patti seems most probable.<sup>3</sup> In any case, it was certainly not far from Kulūta.

<sup>1</sup> *vide* the references given by Telang, p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Sk.-gw.-ku*, Beal, i, p. 173, Julien, ii, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *vide*, however, Beal, *loc. cit.* Vivien de St. Martin, in Julien, ii, p. 232, identifies it with Katoch, which seems rather to be Jalandhara.

*Jālandhara.* From Cīnapati, Hiouen Tshang proceeded to Jālandhara and thence to Kulūta. With regard to the general identification of Jālandhara, or Trigartta as it is also called, with the modern Kāngra or Katoch, there seems to be little doubt,<sup>1</sup> though, of course, it must be borne in mind that the extent of these kingdoms probably varied from time to time, and that a name which was at one period applied only to a part may at another period have denoted the whole. The proximity of Jālandhara to Kulūta and to other places habitually mentioned in the same lists enables us to suggest another identification.

*Kīras.* In an inscription<sup>2</sup> dated Śaka 7[26], which mentions two rulers of Jālandhara, we have a dynastic list of the Rājānakas of Kīragiāma. Surely this must be the capital of the Kīra people, who are so often mentioned together with the Kulūtas. As we have seen, the three peoples, Trigarttas, Kīras, and Kulūtas, occur together in the Chamba Copper-Plate Inscription (*v. sup.*, p. 537). It is noticeable, moreover, that the Kīras, who, according to the reading of the Calcutta edition, which is probably correct, are mentioned together with the Hūnas in the second passage quoted from the Mudrārākṣasa (*sup.*, p. 536), are also found with them elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

*Udumbaras.* From considerations of *protenance*, Cunningham had classed the coin, which is now proved to have been struck by the Kulūta king Viruṣaśa, among those of the Udumbaras. The fact is interesting as tending to show that the territories of the two peoples were not widely separated. Whether his identification of the name Udumbara with the later Damari, or Dahmari, can be sustained is not so certain. One is tempted to see some connection with this latter name in the form Dāmara, which occurs with Kulūta and the rest among the places comprised in Varāhamihira's N.E. Division (*sup.*, p. 533).

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn: *List of Inscr. of North. Ind.*, No. 351; *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, ii, p. 11. Bhara-ghāt inscr. of Alhapa-devī (Codi-camp. 307), l. 11, "Kīraḥ Kīrasaḥ das paṭharagṛhe Hūṇaḥ praharṣaṇaṁ jahau."

*Canpakā*. As has been stated above (p. 530), the Chinese editor of the *Si-yu-ki* gives *San-po-ho* as another name for *Moloso* (possibly *Mo-lo-po*), and Vivien de St. Martin has no hesitation in identifying it with *Canpakā*, in spite of the difficulties which have been indicated above. The correspondence in form between the two words is indeed striking; but it must be borne in mind that the Chinese editor, while perfectly right in his intention to transliterate *Canpakā* by *San-po-ho*, may have been wrong in his identification of *San-po-ho* with *Mo-lo-so*. As usual in these cases, the possibilities of error are numerous, and any special pleading in favour of one or other probability is apt to do more harm than good to the cause which we have at heart—the ascertainment of *fact*. It must be clearly understood, then, that the following attempt to solve this difficulty is founded on assumptions which remain to be proved or disproved by subsequent discovery—viz., that Hiouen Tshang was wrong as to the information which he gives from hearsay about the locality of *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*), that his Chinese editor was right in supposing *San-po-ho* to be another name for *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*), and that *San-po-ho* is to be identified with *Canpakā*.

It is, at any rate, curious that Chamba, by its name *Canpakā*, is known neither to Varāhamihira nor to Hiouen Tshang. Is it possible that it may have been known to them by another name? The Chinese editor's equation *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho* suggests that the *Malaya* of our first extract from the *Mudrārāksasa* may be intended to represent this *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho*. Both Wilson and Telang have been puzzled<sup>1</sup> to find this place-name from distant south-western India thrown in among 'Mleccha' tribes of the extreme northern frontier. Telang hints that *Malaya* in this passage may be a misreading. This is quite possible. It is simply suggested here that it may be intended to represent—correctly or incorrectly—the Chinese *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) = *San-po-ho* = *Canpakā*.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. ii, p. 166; Telang, *Mudrārāksasa*, p. xxiii.

Perhaps we may venture to go one step farther, although we feel that we are now on very uncertain ground. The exact determination of the territory of the Mālavas is a well-known puzzle in Indian topography. The evidence of coins, associating them with the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas, tends to place them somewhere in the north of the Panjab. They are placed by Varāhamihira in the northern division, and in every case but one in which they are mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* they are associated with northern peoples.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fleet solves this difficulty boldly by saying,<sup>2</sup> "Varāhamihira places them too much to the north; as they are undoubtedly the people of Mūlwa, from whom (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 404) the Vikrama era derived its original appellation." But is it not just possible that there may really have been two peoples—(1) the Mālava of the north represented the Μαλλοὶ of the Greek writers, by the coins having the inscription *Mālavānām jaya[h]*,<sup>3</sup> by the Malaya of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and by the *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) of Hiouen Tsaang; and (2) the better-known Mālava of the south called *Mo-lo-po* by Hiouen Tsaang?

#### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

I was unfortunately unable to see a revise of my first instalment of *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* (p. 97), and, in consequence, some misprints and wrong references remain uncorrected.

p. 99, lines 12, 25 : for *opposition* read *apposition*.

p. 100, line 1 : for *Dajaka* read *Dajaka*.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* *refl.* in Fleet, *Topographical List*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 107.

p. 105, note 1: The reference to the publication of an ancient inscription of Ceylon is wrong in two particulars. The author is Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, and not Dr. Hoernlé, and the page on which the observation quoted from him occurs is 140 and not 170. It should be added, too, that with reference to the substitution of *sa* for *sa* in another word occurring in the inscription—*sagaya* for *saṅghassa*—he goes on to say “these two characters are, therefore, interchangeable and do not represent ञ and ञ”

p 119, line 22 *for* Bengal *read* Bombay

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1. THE AŚOKĀṢṬAMĪ FESTIVAL.

*Ganhati.**April 17, 1900.*

MY DEAR SIR,—In my article on *Anwakrāntā*, published in the January number of the Journal, I made reference, on p. 25, to the Aśokāṣṭamī festival. Perhaps it may be of interest to state that the Hindus bathe in the Brahmaputra in Assam, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, in order to become Aśoka, free from sorrow. They also use in performing *pūjā* on this occasion the flowers of the Aśoka-tree (*Jonesia Asoka*). The customs of the people therefore leave the original meaning of this curious name for the eighth day of the light half of the lunar month Chaitra in the same uncertainty as it is left in by the dictionaries. Colebrooke had already called attention to the name in 1792 in the "Asiatic Researches," iii, 277.

I may also state for your information that I intend to ask the Kamrup Local Board for a small grant of money to preserve the carving of the Ananta Sajya (reproduced in your Plate II) from destruction by the erection of a small building over the carving.

Since I wrote the article above referred to, the shrine has been honoured by a visit from Her Excellency Lady Curzon of Kedleston, who examined the carving with great interest.—Yours faithfully,

P. R. GURDON,

Honorary Director, Ethnography, Assam.

*To Professor Rhys Davids,  
Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society.*

## 2. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME BĀBAR.

*Babar* appears to be a lengthened form of the word *ببر*, *babar* or *bibar*, and is commonly explained as meaning 'tiger.' In our Persian and Hindustānī dictionaries the word *ببر* is rendered both as 'lion' and as 'tiger'; while Lane, in his Arabic dictionary, gives as one explanation of the word, "a certain Indian animal, stronger than the lion, between which and the lion and leopard, or panther, exists hostility." He also says that the word is foreign, or Persian. The word occurs several times in Jahāngīr's Memoirs, and in one place, B.M. MS Add. 26,215, p. 245a, he distinguishes it from the *شمر*, *shmr* or tiger, and speaks of having had both these dissected in order to find the cause of their courage. It seems to me that he understood the word as meaning 'leopard,' and as he speaks on more than one occasion of having despatched the *babar* by a single shot, it probably was a smaller animal than the tiger. In one place in Afghanistan, either Bābar's tomb or the entrance of the inscription-cave described by Darmesteter, two leopards are sculptured, which seems to show that *Babar* was supposed to mean 'leopard.' In Zend the word is *bawri*, and in Balfour's Cyclopaedia and Jerdon's "Mammals of India," p. 99, the form *bibla* is given. Is not, then, the word the same as the Greek βῦλιός, which appears in Latin as *varius*, and means 'the spotted'? In Anglo-Indian slang the leopard and the tiger are commonly distinguished as "spots and stripes." The word may also be connected with the Greek *pardos* or *pardalis*.

H. BEVERIDGE.

May 5, 1900.

## 3. PAHLAVI WORDS, DERIVATION AND SIGNIFICANCE.

Bombay.

May 3, 1900.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the Pahlavi words *akhtman* (*akhtā*) and *niskman* (*niskā*) as they are used in passages such as the following, I submit for the criticism of the members



of the Royal Asiatic Society a brief note suggestive of their special significations in the respective quotations given below.

These Pahlavi passages, which occur in (1) *Fādgār-i-Zarīrān*, § 65, and in (2) *Arđā-i-Fuaf*, chap. II, §§ 1-2, run thus —

(1) “ Va ākhar yemāklunēd Kat-Vištāsp-Shah aigh bat hamāk bend va akh va vispūhragān ī li, Kat-Vištāsp-Shah, va zakīch ī Hūtōs, syam akhta va nishā, mūn min bend vad bentā 30 azush zād yekavimūnēd, hamāk yemilūnt yehevūnd; adīnam dend avīzak Dīn ī Māzdašnān chīgūnam min Aūharmazd mekablūnt barā lā shedkūnam.”

(2) “ Va ōld Vīrāf rāi 7 akhtā yehevūnd, va ōldshān kōlā 7 akhtān Vīrāf chīgūn nishā yehevūnt hūmund.”

The translators hitherto of these citations have, in their interpretations, attached to the two words *akhtā* and *nishā* the ordinary meanings of ‘sister’ and ‘wife’ in which they are generally used in Pahlavi. But I believe that these two words have distinct readings and significations in the texts above-mentioned. The decipherment in the first case is not *syam akhtā va nishā*, “who is my sister and wife,” but *syam khaytd mūn nishā*. Here the two words *khaytd* and *mūn* are joined together in the original text by an ignorant copyist to form the commonly known word *akhtman*, which means ‘sister.’

In the first passage the word *akhtman* in the text is properly *khaytd* plus *mūn* (the latter can also be read *man*, a pronoun sometimes used in Pahlavi as the Pazend synonym of the Huzvareš *h*).

The word *khaytd* is derived from the Avesta *haa*, ‘self’ (Skt. *sva*), and *chi* (Skt. *chī*), ‘to choose.’ Literally, it means ‘chosen by one’s self.’ It is identical with the modern Persian *khashtan* or *khūstān*, which signifies ‘to invite to marriage’ or ‘to solicit for the hand of a maiden.’<sup>1</sup> Hence my version of the Pahlavi text (1) is.—

<sup>1</sup> See under the word, *Manlawī Fāzī-i-Ah’s Dictionary*, p. 237.

"And afterwards the king *Kai-Vishtâsp* spoke thus:—  
 'If all the sons, and brothers, and princes of mine, (who am)  
*Kai Vishtâsp Shah*, and of *Hûtôs*, who was chosen by myself  
 (to be my spouse), (and) who (was married to me and) is my  
 wife, and by whom are begotten 30, including sons and  
 daughters; (if they) are to die together, then (too) I shall  
 not forsake this sacred Mazdayasnian Revelation such as  
 I have accepted from *Aûharmazd* '"

The Pahlavi expression *syam khaytd* suggests to us that the courting or solicitation for the hand of a maiden was not unknown to the Irânians in the age of the Avesta. The failure of such a solicitation does not seem to have been uncommon, as the highest power, like King Vishtâsp, emphatically expresses the successful result of his courtship in his subsequent connubial union with *Hûtôs*.



In the second Pahlavi passage quoted above, the word *ntshâ* is not used in its ordinary import of 'wife' or 'woman,' but it seems to be, as in other Pahlavi MSS, an erroneous reading of the original *ntsmô* or *ntsmân*, which means 'soul,' 'life,' 'vital power,' etc. (cf. S B.E., vol. xxxvii, chap. xiv, § 1). This much discussed passage can therefore be rendered: "Virâf had seven sisters, and all these seven were unto Virâf as dear as (his) soul"

A further progress in the decipherment and interpretation of more Pahlavi texts will, I hope, enable us to throw better light on such ambiguous and obscure Pahlavi words and expressions.—Yours sincerely,

DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

#### 4. SANTAK OR SIGN-SIGNATURES IN INDIA.

SIR,—Perhaps some of the readers of your Journal may kindly help me to obtain further information as to the origin of the *santaks* or marks used to attest the signatures of illiterate persons in some parts of India, and as to the use of similar marks in other countries.

In the Orissa districts of Bengal every man has according to his caste and family a distinctive mark, which, if unable to sign his name, he is supposed to draw, and may generally use as a crest. In most cases these marks are rude or conventional drawings of an implement used by members of a profession: for instance, a Bhandári or member of the caste of barbers makes a square which is called the *darpan santak* or looking-glass sign; a Khandait or member of the old warrior caste uses a *khanda santak* or sword sign; and a goldsmith makes a simple circle supposed to represent a touchstone. Many castes use more than one mark, and custom appears to determine which of them is used in any particular family. The most general mark is the figure of Jaganath  which any Hindu may use, and the most exclusive is the peacock confined to descendants of the old royal family of the peacock line. To illustrate the use of the *santak*, we may suppose that Fagu Paharāj, an illiterate Brahman, asks Rám Mahanti to sign a paper for him. Rám Mahanti would write “e  *kuṣabatu santak likhitam Fagu Paharāj*,” i.e., this symbol of the ring of kusa-grass was made by Fagu Paharāj, and would probably add the words “by the agency of Rám Mahanti.” Whether this addition was made or not the form of signature would show that Fagu Paharāj was a Brahman, and that he could not or did not sign his own name, the mark only being, in theory, made by him. I have made a collection, by no means complete, of such marks, and I shall be greatly obliged for information as to the existing literature on the subject, and as to the prevalence of similar customs elsewhere.

J. E. WEBSTER, I.O.S.

To Professor Rhys Davids.

5. THE TĀRIKH AL HUKAMĀ OF MUHAMMAD SHAHRISTĀNĪ.

SIR,—Dr. Cureton<sup>1</sup> states in the preface to his edition of Shahristānī's Book of Sects (London, O.T.F., 1846), p. ii, note c, that there were two copies of Shahristānī's Tārīkh al Hukamā, or Lives of Philosophers, in Mr. Bland's library, though one appeared to have been transcribed from the other. He also said that he had seen a Persian translation of the work. This had been brought to England by Mr. Fraser, but it was afterwards bought by the Prince of Oude and taken back to India.

Mr. Bland's manuscripts were bought by the Earl of Crawford in 1866 through Mr. Quaritch, and now form part of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana at Haigh Hall, Wigan. In the privately printed hand-list of that collection (1898), p. 90, No. 36, there is an entry of Shahristānī's work, and Mr. Edmond, the Librarian at Haigh Hall, has kindly sent it to me at the British Museum. There Mr. Ellis has been good enough to examine it, and he has found it to be identical with the anonymous work described by Dr. Rieu at p. 601b of the Arabic Catalogue, and which Dr. Rieu considers to be the work, not of Shahristānī, but of Shamsu-d-dīn Shahrazūrī. The B.M. copy and the Bib. Lind. copy have exactly the same style of binding, and there can be no doubt that both originally belonged to Mr. Bland, and that they are the two copies described by Dr. Cureton. The contents of both are the same, and the B.M. copy, which is the older of the two, is evidently the one from which the copy now in the Bib. Lind. was transcribed. The British Museum copy, it appears, was purchased by the authorities from Dr. Cureton's executors.

Though the Arabic MSS. of the Tārīkh al Hukamā do not give the author's name, the Persian translation (Rieu's Persian Catalogue, Supplement, p. 68c, No. 100, I) states the author's name as Shahrazūrī; and the work cannot be by Shahristānī, for it contains the biography of Shahrawardī,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Whinfield for the reference.

who was put to death in 587 A.M., whereas Shahristānī died in 548 A.M.

When I was in India I made many inquiries about Shahristānī's work, but failed to find it, though Shahrastūrī's was not uncommon.

The probability is that Shahristānī never wrote "Lives of Philosophers," and that the mistake originated with Hājī Khalfa, who mixed up the two names Shahristānī and Shahrastūrī. In his reference to the former (Fluegel, ii, p. 125) he gives no details, which seems to imply that he had never seen the book, whereas in his account of Shahrastūrī's work (Fluegel, vi, 321) he describes the contents and gives the exordium.

H. BEVERIDGE.

June 7, 1900.















### 6. AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN.

DEAR SIR, — Probably I was wrong in making such a loose translation of *Akkadā* and *Šu[ma]* in my paper "Sumerian or Cryptography" in the January Part of the Journal (p. 94). Instead of Akkad and Sumer, I ought to have said "the Akkadian" and "the Sumerian."

I was thinking of the passage in K. 2,619, where we have *Elamā Elamu*, *Kaššā Kaššū*, *Sutā Sutū*, *Qutā Qutū*, *Lullubā Lullubū* (accusative and nominative), and *Akkadū* (nom.), all occurring with the meanings of Elamite, Kassite, Sutite, Qutite, Lullubite, and Akkadian, each of these adjectives standing for the nation it represents, though there is no prefix for country.

*Akkadā* means, therefore, 'Akkadian,' and is to all appearance accusative. But did somebody "place the Akkadian" above, or did he "write Akkadian" above? I have said in my paper that this fragment of an inscription (K. 14,013) "raises the question whether the position of the two districts is referred to." Few, in all probability, will say that this phrase requires amending, for this question would in any case still remain.

That *Akkada* and *Šu[mard]* may refer to the languages is not only possible, but probable. That the position of the writing on the tablet is referred to, however, one may be allowed to doubt. Supposing that the upper line were Akkadian and the lower line Sumerian, a man who could read would know this without being told, and to one who could not read such information would be useless.

Perhaps K. 14,013 is a parallel text to K. 11,856, where, after references to      , *é-dub-ba-gu-la*, "the house of the great tablet," or better, "the great tablet-house," the words —     , *ina šal-ši Ak-k[ad-a-a?]* occur. This would seem to refer to the rooms, or shelves, or receptacles, where the various classes of tablets were kept, for it means "in the third the Akkadian"; and that the language is referred to here, is proved by the non-Semitic line, which has   , *eme Uri*, "tongue of Akkad."

But this, like the others, is tantalizingly incomplete.

I am glad to have Professor Tiele's criticism, as it proves that my language, notwithstanding my desire to be cautious, was not sufficiently guarded and precise.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

## 7. NOTE ON INDIAN COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

*Naim Tal, N.W.P.*

May 28, 1900.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—At pp. 115 and 116 of the *Journal* for January, 1900, Mr. Rapson discusses the coins of Virasena and refers to the question whether they should be classed with the so-called Muttra coins. There cannot be the slightest doubt that they are found most commonly in the places where the Muttra coins are found, but they are also found further to the west and south. Most of my Muttra coins (I have ten of those figured in plate viii, Cunningham's "Coins of Ancient India," besides a number

I am still working at) were found on the ancient site of Saunkisa or the neighbouring village of Sarai Aghat, the former in the Farukhabad district and the latter in Etah. I have never, however, got a Muttra coin in Qanauj, though I have obtained several of Virasena there. A more important fact, however, is the inscription I found in the south of the Farukhabad district at Jānkhat, a village five miles south-west by south of Thatia, and nine miles south-east of Tirwa, in the Tirwa tahsil (the place is marked on the map in the Gazetteer of the Farukhabad district). As is usual in those parts, every curved stone found is placed on a mound in or near the village site, and the collection is called the *Gauda deri*, or village gods. When in camp I always examined these, and on January 21st, 1896, as I was leaving the village I found an inscription on the back of one stone, the front of which had a carving, the nature of which I forget. I had no materials for taking an *estampage* and at that time did not know the Brahmi letters, but took two eye-copies. From a volume of Cunningham's Archaeological Reports I made out the name Virasena written exactly as it is on the coins, and a few months later Mr. V. A. Smith, as soon as he saw the copy, read the date 113 Grishma. Looking at the copy again, I am inclined to think that between the word Virasena and the date the word Samvatsara occurs, and the symbol read by Mr. Smith as 100 is really the final *-ra* of Samvatsara. This would make the date 13 of the Samvat era, or A.C. 40. I attempted to get the stone sent to the Lucknow Museum, but the owner of the village, a man much under the influence of the Brahmans, wrote that the villagers refused to let it go, and I had left the district before I realized the importance of the find. Dr. Führer promised to send a man to take a cast or *estampage*, but apparently omitted to do so. If possible I shall go there next cold weather, but it is uncertain whether I can get there, as the place is some distance from the railway. The middle of the lower part of the stone has lost the inscription, and the appearance led me to believe it had been used to sharpen chisels on.

On p. 110 of the same number Mr. Rapson publishes a Muttra coin with a new name, Śeṣadātasa, and writes that only three specimens are known. Three years ago I sent a specimen, which I still possess, to the Bengal Asiatic Society for publication. The Society could not allow a plate for my paper, which was therefore not published, and at that time I thought the symbol for Śe- was a combination of *ta-* and *ra-*. There is no doubt, however, to my mind, that Mr. Rapson's reading of Śeṣa is correct. The letter immediately before Śe on my coin is blurred, but appears to be the combination *-jñō* as in No. 10 of Mr. Rapson's paper. The top of the *-da-* is gone, so that it is impossible to say whether it has the long *-ā-* attached to it or not.

I should also like to mention that my specimen of Brahma Mitra (Cunn., *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. viii, No. 12) is either of mixed metal or was washed with silver, and I have one round coin of Virasena.—Yours sincerely,

RICHARD BURN.

#### 8. SANSKRIT DEED OF SALE.

*Gottingen.*

*June 17, 1900.*

DEAR SIR,—In his interesting article on "A Sanskrit Deed of Sale concerning a Kaśmīrian Mahābhārata Manuscript," Dr. Stein, above p. 191, has stated that the date of that deed corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July, 1682; but the 10th July, 1682, old style, was a Monday, and new style, a Friday. Really the original date, "Thursday, the 1st<sup>1</sup> of the dark half of Āśvina of the laukika year 58 [i.e. the Saptarṣi year 4758]," corresponds to Thursday, the 7th September, 1682, old style.—Yours truly,

F. KIELHORN.

<sup>1</sup> On p. 191, line 3, Dr. Stein has "the 8th day," but from pp. 188 and 189 it is clear that the day was the 1st.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**JALKUT MACHIRI, SAMMLUNG HALACHISCHER UND HAGGADISCHER STELLEN AUS TALMUD UND MIDRASCHIM ZU DEN 150 PSALMEN, VON R. MACHIR BEN ABHA MARI. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben, etc., von SALOMON BUBER. 2 vols. pp. xviii, 354, 296. (Berdyczew, 1899.)**

The full history of Biblical Catenae has still to be written. Homiletical interpretations of portions of the Bible are known in great numbers, and the best editions of the smaller books are due to the industry and the critical learning of Mr. Buber. He has been the first to place the editions of such works upon the basis of modern criticism, and to furnish the student with absolutely reliable texts. To him more than to any other man this branch of ancient Hebrew literature owes almost everything of value. He has now turned also to the edition of what I have called the Hebrew "Catenae." It is not the place here to enter into any details as to the probable origin of this kind of collections, in which all the previous works have been utilized, in the same manner as we find the homiletical works of the Fathers of the Church and of other great scholars used in the mediaeval Christian compilations which go under this very name of Catenae. To each verse of the Bible a number of interpretations is given culled from those writings and strung together on the thread of the biblical text, forming thus a kind of "Chain" of interpretation. I have dealt largely with similar compilations in Hebrew

literature for the first time in my "Exempla of the Rabbis," where I have also drawn special attention to the works of a certain Machir ben Abba Mari, of uncertain age and country and until then almost unknown. Of his extensive labours in that direction only three books have thus far escaped destruction, viz., the "Yalqut," i.e. "Collection" or "Catena" to Isaiah, in an unique and incomplete MS. in Leyden, then to Psalms in two MSS, one a modern and unreliable copy in the Bodleian in Oxford and a very old copy which up to quite recently had been considered lost. It was known to have existed somewhere in Russia, but every trace had been lost for the last fifty years. Through the intermediary of Mr. Buber I have been able to recover that lost MS.; it is now my Codex Or. No. 100. A third book of Machir is in the British Museum, viz., to some of the twelve Minor Prophets. That to Isaiah has been edited by Mr. Spira with my assistance in 1894, and I have placed my Codex of the Catenae to Psalms at the disposal of Mr. Buber, with the result that we now welcome the present edition. It could not have been entrusted to a more capable and scholarly editor than Mr. Buber, with his wide experience and profound learning, could be. Apart from the literary importance which attaches to the publication of an old writing, the value of these Catenae is greatly enhanced by the assistance which they render to a critical edition of the primary works from which the compiler has collected his materials. Machir was painstaking and exact. To each quotation he prefixes the name of the Book from which it is taken, and, where possible, also the subdivision, such as chapter or section. In editing the MS. Mr. Buber has subdivided each verse into as many sections as there are quotations in the commentary, so as to make the reference to it easy. He has verified the quotations, and he now gives us the precise indication of these sources, where they are to be found in our modern editions, giving folios for the Talmud and minute divisions and sections of the haggadic writings contained in the "Yalqut." With his usual thoroughness the editor discusses in the Introduction the

time when and the place where our author lived, and the relation in which his *Yalqut* stands to another more popular compilation also known by the same name, which had been the cause of his disappearance, as it was more complete and richer in haggadic quotation. Mr. Buber controverts some of the views expressed by me on this question, which I still consider as open: he himself does not come to any definite conclusion. An index of the sources quoted in the work increases its practical value for critical purposes. All scholars interested in this branch of literature will gratefully accept the new gift offered to them by the veteran savant, and will still more appreciate it, considering that it is issued at so low a price as 5s. 6d. for both volumes well printed.

In conclusion, I may remark that I am now preparing the edition of the British Museum MS. Catena on the Minor Prophets, and will thus complete the edition of Machir's "*Yalqut*," in which I have taken a special interest for many years.

M. G.

THE DHAMMAPADA. Second edition, by V. FAUSBOLL.  
8vo; pp. 94. (London: Luzac & Co., 1900)

This is the first Pali text to be issued in a second edition, and the fact that a second edition is not only possible, but is urgently wanted, shows that Pali studies have entered upon a new stage in their forward progress. How great has that progress been since, now nearly fifty years ago, this book was first brought out! Then the Pali scholars in Europe could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and there were none at all in America. Now there is scarcely a Sanskrit professor in Europe or America who does not read Pali; and many of them have contributed to the solution of the historical questions raised by the publication of the Pali texts. That curious attitude of mixed contempt and dislike (born from exclusive familiarity with the priestly

view of things Indian), which used to be taken up by some Sankritists, has now nearly passed away. It is taken for granted that a successful solution of the current problems in the evolution of Indian religion, philosophy, social institutions, laws, and customs can only be expected when all available evidence, including that preserved in the Prakrit books, shall have been duly considered. And everyone knows how very large and important a part of such evidence now available to Indianists has been made accessible to them by our distinguished honorary member, the editor of this volume.

It is chiefly two ways in which this edition differs from the first. In the first place, whereas the MSS., and the native editions, always spell the words according to the plan afterwards systematically laid down for the spelling of Pali, many of the verses included in this anthology were evidently (as one can see from the metre) originally pronounced otherwise. No doubt the verses were put together at different times and in different places. It is not necessary therefore to endeavour to make them all conform to the same fashion of speech. But where the metre clearly shows that the author pronounced, and would have written, *klesa* for *kilesa*, *arya* for *ariya*, *cetya* for *cetiya*, and so on, the present edition has been printed accordingly.

This is the first systematic attempt in the editing of a Pali text to get behind the MSS. and the commentaries, and restore a more ancient reading. It will be received, there can be little doubt, with favour, and be widely followed. Hitherto this has been scarcely possible. But now that we have so many Pali texts before us, of all ages, and from all the countries where it was the literary language, we can begin to distinguish with a reasonable degree of certainty between the usages of different times and places; and can hope to be able to reconstruct the most ancient form of it.

As time goes on we shall assuredly be able also to get behind our MSS. on other details, on modes of expression, for instance, relating to doctrine, especially as to the person

of the Buddha himself. For though it is increasingly certain, as our knowledge grows wider, that the Pali canon contains our oldest authorities, it is also certain that they, too, had an evolution. The works included in the Canon are admittedly of different ages, though all of them, with one possible exception, were composed in the North of India. In the process of that evolution they will have been subject, within certain limits, to change, and it is not too much to hope that we may be able before long to define those limits.

The other innovation is the pointing out of the passages from which the verses in this anthology have been taken, so far as has been ascertained since the first edition was published. The editor has traced 131 out of the 423 verses to earlier Buddhist books, and has pointed out parallels to 50 others found in later Indian literature—the *Mahā Bhārata*, for instance, and *Manu*, besides the later Buddhist works. These parallels are not always very close, and in several cases amount to little more than similarity of idea. The editor might have enlarged this list. Thus, with

Verses	13, 14	compare	Thera Gāthā, 133, 134.
"	26, 27	"	Majjhima, 2. 105.
"	51, 52	"	Thera Gāthā, 323, 324.
"	69	"	Samyutta, 1. 85.
"	70	"	Jacobi, Jain Sūtras, 2. 39.
"	80	"	Majjhima, 2. 105.
"	85-89	"	Anguttara, 5. 232, 253; Samyutta, 5. 24; Milinda, 200 (on 87).
"	94	"	Thera Gāthā, 205, 206.
"	98	"	Anguttara, 1. 281.
"	116	"	Jātaka, 4. 490.
"	119, 120	"	Jātaka, 3. 291.
"	126	"	Mahā Vastu, 2. 424.
"	127	"	Milinda, 150.
"	128	"	Divyāvadāna, 532.
"	131, 132	"	Udāna, 2. 3.

Verses	136	compare	Thera Gāthā, 146.
"	145	"	Thera Gāthā, 19.
"	147	"	Majjhima, 2. 64.
"	148	"	Samyutta, 1. 97 ; Lalita Vistara, 328.
"	149	"	Udāna, 1. 5.
"	157	"	Udāna, 5. 1.
"	170	"	Sutta Nipāta, 1, 119 ; Kathā Vatthu, 64.
"	172, 173	"	Majjhima, 2. 104.
"	176	"	Iti Vuttaka, 25.
"	183, 184	"	Dīgha, No. xiv.
"	188-190	"	Udāna Varga, 27. 29.
"	200	"	Samyutta, 1. 114.
"	218	"	Therī Gāthā, 12.
"	228	"	Udāna, 6. 2.
"	230	"	Anguttara, 4. 6, 28 ; Samyutta, 1. 65.
"	241, 242	"	Anguttara, 4. 195.
"	252	"	Anguttara, 5. 174 ; J.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 225
"	260	"	Manu, 2. 154, 6.
"	266, 267	"	Samyutta, 1. 182.
"	271, 272	"	Mahā Vastu, 3. 422.
"	282	"	Attha Sālinī, 76.
"	315	"	Thera Gāthā, 653, 1005.
"	325	"	Thera Gāthā, 101.
"	330	"	Vinaya, 1. 350.
"	337	"	Jātaka, 5. 72.
"	339, 340	"	Thera Gāthā, 760.
"	362	"	Thera Gāthā, 981.
"	364	"	Iti Vuttaka, 82 ; Thera Gāthā, 1032 ; Mahā Vastu, 3. 422.
"	369	"	Mahā Vastu, 3. 523.
"	370	"	Samyutta, 1. 3.
"	371	"	Jātaka, 5. 99.
"	379	"	Thera Gāthā, 637.

Verses 382	compare	Majjhima, 2. 104; Thera Gāthā, 203.
„ 389	„	Uddāna, 1. 5.
„ 398	„	Samyutta, 1. 16, 63.
„ 414	„	Anguttara, 4. 290.
„ 423	„	Majjhima, 2. 114, Anguttara, 1. 165; Samyutta, 1. 167

More than half of the verses have thus been traced, and it is most probable that the person who made the collection now so well known under the name of the Dhammapada took them from the sources thus discovered. In those cases, however, in which the verses recur in later Buddhist works, either Pali or Sanskrit, it is not probable that they were taken from this anthology. It is more likely they were taken from the sources from which the Dhammapada itself drew.

Where the verses occur, either in whole or in part, in brahmin books, we may be sure they are not borrowed either from any Buddhist anthology or from the sources thereof. In this case the verses are never Buddhist. They simply set out in rhyme some worldly moral maxim. They may have been, like so many proverbs, common property to all Indians, before the Buddhists adapted them; or occasionally perhaps a maxim, first thrown into verse by some Kshatriya or Buddhist, received sufficiently wide acceptance to become common property, and was then adopted by brahmin writers. In such verses a word or two is sometimes changed, and it would make an interesting article to point out the changes, some of which are very suggestive, and discuss the reasons for them.

We congratulate Professor Fausboll on the great care and thoroughness with which this present work has been done; and would venture to suggest to him that a similar second edition of his Sutta Nipāta is very much wanted by all interested in Pali studies.

**THE UPANISHADS.** Vols. II, III, and IV. pp. 193, 311, and 374. (Madras: Natesan & Co., 1898, 1899.)

This is the continuation of the translation into English of Śankara's commentaries on the old Upanishads, of which the first volume was noticed above, J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 145. The second volume contains the Kāṭha and Prāśna, and the third and fourth volumes contain the Chāndogya. There are still no indices of any kind, and no references to the pages of the text of the commentary. If the publisher will provide at the end of the series a full index of subjects treated, and another of the Sanskrit words discussed and explained by Śankara, the series would become a valuable work of reference, and would find a place on the shelves of every student of Indian thought. We would once more urge Mr. Seshacharri to take this matter into serious consideration.

**GEORGISCHE DICHTER**, übersetzt von ARTHUR LEIST. (Dresden: E. Pierson.) M. G. JANASHVILI, TSARISA TAMARA (in Russian). (Tiflis: M. Shavadze.)

A few travellers—notably Mr. James Bryce—have written about the Georgians, but their picturesque country has been but little visited by Englishmen. It is, however, one of the most charming regions upon the face of the earth, and well deserves the praises which Herr Arthur Leist has bestowed upon it in the work at present under our notice. The inhabitants are a fine manly race, worthy of such a land. Of the language and literature of this people almost nothing is known in England, but there are indications that we shall be soon made more familiar with it. Mr. Oliver Wardrop, now Vice-Consul at Kertch, has given us a translation of a notable book among the Georgians, the so-called "Book of Wisdom and Lies," by Sulkhan Orbeliani; and his sister, Miss Marjory Wardrop, has not only published a translation of some Mingrelian tales, but promises us a version of "The Man in the Tiger's Skin," the national epic.



But we must not keep Herr Leist any longer waiting; he has indeed done yeoman service in the cause of Georgian literature, and we may add Armenian ("Armenische Dichter," Dresden, 1898). The first edition of the present work was published in 1887; in 1889 appeared from the pen of our author a version of the epic of Shota Rustaveli ("Der Mann im Tigerfelle," Dresden); and he now issues a second edition of his anthology with many new pieces, and a very useful summary of Georgian literature in the Introduction. The Georgian language is still a veritable crux for the philologist, and Professor Schuchardt, of Gratz, has recently taken it in hand and essayed to explain its perplexing verbal system, which reminds us very much of Basque, although the two languages have no words of their vocabulary in common. It has two alphabets, one called the ecclesiastical and the other the military. At present we only know from the labours of Brosset, Tsagarelli, Erckert, and others, that there are four languages which greatly resemble each other. Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazi, and Suani. These four are unlike all other languages as far as linguistic classification has been conducted. Georgian is the only one which boasts any literature; the others have songs and folk-tales merely. After long contests with their Mohammedan neighbours the Georgians were annexed by Russia at the beginning of the present century. Their literature goes back to the eighth century, but the great period—the *Bluthezeit*, as the Germans would term it—was in the thirteenth century, in the reign of Queen Tamara, the great sovereign to whom everything glorious in the national history is assigned. Mr. Janashvili has written her life in Russian. In most of the early Georgian literature a Persian influence can be traced. But the reader who wishes to know about their authors must be referred to Herr Leist's excellent Introduction, where a great deal of information is conveyed in a very compact form. For his extracts in the present volume Herr Leist deals only with the poets of the present century—in fact, those who have flourished during the new period of the country under Russian influence and that

of the West generally. He begins with Gregory Orbeliani, who died in 1863 at an advanced age. The poems strike us as full of colour. In the present volume they are all lyrical. Love and wine are frequent topics. With these patriotism is intermixed, as in the lines (p. 23) on the death of Heraklius II, the last native king of Georgia. We ought to add that short biographical notices of the poets are prefixed to the selections from their works. Perhaps the most conspicuous of the modern Georgian poets is Prince Elias Chavchavadze, who received his education at St. Petersburg. He is one of the most conspicuous citizens of Tiflis, where he dispenses a generous hospitality. He is also editor of the journal *Ieria*, the columns of which frequently contain valuable data on the folklore and traditions of the Georgian tribes. The "Hermit," by Prince Chavchavadze, has been translated into Russian; and there is an English version by Miss M. Wardrop, which, we believe, was the first translation of a Georgian poem which has appeared in our language. The feelings of a genuine patriot are expressed in his lines "On the Banks of the Kur" (p. 59 in Herr Leist's translation):

"So hor' ich wieder dein vergessenes Rauschen  
 O Heimatsstrom und aufgewacht vom Schlummer  
 Regt meine Seele wieder banger Kummer  
 Denn nur betrübt mag deinem Spiel ich lauschen."

In the present volume they are rendered most musically. After dealing with several others of the modern poets, Herr Leist winds up with some Volkslieder, among which the *Grabeschrift der Königin Tamar* is very striking. The aphorisms from Shota Rustaveli will be read with pleasure, and will tempt the reader to be further acquainted with the curious poem from which they are selected. He would do well to make himself familiar with Herr Leist's translation of the *Vepkhvis-Tqaoani*, in which he has used a judicious system of compression. Altogether, we can certainly promise the Western reader considerable pleasure from Herr Leist's volume. A *terra incognita* will be open

to him; the picturesque scenery and equally picturesque inhabitants of delightful Georgia come back again to us as we open his pages, and the pretty little illustrations with which this dainty book is published increase its poetic charm. But it is not in poetry only that modern Georgians have distinguished themselves. There are many excellent contributions to history and ethnology. Unfortunately, however, these are either in the Georgian or Russian languages, and therefore not easily available to an English philologist. Among these must be mentioned the elaborate history of Georgian Literature by Professor Khakhanov, now appearing in Russian, and the valuable papers on the same subject by Professor Marr in the Journal of the Minister of Public Instruction.

In the year 1873 Demetrius Bukradze, a Georgian antiquarian, called the attention of his countrymen to the great destruction of antiquities going on in this ancient and picturesque country. He stirred his fellow-citizens with such zeal that a Museum was finally founded for their preservation. This institution was opened on the 27th July, 1888, with a speech by Palladius, then Exarch of Georgia and now Metropolitan of St. Petersburg. Two excursions have since been made over large portions of the country, and the results have been that many manuscripts, documents of various kinds, inscribed stones, and other reliques of the past have been collected, partly preserved in monasteries and partly in private families. This collection has now been put under the care of Mr. M. Janashvili, an indefatigable antiquary, who has done much service to Georgia by his pen. His short history of the country is the one allowed by the Government to be used in schools where Georgian is taught. He has written on Georgian folklore and superstitions; a subject about which exceedingly little is known. We may mention also his book on the source of the Georgian romantic tale, *Amiran-Darejaniani*, a collection of adventures which are pervaded by a tone almost as knightly as that of the Middle Ages. Upon this work a learned article has appeared by Mr. Marr, of the

University of St. Petersburg, in the Journal of the Minister of Public Instruction. It is strange to find this echo of the West in Georgian poetry. Shota Rustaveli, the author of their Ariosto-like epic previously alluded to, was a veritable troubadour, and completes the parallel by having nourished, it is said, a hopeless passion for Queen Tamara. And all this was done in Asia in the twelfth century. Of this poet Mr. Janashvili has written a short and interesting account in Georgian (Tiflis, 1896).

Thus the worthy Keeper of the Museum has occupied himself to the great advantage of Western students with the history, ethnology, and literature of his country. He has told us of the Georgian Church, of the folklore of his race, and among his latest works is a short account of Georgian literature, of which one part has appeared. Perhaps there may come a day when in England more interest may be taken in this remarkable people, a handsome, freedom-loving race, who have striven among their mountains for many centuries, boasting of an early Christianity, which dates from about the second century after Christ.

In conclusion we wish all success to Mr. Janashvili in his useful and learned labours.

W. R. MORFILL.

THE SYRIAC CHRONICLE, KNOWN AS THAT OF ZACHARIAH OF MITYLENE. Translated into English by F. J. HAMILTON, D.D., and E. W. BROOKS, M.A. (Methuen & Co., 1899. 12s. 6d.)

The ecclesiastical chronicle of a certain Zacharias, the Greek form of which had been lost, and which had been preserved only in a Syriac compilation of the middle of the sixth century, ranks amongst the most important works of its kind (v. Krummbacher, *Byzant. Literaturgesch.*, 2nd ed., p. 403). The Syriac text has been published for the first time by Land. To the industry of Messrs. Hamilton and Brooks we owe now the first (as Mr. Hamilton had printed

a portion of it privately) complete and accessible English translation of the compilation, which contains the work of Zacharias. The interest of the translators lay more in the direction of the Ecclesiastical History, and they have therefore omitted, to the regret of the students of this branch of literature, the first portion, containing the legendary element—e.g., the history of Joseph and Asenath, the acts of Sylvester, portions of the Nicodemus Gospel, etc. In an introduction, which is far too short, the relation in which the compiler stands to John of Ephesus and to the so-called "Dionysius" is clearly set forth. The translation reads very smoothly, and yet the character of the original has none the less been faithfully preserved. The editors still identify Zacharias Rhetor with Zacharias Scholaasticus, hence some of the difficulties of chronology. They see in him the author of the *Life of Severus* and others. M. A. Kugener studies some of these writings in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, ix (1900), p. 464 ff., and promises to prove the difference between these two men in his forthcoming article in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*.

M. G.

DR. ROBERT KOLDEWEY. DIE HETTITISCHE INSCRIFT  
GEFUNDEN IN DER KOENIGSBURG VON BABYLON AM  
22 AUGUST, 1899, UND VERÖFFENTLICHT VON . . . .  
Mit einer Abbildung und drei Tafeln. (Wissen-  
schaftliche Veröfentlichung der Deutschen Orient-  
Gesellschaft, Heft 1.) Folio. (Leipzig: J. C.  
Hinrich'sche Buchabndlung, 1900. 4 mk.)

In a short introduction of two pages, Professor Delitzsch explains the importance of this publication of the new German Oriental Society. It is thus far the only perfect specimen of a Hittite inscription, found on a statue of extremely archaic character, discovered in the old royal palace of Babylon. The stele is very much like the so-called God of thunder of the Hittites, found at Zingirli. The inscription consists of 273 signs, written 'boustrophedon' on seven

lines, and the words are evidently separated one from the other by a certain sign, which consists of a small stroke and half-moon, the horns of which are turned in the direction of the script. Not a few of these signs are recurring more than once and will eventually assist in the decipherment of these curious hieroglyphs, which have thus far baffled the ingenuity of many a scholar. The photographic reproduction and the tracing of the characters in the three plates which accompany the text are admirable. No attempt is as yet made to grapple with the problem of the reading. And wisely so. As a curious fact it must be noted that this statue should have been found in the royal palace of Babylon, though the land of the Hittites was at least twenty-four days journey distant from that place. It is therefore not likely that it had been brought that distance and directed there as a mere piece of curious import. The full significance of its appearance there may perhaps become more clear by subsequent discoveries.

M. G.

**INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.** An Essay by P. C. MUKERJEE.  
pp. 95. (Lucknow: "Express" Office, 1899. Price,  
One Rupee.)

This essay by Mr. Mukerjee, who was employed by the Government on archaeological work last year, is a bold attempt to reconcile the acknowledged difficulties of early Indian Chronology. For some time past European scholars have been satisfied by the working hypothesis put forward by Cunningham which fixes the date of the Buddha's death at 477 B.C. This was arrived at by adding 218 years, the time stated in the Ceylon Chronicles to have elapsed between the death of the Buddha and the inauguration of Asoka, to the date of Asoka as fixed by the names of the Greek princes referred to in the Edicts. In other words, the hypothesis rejects the tradition handed down in the Ceylon Chronicles as to the dates of Asoka and of the Buddha, but accepts that tradition as to the interval between the two. As the

hypothesis does not pretend to give any reason for its thus blowing hot and cold on the same authority, it must at least be admitted that it is not very logical.

Mr. Mukerjee points out that, as the Jain and Brahmin chronologies are in practical agreement with the Ceylon books as to the date of the Buddha and the Mahāvira, that date (*circa* 620–540 B.C.) ought not so easily to be set aside. And he proposes, as a reconciliation between it and the Greek dates, to identify Asoka the Maurya (and not his grandfather) with the Greek Sandracottus. Candragupta, he points out, is a *biruda*, or title only, and not a name. Grandfather and grandson may well have had the same title, as in the case of the other two Candraguptas in the fourth century A.D. It is to this Candragupta Asoka Devānam-piya Piyadassi that the pillar edicts are to be assigned. And it is to his grandson, Samputi Devānam-piya Piyadassi, that the rock edicts, mentioning the five Greek princes, are to be assigned. In both cases we find only Devānam-piya Piyadassi in the inscriptions, and have hitherto taken this to mean Asoka the Mauryan throughout. All will be made clear if we, in interpreting the title, interpret it in two ways instead of in one.

Mr. Mukerjee supports this startling reconstruction by a number of arguments, and carries his results out with regard to other names. Thus, of the two Asokas he identifies the first with Nanda, the patron of the Vesālī Council. It would be impossible in the course of a short notice to enter into the discussion of these numerous subsidiary points on which his main argument is based. That would require at least a lengthy article, not to say a book as long as his own. He makes his best points, and some of them are very good, when he is showing how unsatisfactory, and how difficult to reconcile with admitted data, is the working hypothesis which at present holds the field. The positive part of the argument is weaker; and does not sufficiently deal with the arguments, set out for instance by M. Senart, in favour of the unity of authorship of all the edicts. It is evident, indeed, throughout that the author has not properly

read the greatest authority on the inscriptions of Piyadassi. That authority wrote, no doubt, in French, which he does not understand. But he ought at least to have considered more carefully the English translations which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*.

It is a pity, too, that the essay does not give authorities for more of the statements it quotes. Authorities are given ; but not enough. "The Tibetans say" or "the Jainas say" is no use at all. We want to know the date and author of the statement. Even "the Mahāvansa says" is not enough. We want chapter and verse. What is the use of giving as the sole authority for the statement that one Kāśyapa built a certain monastery in 443 A.D., Mrs. Sinnett's "Five Years of Theosophy." It would have been better to have omitted the statement, which is of little or no importance for the author's main position. So loose a method of writing only prejudices the reader against the logical weight of the author he is reading.

At the same time it cannot be denied that there is much that is suggestive in this essay ; and it is interesting to find a native of India even attempting to tackle a question involving frequent reference to Buddhist and Greek authorities with which Indians are not usually familiar. Some such hypothesis as the author's will, no doubt, be eventually accepted in place of the working hypothesis now so generally and unquestionably taken for granted. That is admittedly unsatisfactory. Whether the hypothesis to be eventually followed will be the one here put forward is another question. But the essayist certainly deserves great credit not only for raising the question, but for having devoted such wide reading and so much thought to its solution.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.



**RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHOENICIANS, AND BABYLONIANS.** By ROBERT BROWN, JUN., F.S.A.  
Vol. ii. (Williams & Norgate, 1900.)

Again the indefatigable student of the astronomy of the ancients presents to the public, in an attractive form, a mass of information, based upon his researches into the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria which refer to the constellations, and to the heavenly bodies in general, as they understood them. The amount of material, and the knowledge to be gained therefrom, are enormous. The difficulty is, to understand the texts aright, and to draw from their information, when rightly understood, the true deduction.

The first volume, which was noticed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April last (pp. 371-375), contained eight chapters, dealing with the primitive constellations of the Greeks, the Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list, the constellations in Greek literature, and in connection with the earlier coin-types, Homeric references to the constellations, constellation-subjects in the early art of the Aigæion seaboard and Asia Minor, and Babylonian astronomy after Alexander. In this there was much that was interesting, and the importance of bringing together all available material was pointed out, and the results referred to. In the second volume, which is now before us, further and more extensive references to the tablets are given, as will be recognized from the headings of the chapters, which are as follows: "The Constellations of the Babylonian Creation-scheme," "Constellation-subjects in Euphratean Art," "The Tablet of the Thirty Stars," "Some Stellar Groups of Sevens," "The Celestial Equator of Aratos," "Further consideration of the Euphratean Celestial Sphere," "The Euphratean Star-list," "The General Concepts underlying the Constellation-figures," and "The Formation of the Primitive Constellations." There are also several plates and figures in the text. The first volume

was\* dedicated to Professor Sayce, the second is dedicated to the memory of François Lenormant.

There is no doubt that, as Mr. Brown claims, he has been able to compile a fairly complete list of Euphratean stars and constellations, but how far these are correctly read and identified time alone can tell. It is a matter of regret to me that I find myself unable to follow the author in all his conclusions, and that my readings, together with the significations that I give to the groups (when it is possible to assign to them a meaning), often differ greatly from his. I do not mean to say that the author is in every case wrong, but one cannot help wishing that greater caution had been exercised in both these respects.

In the first chapter of the second volume (ch. ix) the author examines the constellations of the Babylonian constellation-scheme, that curious and interesting description of the heavens given by one of the tablets of the series regarded and generally called "the story of the Creation," but which would be more correctly described as "the fight between Bel and the Dragon." In this now well-known classic of the Babylonians, there is a reference to the twelve months of the year, for each of which Merodach fixed three stars or constellations. This would make in all thirty-six constellations, and it is to the identity of these that the chapter is devoted.

As an aid to this, there exist in the British Museum certain fragments of astrolabes, the most important piece being that found by Mr. George Smith when excavating for the Trustees in 1874. This text is numbered S. 162, and fragments of a duplicate exist, the principal being 83-1-18, 608, found by Mr. Rassam in 1882. These astrolabes are arranged in concentric circles, the outermost containing the name of a month, a star or constellation, and a number; the second the name of another star or constellation, accompanied by a number half the value of the first; and the third a star or constellation, and a number half the value of that of the second row. There are, therefore, three stars or constellations for each month, corresponding

with the statement in the Babylonian Creation-Story, and there is every probability that Mr. Brown is right in regarding them as those which are referred to in that Legend.

Taking these fragments as a base, Mr. Brown has completed the series, restoring the names of the remaining stars or constellations and the numbers in accordance with the system that the astrolabe seemed to indicate. The scheme is seductive, it is exceedingly probable, and the numbers follow a system which might easily be that of the ancient and unknown Babylonian who drew up and arranged the stars or constellations there enumerated.

Whilst looking through some rough copies of inscriptions made by me many years ago, I noticed that two lists of stars were accompanied by numbers, and that these went in progression. I at once compared them with the fragments of the planisphere and with each other, the result being that I was able to restore the whole text of the document treated of by Mr. Brown. I do not reconstruct the sphere, but give it in list-form, reserving a fuller examination of the document for some future time. The following is the order in which the constellations for each month are given:—

(Nisan)	DILI-GANA <sup>1</sup>	200
	DILI-BAT <sup>2</sup>	100
	APIN <sup>3</sup>	50
(Iyyar)	MULA <sup>4</sup>	220
	SU-GI	110
	A-NU-NI-TU <sup>5</sup> ("the goddess Anunitu")	55

<sup>1</sup> Explained in the lists as *Iku* ("the water channel", "the star of the land—the land of Babylon." W.A.I., v, 46, 50 *ab*)

<sup>2</sup> Explained as the star *Nabat*, apparently meaning "she who proclaims." W.A.I., v, 46, 40 *ab*.

<sup>3</sup> Explained as *Anšara* in W.A.I., v, 46, 1 *ab*

<sup>4</sup> For this reading see p. 373, lower part.

<sup>5</sup> The stars *Anunitu* and *Šinunutu* are explained as "the river Tigris and the river Euphrates" in W.A.I., v, 46, 34 *ab*.



(Chisleu)	Muštābarrū mūtānu <sup>1</sup>	240
	UD-GU-DU-A <sup>2</sup>	60
	UZ <sup>3</sup> ("the Goat")	30
(Tobet)	GU-LA <sup>4</sup>	140
	AL-LUL <sup>5</sup>	70
	TÎ <sup>6</sup> (= ID-HU, "the eagle")	35
(Sebat)	NU-MUŠ-DA <sup>7</sup>	160
	NAM-MAHA <sup>8</sup>	80
	DA-MU <sup>9</sup>	40
(Adar)	KU <sup>10</sup> ("the fish")	180
	LUL-A <sup>11</sup>	90
	AMARUDUK <sup>12</sup> (Merodach)	45

It will be seen that the numbers in the first of each three constellations go from 240 (*Sibzina*, under the month Sivan) to 120 (*Muštābarrū mūtānu*, under the month Chisleu); thereafter ascending again until the same month and number are reached as at first. The numbers attached to the second of each three constellations are exactly half those of the first series, and go from 120 for UR-A, under the month Sivan, to 60 for UD-GU-DU-A, under the month Chisleu, ascending again like those of the first series. The numbers attached to the third of each series are exactly, in their turn, half those of the second of each series, and go from 60, the number which accompanies NAGAR, under the month Sivan, to 30, the number accompanying UZ, under Chisleu. The numbers increase and decrease by 20, by 10, and by 5, for the first, second, and third series, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Explained as *mātu*, "death."

<sup>2</sup> Explained as the god Muštābarrū mūtānu, "the forecaster of death."

<sup>3</sup> Explained as "the lady of the kid"

<sup>4</sup> Explained as "the lord of death, the god Ea"

<sup>5</sup> Explained as "the seat of God."

<sup>6</sup> Explained as "the hero of the Igigi."

<sup>7</sup> Explained as "the double (?) gods, Addu and Marduk."

<sup>8</sup> Explained as "the father of the stream."

<sup>9</sup> Explained as "the lady of life."

<sup>10</sup> Explained as "the triple (?) god, the god Ea"

<sup>11</sup> Explained as "the lord causing to stand."

<sup>12</sup> Explained as "the king, the god of the Igigi."

From the fragments of spheres, or astrolabes, at the author's disposal, he was able to obtain the necessary information to insert the numbers correctly for the constellations from the month Sivan to the month Chisleu, but instead of ascending again to 220 for the constellation MULA (under the month Iyyar), he has continued to descend to 20, 10, and 5, respectively. In addition to this, his names differ in every case, except for the constellations furnished by the fragments of the astrolabes, and for MAR-GID DA, the third of the series for the month Ab, Zibanitum, the second of the series for the month Tisri, and AN-HU (to be pronounced Tl'), the third of the series for the month Tebet.

That the list which I have been able to consult is correct, must be conceded, but notwithstanding that it differs so considerably from Mr. Brown's reconstruction of the astrolabe, this difference can hardly be held to prove that he is wrong. Indeed, the fact that he has rightly located, in his restoration of the ancient astrolabes, MARGIDDA, Zibanitum, and Tl', implies that he was on the right track, and that some of the remaining stars and constellations that he has located may turn out to be correctly placed when we know more of their duplicate names, and the appellations of the principal stars of which they are composed, and which may have been used by the ancient Babylonians to indicate the constellations to which they belonged. In one case at least, however, he can hardly be right, and that is his location of NU-SIR-DA (or NU-MUŠ-DA, as I have read it). This he has placed in the third series, under the month Tisri, notwithstanding that the astrolabe-fragment 83-1-18, 608 has in this place the remains of a line giving the two characters 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, which are undoubtedly to be completed 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, generally read, as provisionally here, EN-TE-NA-MAŠ-LUM.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A better reading would probably be *En-te-na-maš-lum*, but the word is a very doubtful one.

There is much of interest in the book, but one cannot help thinking, and greatly regretting, that it is before its time. Babylonian astronomy is such a difficult subject, and there is so much more to learn about it, that no one can lay down hard and fast lines as to the identity of the names that they gave to the heavenly bodies, which, closely connected as they were with their religion, were bound to have more than one name, and to be connected in more than one way.

Nevertheless, the book will be found interesting, and very useful, for those who wish to see the diverse opinions of scholars upon the identifications of the stars and star-names as we find them inscribed on the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria. Hommel, Jensen, Oppert, Sayce, and many others are all quoted, and whatever may be the opinion about the book, it must be recognized as the most complete work upon ancient astronomy yet published. It is the work of a widely-read scholar, who can, and probably will, improve upon it in the near future. Classified indexes are appended, and the insertion of references in full is a feature, and a useful one, of the second volume, as it was of the first.

T. G. PINCHES.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. (London: Heinemann, 1900.)

During the past few years much has been done to make smooth the path of the Oriental student; and those of us who gained our knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature chiefly from Professor Weber's excellent, but by no means easy, work on the subject will think with a sigh how much toil we might have been spared by such a book as the present. The design of the series to which it belongs—"Short Histories of the Literatures of the World," published by Mr. Heinemann under the editorship of Mr. Edmund Gosse—is, evidently, to supply a trustworthy and, at the same time, a thoroughly readable account of the

most noteworthy national literatures. Professor Macdonell's book amply satisfies these requirements. He has taken in review all the most recent results of the different branches of Indian research, so far as they can be brought to bear on the solution of literary problems; and he has succeeded in treating his subject in such a way as to make it interesting from beginning to end to all who care for such matters. But he has done more than this. He has supplied the needs of the special student, who may desire to enter upon a more minute investigation of any topic dealt with comprehensively in the text, by an excellent series of "Bibliographical Notes" appended to each chapter. No better advice can be given to the student who wishes to gain a thorough acquaintance with the history of Sanskrit literature than to take this book as a basis and to fill in the outline given in the text with the details supplied by the monographs referred to in the Bibliographical Notes, and, of course, such standard works as Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* and Weber's *Indian Literature*. Professor Macdonell's book may, perhaps, be best compared with Professor L. von Schroeder's *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, with the important difference that it is thirteen years later in point of date and records the by no means insignificant conquests which scholarship has made during that interval. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that a very creditable proportion of this new information, especially in the region of Vedic religion and mythology, is the result of the author's own work. Altogether, he is to be very heartily congratulated on the firstfruits of his tenure of the Boden Professorship.

E. J. RAPSON.

IBN ǦAUZĪ'S MANĀQIB 'OMAR IBN 'ABD EL 'AZĪZ BESPROCHEN  
UND IM AUSZUGE MITGETEILT VON CARL HEINRICH  
BECKER. 8vo; pp. viii, 22, 168. (Berlin, 1900.)

Amongst the Umayyad Caliphs 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azis is chiefly notable for his mild and upright disposition.



Although somewhat bigoted in his piety, yet, in his desire of scrupulously acting in all things according to the divine law, he could be just even towards his non-Moslem subjects. 'Umar's brief reign of barely two and a half years (A.H. 99-101) was not distinguished by any very remarkable act or achievement. He neither made nor attempted fresh conquests, but appears to have principally directed his policy towards the consolidation of his dominions and the amelioration of the condition of his people. Owing to his devout and religious tendencies, 'Umar's court was much frequented by theologians and scholars, and he himself early acquired a reputation as a traditionist and divine. Writers of later times depict him as a saint, investing him with all the attributes usually associated with such a character, and it is largely from this point of view that 'Umar's life is treated by Ibn al-Jauzī in the work now under notice.

Ibn al-Jauzī was born at Baghdad in A.H. 510 of a wealthy family which traced its descent from the Caliph Abu Bakr. From a very early age he devoted himself to the acquisition of learning, and finally attained to a very high position as traditionist, theologian, and preacher. He died in A.H. 597, leaving behind him an immense number of works upon every branch of learning and science, of which unfortunately only too few have reached us.

The present life of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz is not a biography in the ordinary sense, but consists of a collection of anecdotes, letters, speeches, and pious sayings, designed for purposes of edification. The contents of the work are arranged in forty-four chapters according to subjects, each chapter for the most part illustrating some quality or attribute of the Caliph. As might be expected, considering the hagiological nature of the book, much that is of historical value is mixed up with a great deal that is legendary. The materials of which the work is composed have been gathered from many different sources, varying greatly in value. In the editor's introduction twenty-seven authors are enumerated whose writings have been used in its composition, most of which appear to have perished.

The text, moreover, is not in its original state as it left Ibn al-Jauzi's hands, but presents a contemporary recension which is due to the famous warrior, statesman, and poet, Usāma ibn Munqid, whose autobiography has been published by H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1886).

The editor, albeit only a single MS. has been accessible to him, has done his work conscientiously and well, making the best use for critical purposes of such parallel texts as were available to him. He has not presented us with the full text of the book, but only with a judicious selection from it, including the preface of Usāma. An introduction is prefixed in which are treated the origin and nature of Ibn al-Jauzi's work, with a brief survey of the legendary matter contained in it. The purely historical materials afforded by the book the editor proposes to discuss in another place.

A. G. E.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1900.)

### I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY to JUNE, 1900.)

*January 9, 1900.*—Sir W. W. Hunter in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. Duncan Macdonald had been elected a member of the Society.

Mr. E. J. Rapson read a paper on "Recent Discoveries in Indian Numismatics." A discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall, Mr. Sewell, Dr. Pope, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Kennedy, and Dr. Codrington took part.

The paper appeared in the January number.

*February 13*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Dr. Paul Bronnle and

Mr. A. B. Keith

had been elected members of the Society.

The President referred to the loss sustained by the Society since the last meeting in the death of Sir W. W. Hunter, who was the chairman at their last meeting, and proposed that a letter of condolence expressing the sympathy of the Society and their appreciation of the work and services of their late Vice-President be sent to Lady Hunter.

The Hon. Secretary seconded the proposal, which was carried.

Professor Bendall read a paper, "Notes on my Journey through Nepal and other parts of India," illustrated by lantern slides.

*March* 13.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Professor Sturge and

Mr. Haridas Manna Kavibhusan

had been elected members of the Society.

Mrs. Rickmers read a paper on "Bokhara," illustrated by lantern slides.

*April* 10.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. Mahdi Husan had been elected a member of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids explained the recent discoveries in the Sakya country at Lumbini and Piprahwa, and Mr. Peppé, the excavator of the Piprahwa Stūpa, answered questions which arose out of those explanations, which were illustrated by lantern slides.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoey, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Ashburner, and Professor Macdonell took part.

On the motion of the lecturer, seconded by Dr. Hoey, it was unanimously resolved :—

1. That this Society expresses its warmest thanks to Mr. Peppé for the great services he has rendered to the history and archaeology of India by the important excavations carried out by him at Piprahwa.
2. That this Society, in General Meeting assembled, request the Council to invite the attention of the Government of India to the very great importance of the discoveries made by Mr. Peppé, and to suggest to Government that Mr. Peppé be requested to carry on his excavations, and that a grant should be made to him for that purpose.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

**May 8, Anniversary Meeting.**—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Minutes of the last General Meeting, which were duly confirmed.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1899 was then read by the Secretary :—

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1899.

The Council regret to report the loss, by death or retirement, of the following thirty-five members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. W. E. Grigsby,
2. Mr W. Bickford Smith,
3. Mr. G. Crawshay,
4. Mr. Jai Singh Rao Angria,
5. M. C de Harlez,
6. Dr. Leitner,
7. Sir M Monier-Williams,
8. Mr. W. Simpson,
9. Mr H C. Warren.

There have retired—

1. Mr. R. Brown,
2. Dr. Knighton,
3. Rev. A. W. Oxford,
4. Miss E. Suncox,
5. Rev. Dr. Wace,
6. Mr. H. C. Banerji,
7. Mr. W. Bang,
8. Mr. H. A. Bhojvani,
9. Mr. B. Borrah,
10. Mr. Hugh Clifford,
11. Mr. A. C. Dass,
12. Mr. J. W. Dumergue,
13. Mr. H. Franklin,
14. Dr. Indrajī,

15. Rev. F. F. Irving,
16. Sir Peter Lumeden,
17. Mr. W. Pereira,
18. Miss L. L. W. Perkins,
19. Mr. J. W. Reid,
20. M. P. Z. A. Rouffignac,
21. Mr. H. Rylands,
22. Mr. Senathi Raja,
23. Mr. St. Andrew St. John,
24. Mr. R. Bryson,
25. Mr. L. R. Tottenham,
26. Mr. R. H. Wilson.

On the other hand, the following thirty new members have been elected :—

1. Mr. J. D. Anderson,
2. Sir C. J. Lyall,
3. Mr. H. de R. Walker,
4. Mr. F. Legge,
5. Mr. R. A. Yerburch, M.P.
6. Mr. G. J. Nicholls,
7. Mr. S. C. Niyogi,
8. Mr. E. A. Gait,
9. Major W. Vost,
10. Mr. Luxman Arya,
11. Mr. M. M. Chakravarti,
12. Mr. Lāl Sita Ram,
13. Mr. H. C. Chatterji,
14. Mr. G. R. Dampier,
15. Mr. S. C. Vidyabhusana,
16. Mr. Ramsaran Das,
17. Mr. C. F. Rowthorn,
18. Lord Sandhurst,
19. Mr. J. S. Meston,
20. Mr. Jwala Prasad,
21. Mr. R. Misra,
22. Mr. H. K. Basu,
23. Mr. L. R. M. Maxwell,

## ANNIVERSARY MEMBERS.

24. Miss Amy Yule,
25. Mr. B. Brandhaender,
26. Mr. B. Williams,
27. Mr. D. M. da S. Wickremasinghe,
28. Mrs. Beveridge,
29. Mrs. Rauschenbusch-Clough,
30. Dr. Sangat Ram.

Of the subscribing Libraries, one has retired and two have been added to the list.

The result is that the membership of the Society, which has gone slowly but steadily up for a number of years, stood on the 1st January, 1900, at four less than the highest point previously reached, which was last year, and nineteen higher than the year before. The number of paying members—that is to say, 88 resident members, 271 non-resident and library members, and 55 libraries—is, however, one more than it was last year, the reduction being in the number of compounders. It is especially satisfactory that the number of resident members, which had been gradually going down till last year, when it, for the first time, showed an increase, has kept up to the same figure.

The total nett receipts of the Society came to £1,275 5s. 5d., which is £31 2s. 11d. more than last year, the income from members' subscriptions having gone up from £612 1s. 6d. to £628 5s. 6d., the highest amount yet received under that head. The total of the nett ordinary expenditure of the Society was £1,255 19s. 4d., and an extra-ordinary claim had to be met owing to the unfortunate accident of the skylight over the stairs falling in. As the landlords would bear no part in the cost of restoring the skylight, the Society had to do so at the expense of £29 18s., which the Council have thought it best to meet out of current revenue. In spite of this the sum of £44 2s. 0d. has been added to the Society's account in the Post Office Savings Bank, which accordingly stood at the end of the year at £215 9s. 3d. The Society's capital funds had therefore risen at the same date to a total of £1,323 2s. 3d., which

is just £500 more than it stood at a few years ago. This amount represents the composition fees paid by our 97 compounding members, and the Council hold it to be most desirable that this sum, now amounting to little more than one year's income, should be kept intact as a reserve in case of need.

The Medal fund which was mentioned as in process of formation in our last report to the Society is now so far practically assured that a sum of £268 3s. 6d. has been invested in the name of the Society in the purchase of £250 Nottingham Corporation Stock, and the further subscriptions still expected or promised will bring that sum up to the amount required to make the Medal a permanent institution. The accounts submitted to you close the account, as the further sums to be received will be lodged at once, without passing through our banking account, in a special deposit account that has been opened in the Post Office, and the Medal Fund will therefore not appear in next year's balance sheet. The hope expressed in our last report has thus been fulfilled; and the Council know they will be giving expression to the feelings of all members of the Society in expressing to Mr. Wollaston, to whose initiative and earnest work this result is due, their most cordial thanks.

Last year the Oriental Translation Fund made its first modest appearance in our accounts. The sale of the *Harṣa Carita* still goes on, and explains the slight increase in the Fund. During the year Dr. Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* has appeared; and the volume for the year 1900, Mrs. Rhys Davids's translation of the *Dhamma Sangani*, a Buddhist manual of psychological ethics, is now just ready. The Council regret to say that Mr. Arnold O. Taylor has given up his intention of translating the *Kathā Vatthu*. But the Council trust that the Secretary will be able to undertake this work himself, and that the volumes just referred to will maintain the high credit of the series. The Council congratulate the Society on the fact that this very important branch of the Society's work is going regularly on. In this matter also the Society is under deep



obligation to one of its members. Without Mr. Arbuthnot's care and thought and generosity the series, which had been allowed to drop, would never have been started into life again, and the Society cannot too often repeat its thanks to him. The Council again express the hope that other members of the Society will follow the excellent example set them by the Earl of Northbrook and Mr. Sturdy by contributing, either by legacies or donations, to the necessary expense of this valuable endeavour to make the West a little more acquainted with the thought of the East. It is really only a question of money. There are scholars able and willing to do the work. There are at least some hundreds of MSS. on our shelves which ought to be made accessible to scholars. But unless the Council are provided with the necessary means the work, in spite of its importance, will once again have to be dropped.

With regard to the Journal the Council have taken great pains throughout the year to ensure that its contents shall be both varied and interesting, and that no article shall be admitted which does not contain a distinct contribution to human knowledge. In doing so they have to depend upon the kindness of those members of the Society and others who offer them articles. It is this which determines the scope and nature of the subjects discussed. Subject to this the Council hope that the Journal has been worthy during the year under review of its high reputation, and has tended toward the advancement of Oriental learning. The estimate in which it is held abroad is shown by the receipts from its sale, which, together with the few minor items of receipts from the Journal, again exceeds £200.

About 220 volumes have been added to the Library during the year. The number of volumes acquired since the present catalogue was closed, at the end of 1893, is somewhat over 2,000; the number of entries in the supplemental card catalogue now amounting to 4,250.

During the year the English, French, German, and Austrian Committees of the International Fund for the Archaeological Exploration of India have been constituted.

The Central Committee, which is to meet in London, will be convened when these national committees are in a position to report.

The Statutory Commission for the formation of the new University for London did not accede to the Council's request to create a faculty of Oriental languages, history, and archaeology. The Council are considering what steps it would therefore be expedient to take to further the project of an Oriental School. Public opinion is apparently not yet sufficiently advanced to realize the immediate value in questions of economics, philosophy, and history, of the facts that can only be learnt by a study of the East. It may perhaps be more awake to the commercial advantages of the study of Oriental languages, and of a knowledge of the habits and the ideas of those peoples in the East, with whom we may hope to enter into trade. In any case the Council will do the best that can be done in this matter, which they regard as one of national importance.

Under the Rules of the Society, Lord Stanmore retires from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend the election as Vice-Presidents for the ensuing term of three years of Lord Stanmore and Sir W. Lee Warner.

Under the Rules of the Society, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Arbuthnot, Sir Cuthbert Peek, Colonel Temple, and Mr. Watters retire this year from the Council. Of these five gentlemen two only are re-eligible this year. The Council recommend the election in their place of Dr. Thornton, Mr. Arbuthnot, Professor Douglas, Professor Macdonell, and Mr. Grierson.

The Council would also recommend that the following names be removed from the list of the Society's members, in accordance with Rule 3, on the ground of non-payment of subscriptions:—

1. Mr. B. Dé.
2. Mr. W. Driver.
3. Mr. B. L. Gupta.
4. Mr. Hira Lal.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table, and the Council would ask for a vote of thanks to the Honorary Auditors, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Rapson, and Mr. J. D. Anderson.

*Sir Charles Lyall*, in moving the adoption of the Report, said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been entrusted with the duty of moving the adoption of the Report, which I regret to hear is not yet in your hands. It announces in the usual way the losses of the Society by death and resignation, and the addition of members who have joined the Society during the year. It gives a statement of your finances, and congratulates you upon the good condition and soundness of your position; and it then goes on to discuss the separate funds which we administer—the Medal Fund and the Translation Fund—and concludes with observations upon the progress of the Society's Journal and other publications. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that when you receive the Report you will agree with me that it is a highly satisfactory one. Last year, as Colonel Temple observed when he was moving the adoption of the Report for that year, the highest point had been reached at which the prosperity of the Society had ever stood. When the highest point has been reached, one unfortunately has to be prepared for some declension, but in the present case the declension, if any, has been very slight. We are four members less numerically than we were last year, and our finances are a few pounds better. (Our resident members have increased by one, and the paying members, who are naturally the backbone of the Society's finances, are as numerous as before. The expenditure of the Society has been of the usual character, except that an unfortunate demand for repairs of our premises had to be met which had not been provided for, and we are left with a smaller balance than we usually possess. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that our finances are not calculated to admit of the accumulation of a large sum, and it is not for the best interests of a Society like ours to hoard or save. We ought to spend all we get and trust to providence for the future. (Hear, hear.)

# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1899.

[illegible]

# **ANNUAL MEETING.**

## **MEDAL FUND.**

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURE.	
	\$ c d		\$ c d.
Balance, Jan 1, 1899	91 13 11	Circulars, etc	...
Donations	143 3 0	Stock bought	...
Interest	4 0 1		...
		Transferred to P O. Savings Bank	...
			15 4 11
	<u>\$338 17 0</u>	Balance still owing	...
			1 2 1
			<u>\$338 17 0</u>

## **ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.**

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURE	
	\$ c d		\$ c d.
Balance, Jan 1, 1899	40 11 6		
By sale	2 5 0	Balance	...
			...
	<u>\$42 16 6</u>		...
			<u>\$42 16 6</u>

I think that the Society is very greatly to be congratulated upon the success of the efforts made by my friend Mr. Wollaston in collecting subscriptions for the Medal. He has now almost reached the acme of his hopes, and has finally established the Medal upon a solid foundation. I believe that your President will announce to you to-day the name of the gentleman to whom the Medal has on this occasion been awarded, and I think he will give you also some very gratifying information as to the circumstances under which the award is to be made.

Our Translation Fund has not made very much progress during the past year, but we always hope that some generous person will come to our aid and will provide the necessary funds for carrying it on. Our Journal has been marked by the usual variety of topics treated, and I am sure that those who have seen it will agree that it has maintained the very high standard of past years. We also have full confidence that the standard will be maintained in the future. We have to congratulate the Society upon the accession to its Council of such distinguished authorities in their lines as Professor Douglas, Professor Macdonell, the successor of Sir Monier Monier-Williams at Oxford, and Dr. Grierson.

I think that I may invite you confidently to accept the Report, and move that it be printed

*Mr. Vincent Smith*, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Society, ever since Professor Rhys Davids has assumed the office of Secretary, has been accustomed to receive each year a satisfactory Report. The document which has been presented this year, and with the sight of a proof of which I have been favoured, is no exception to the rule. As Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out, our numbers remain practically unimpaired, our finances are sound, and the scientific reputation of our Journal continues to be undimmed. The Journal, as we all know, has been admirably edited, and has appeared with most commendable punctuality. In the matter of numbers, I think that every member of the Society can do a good deal to still further improve the

strength of our Association. Everyone, even the most silent of our body, can do something in the way of recruiting. My own limited personal experience has shown that very many gentlemen only want to be asked, and that if they are asked they will join. It was my good fortune last year in India to recruit several of our distinguished native Indian officials, and I believe that if the members who are resident in India would exert themselves in that direction, a very considerable number of valuable recruits can be obtained in India. Perhaps the same may be the case in other dependencies, but I only know of India. My own work has lain in the North-West Provinces, where education is much more backward than it is in the older Provinces, and I believe that if our members in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, where education is more advanced, would exert themselves, they could get a considerable number of members among the native Indian gentlemen. One of the recent accessions, Pandit Ramashunkar Misra, M.A., has promised to send me in a paper for submission to the Society on the "Tenets of the Kabīrpanthī Sect," of which he is a member, and it is obvious that a gentleman who is himself a member of one of the Indian religious sects can treat the subject in a way to which no European can aspire. I think that we might by interesting native gentlemen do a good deal towards adding to the variety and interest of our Journal.

The valuable assistance given by ladies to this Society is one of the most pleasing features of our operations. The Journal has been enriched by more than one paper from ladies throwing light upon the mysteries of Buddhism, and we have this year to acknowledge the very exceptional service done by the work on Indian Chronology, for which we are indebted to Miss Mabel Duff, and which goes a long way to smooth the extremely thorny path of the historian of India.

All present to-day will no doubt regret the absence of two of our most distinguished Indian members. I refer to Dr. Burgess and Dr. Grierson, who has just been elected

a member of the Council. I had the pleasure of hearing from them both the other day, and they entrusted me with messages. Dr. Grierson, as you are aware, is engaged on a gigantic task, namely, the linguistic survey of India. He submitted a memorandum to the Congress at Rome in November last reporting progress up to date. He has asked me to tell you to-day that since November he has been devoting himself to the non-Aryan languages of Assam. He has completed the Khasi family and the Bodo group of the Tibetan Burmese, both of which are in an advanced stage of proof. He hopes to have the specimen of the remaining Tibeto-Burman and of the Shan languages similarly advanced by October next. He has discovered the existence of a language of Indian origin, called Pashai, in the heart of Afghanistan, and has sent an account of it to this Society. His investigation has already disclosed the existence of three other isolated islands of speech, in localities where no one could expect to find them. An outcast tribe in the Midnapur District of Bengal speaks the same language, a corrupt form of Gujarātī, which is spoken by the Bhils, a thousand miles to the west. Two tribes of the Swat Valley speak the tongue of the Rajputs of Mewār, a thousand miles to the south, and the people of the Orīyū State, Basra, speak a dialect of Bihārī. Those are amongst the curiosities which the linguistic survey has brought to light, and I need hardly say that Mr. Grierson's further labours will result in still more valuable and solid acquisitions to our knowledge.

Dr. Burgess has asked me to try and arouse sufficient enthusiasm in the Society to encourage the preparation of a good Dictionary of Indian Mythology and Antiquities on the plan of my namesake's well-known Classical Dictionaries. No worker in any of the fields of Indian research can fail to feel the urgent want that there is for such a book of reference and the miserably inadequate character of the books that have tried to fill the void. The work is one which is far too great for any single scholar, and it can only be done by an association of scholars working under the control of a competent editor, and I hope that the



Council will see fit to take Dr. Burgess's suggestion into practical consideration. I believe the thing could be done, and that if it were done it would not only be of great value to all Oriental students but might reasonably expect to be a commercial success. (Hear, hear.)

It must be a matter of much gratification to all the members of this Society to see that His Excellency, Lord Curzon, has taken so great an interest in Indian history and antiquities and in the conservation of ancient monuments. It is understood that when he can find some leisure from the pressing duties which the calamities of plague and famine in India have imposed upon him, he hopes to reorganize the Archaeological Survey on a more satisfactory basis than has hitherto been the case. I cannot now discuss that question, but there is one point which I think might be brought to the notice of the Government of India, and that is that the great difficulty is to obtain suitable men, and suitable men will not be obtained so long as the pay of an Archaeological Surveyor begins at 300 rupees per month. The recent scheme arranged that the pay should rise from 300 to 800 rupees a month, and the final pay is enough, but 300 rupees means only £240 sterling a year, and you will not get anyone who is worth anything to go to India for £240 a year. The minimum pay should be 400 or 500 rupees a month, and then it can stop at 800 if the Government do not care to offer more

I must not trespass longer on your patience now, but I do not like to sit down without expressing the very special obligations that all students of Orientalism are under to our learned Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, for the two books which he has recently given to the world, namely, "The American Lectures on Buddhism," and "The Dialogues of the Buddha," which both throw a flood of light upon the early primitive Buddhism. (Hear, hear.) When I say that the hearty thanks of the Society have been earned by and are due to Professor Rhys Davids, our Secretary, to Miss Hughes, the Assistant-Secretary—(hear, hear)—and all the Officers of the Society, I feel that I am only expressing the

sentiments of every member both present and absent.  
(Applause.)

The adoption of the Report was unanimously agreed to.

*Dr. Gaster* : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I be allowed to address the meeting on a subject which, to my mind, is of paramount importance to this Society and the whole empire. Not very long ago I had the honour of representing the Society in Berlin, and I then met an old member of the Society, a great scholar—Professor Sachau, who is filled with love for England. He has lived long enough in England to appreciate its greatness, and one of his best books has been published in English. He expressed himself very delighted with the great progress that this Society has made during the last ten or fifteen years. He spoke with the highest approbation of the articles that have appeared in the Journal, and I am sure that I am not exaggerating in stating that the last two numbers were certainly the best that have appeared hitherto. Very little attention is paid in general to what comes from abroad, but in questions of science attention must be paid. There is no difference between one country and the other, and it is to me a great privilege to be able to offer the unstinted praise that has come from abroad to the Society.

I do not think I would be doing justice to myself, to you, or to the Society in confining myself simply to a report of flattering statements from abroad. These were mixed with an expression of surprise that so very little is understood in England as to the importance of this Society, and to the importance which the knowledge of Oriental languages possesses for a worldwide Empire such as England is. They cannot understand how it is possible that no University should be founded here with a faculty especially filled with Professors who represent all the varieties of Oriental and other languages. Professor Sachau mentioned to me that in Berlin, where he is the head of the Oriental Seminary, there are at least sixteen Professors under him; and this is only a detached branch of the University work. I took the trouble to look through the

"Minerva" a few minutes ago to see how many Professors are appointed to teach Oriental languages in the University, and I find that there are no less than thirteen Professors and Lecturers, not including the Professors who are attached to the Theological faculties, and who also teach Hebrew and allied Semitic languages. Over 170 students attend the Seminary in Berlin. In Leipzig there are about twelve or thirteen Professors, but no seminary. I turn now to Paris, and I find that at L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, with nineteen Professors, they pay no less than £6,500 in salaries. The number of students attending in Paris is, if anything, larger than those attending in Berlin. I have not calculated the ten Professors of the Sorbonne, the nine of the Collège de France, and those of the University proper. I leave you to draw your own conclusions as to how much is done there. If I turn to St. Petersburg I am sure the numbers will be much higher. What is done now in this country? Absolutely nothing. In the Report we are told that hope is held out that something may be done, that some miracle will happen one day, when we shall awake to find ourselves with a school for Oriental languages. We pride ourselves in this country that we are very practical. Allow me to speak of "we," for I have lived long enough in this country to identify myself with its highest interests; and in bringing the little knowledge I possess from abroad to bear upon the question, I assure you it is done only with the sincerest wish to see the progress in the study of Oriental languages as high in England as in other countries in the world. I cannot understand how it is possible that the practical English nation is unable to grasp the importance of Oriental studies, and, to my mind, this Society holds the key of the Orient; the key of the great economic problems that will be evolved there, and unless we make ourselves the masters of the key, how can we wonder if the Germans or others outstrip us all over the East? I think it is a duty that I owe to the Society and the country, especially as I see the Press represented, to bring this before

you strongly. We are not mere theoretical dreamers, and it ought to be understood that no practical work can be of any success that is not backed by theoretical teaching. We must start from scientific principles, and recognize that the training of the mind rules in the first instance the development of the nation and of worlds; the practical application is then mere child's play. Under Professor Sachau's direction students are fitted first with a theoretical knowledge, and then follows the practical application. They prepare scientific papers which appear in a Journal under his direction and that of other Professors. Many years ago I remember Professor Foy coming through Roumania to learn Turkish, and he is now one of the most prominent teachers. How do they teach? They discuss and study first the theoretical questions of the language and are led on to its practical use. All this may have a very theoretical appearance, but these are the men who are sent out afterwards as Consuls, as Government Inspectors, as Teachers, as Guides, and as the men who are entrusted with the commercial undertakings of those countries which Germany governs in Asia and Africa. Why should this not be done here? It could easily be accomplished, and if we can learn anything from abroad we ought to learn how to compete with them, not only in their practical achievements but also in the theoretical achievements of which they can boast.

I think it ought to be brought home to the great corporations that are so much identified with the best interests of commerce. It is necessary to point out to them that technical education is only one branch. It is the training of the mind which is of paramount importance; and if they will lend a hand in establishing here a kind of seminary on a similar scale as abroad, I am sure they will not only benefit themselves but the country in the highest degree possible. It will be the duty of the University, I conceive, to make the theoretical background, to prepare the Professors, to establish that part of the education left as a rule to the University, and then both together will naturally do the thing which is right. If it can be done through the initiative of this

Society, stimulated by the few words I have been able to say here, I am sure we shall have done something worthy of the occasion. (Hear, hear.)

*Mr. R. A. Yerburgh, M.P.* My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure we are all indebted to Dr (later for putting his views before us in so complete and convincing a manner. This particular question was brought up, if my memory serves me right, at the last annual meeting of the Society, and I then had the opportunity of saying a few words upon it. I think it was myself who expressed the hope that the time might arrive when some millionaire would be disposed to found a University for the study of Oriental languages. The point I wish to put before the meeting is this, that since last year something practical has been done. A Committee was formed of certain people who are interested in the position of affairs in the Far East. They have the money to carry on their scheme for five years, and they have decided to attempt the practical teaching of Chinese in London. A retired Consul has most kindly undertaken to supervise the work, and he is now in China or on his way back. He has secured the services of two natives who will be prepared to teach Chinese under his direction. That, I think, is a very fair beginning, a small thing perhaps in itself, but we have every reason to hope that advantage will be taken of our efforts, and perhaps this enterprise may be the commencement of a University such as we have had sketched out. There is, however, a great difficulty to be overcome. The people of this country are so extremely apathetic. Business men in London have been appealed to, and I have endeavoured to interest the business people of Manchester, where I attended the meeting which was held on behalf of Owens College some months ago. It was then proposed that a similar Chair should be established there, and, indeed, two gentlemen were found prepared to subscribe £25 per annum each for five years, but up to the present moment not another contribution so far as I know has been promised. I have also brought the subject before a large meeting in Halifax. It was received with enthusiasm,

but from that day to this I have heard nothing more of it. The only advice I can offer is, that if we intend to succeed we must, vulgarly speaking, keep on "pegging away." We must take every opportunity of pressing the subject upon the notice of our fellow-countrymen. I know their comprehension is slow; they are difficult to move, but when once they get hold of an idea they do not let go of it easily, they work it out, and therefore I have really good hopes that when this practical Chair of Chinese has been working in London for two years we may find it followed by the establishment of Chairs of other Oriental languages, and that at no very distant date we may see a University similar to the Oriental University at Berlin established in our midst. (Applause.)

*Mr. Beveridge* : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say a few words about the *Translations from the Oriental languages*, and I wish to draw attention especially to a valuable translation made lately by a member of our Society; I refer to the translation of the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, by Mr. Rogers. The original is a most interesting work and full of information. He has made reference to the plague, to the gallant conduct of the English at Surat, and many other things. The translation is a most elaborate work. I saw it the other day in this room. There are two parts, and he has made a complete index, and I think it is a great pity that a translation, which I am sure must be a good one, should remain buried away. Mr. Rogers has made his translation from the printed edition which was issued from Aligarh, but besides that printed volume there are many manuscripts, and in the British Museum there is a translation by that great scholar William Erskine. I presume Mr. Rogers has compared his translation with that, but if he has not he ought to do so before finally publishing it. I have lately returned from India, where I went to look for Persian manuscripts, and if I may be allowed to trespass upon your patience for a few minutes, I will give you the result of my investigations. The first thing that struck me was the fact that many

manuscripts have disappeared. I went to one or two places which were famous seats of learning, and I could not find a single manuscript. On questioning people about them they said, "Oh yes, one man had had manuscripts up to three years ago, and then his house was burnt and all lost." Elliot speaks of that valuable book the *Tārīkh Rashīdī*, which was recently translated by Denison Ross, as common in India, yet Mr. Ney Elias mentions in the introduction that he could not find a single copy in India. I found several, but it is by no means common. I discovered a very good copy in Hyderabad, and another in Delhi, and another in the excellent library at Rampur. I was about seven months in India, and although I must say I failed in the main object of my journey, yet I was not altogether unsuccessful. My chief object was to find a particular manuscript written by a lady, but I could not get any information about it. I saw many interesting things and I also got a few manuscripts. Among other things I have stood upon the place where the great Akbar was born, and I found that place is very different from what we are led to believe. It is usually supposed that he was born inside the fort, but according to local tradition he was born under a tree in the fields about a mile away. I saw the tomb of Abul Faṣl, who was murdered on his way back to Agra. This murder took place in the village of Antari, in the Gwalior State, and there is the grave to this day, but it is sadly neglected. I was indebted for the knowledge of this fact to a Hindustani book published lately in Lahore. Mr. Blochmann says nothing about the man being buried there. I saw the tomb of Badaūnī, which Mr. Blochmann had failed to find, and it is still in good preservation. In the way of manuscripts I found a Persian translation of a book by Albīrūnī, the original of which seems to be totally lost, and the Persian translation is unknown in Europe. I procured some local histories and so on, and I think that if I had stayed longer and had had more money I could have done much more, but certainly the time is fast slipping away. Every year manuscripts are being lost, so that although the Persian

translation is a very important thing, I think still more important is the publication of the text. If we once have the text published we may wait for the translation, as the thing is safe, but several books have been totally lost because they have been allowed to remain in manuscript and never printed.

*Lord Reay*: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to support the adoption of the Report, and before I make any remarks on the Report, there is one subject which I am sure is in all our thoughts and to which I think some allusion must be made, and that is what Mr. Vincent Smith has so aptly called the terrible calamities of which India is a victim at the present moment. I must say that all we hear and read of the extent of the famine (I use that word although I have always considered the expression misleading; pauperism is the word I would rather use) which at this moment prevails in India is of such a nature that we must all feel that it is a gigantic evil. When we so often hear that abroad just now the feelings towards this country are not exactly friendly, I think that we ought to take note of the fact that in Berlin a large subscription was given on behalf of the suffering caused by the famine. There is another country with which in former days our relations were very friendly and may become friendly again, namely, Turkey. The Turks, as we all know, are very generous, perhaps too generous, and the Sultan has given authority to collect money for the Indian famine. I need not say that the Americans, who on a previous occasion have sent help to our people, have also on this occasion shown their sympathy on an effective scale. I think these are features of an international feeling which we on this side ought to appreciate, and which at all events are rays of sunshine.

Now, I must in the first place allude to the losses which this Society has sustained, and I shall take what I consider to be the most grievous loss, because in recording the illustrious dead we should always regret most, I think, those whose lives have been cut short when they were full of promise. (Hear, hear.) In the death of that most



promising young American scholar, Mr. Warren, whose works gave so much promise for the study of Pali and Buddhism, we have to deplore the death of a man who, I am sure, would in future years have added much to our fund of Oriental knowledge. Then there is another man on this list who was in his way a most remarkable man. I mean Mr. Simpson. He was not intended to be a scholar, but he developed his scholarship in connection with other duties, and what he gave to the world with regard to the countries he was led to visit for other purposes is, I am told, of a very important nature. Then the name of Sir Monier Monier-Williams is familiar to us all. We know that an Institute was founded through him at Oxford, and we know how persevering and enthusiastic he was in all that he undertook for the benefit of Oriental students. Then there is another name which I know gives rise, unfortunately, to very different feelings, but for my part I am bound to say that my relations with Dr. Leitner have always been extremely cordial. I found that when an appeal was made to him not to push certain of his own opinions which he held very strongly, I never had any difficulty in getting him to yield to what were the considerations urged by others. I should also like to say that I am not going to enter upon a controversy about Dr. Leitner's works, but of this I am convinced, that he had a true feeling of friendship and of regard for Orientals, and that on every occasion, whatever may have been the methods he used, his paramount desire was to make us realize more the intricacy of matters connected with Oriental affairs.

The next statement that I have to make, as Sir Charles Lyall has mentioned to you, is regarding the award of the Medal. It has on this occasion been awarded to Dr. E. West, and you will be pleased to hear that the Prince of Wales has consented to hand the Medal to the scholar who has been fortunate enough to be selected for what I consider to be the highest honour which it is possible in this country to confer on an Oriental scholar.

I join heartily in what has already been said, that the

Council owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Wollaston for the energy which he has displayed in obtaining funds for us, and in bringing this matter to a satisfactory conclusion. I wish to read to you what is stated with regard to the Oriental Translation Fund in the Report. [Portion of Report read.]

Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Vincent Smith have alluded to the translations, and it is most important that for this Oriental Translation Fund we should have more money. There are, of course, numbers of books which require to be edited. We have a number of manuscripts which we should like to make accessible to scholars, but unless the funds are forthcoming, I need not tell you that we are very much crippled. I may also mention that we have been negotiating with Mr. Le Strange on the publication of the Geography of Mesopotamia, which will be published by the Oxford Clarendon Press, and another work is by Major Gerini, on the Ancient Geography of the Far East. I am happy to be able to tell you that the publication of that volume has been made secure by co-operation between us and the Geographical Society, the two societies having been able to come to an agreement.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Gaster has made a speech in which I recognize many of the features of speeches that I have made at this table on former occasions, but I am bound to say that I take a brighter view of our prospects with regard to the spread of Oriental studies than he does. It is quite true that the Statutory Commission have not thought fit to originate a School of Oriental Studies. Of course I do not know what the reasons were; whether it was that among the Statutory Commissioners there was no gentleman who represented Oriental Studies; that in itself in the constitution of the Statutory Commission, of course, constitutes a gap that might not have been avoided. In any case I feel confident that when the new Senate, which, as you all know, will ere long be appointed, enters upon its duties in organizing the new University, and when this Council place the case before the Senate in the same

eloquent manner in which Dr. Gaster has put it before us just now, then I think that at last we shall awaken to our responsibilities as a great Eastern Power. At all events, in London we shall have a thorough recognition of the various Chairs which at present exist, but let me add that it will not be sufficient to organize a School unless we can persuade students to enter it. At present the worst feature of the situation is, not that Chairs do not exist, because, as you are aware, you have only to look at the programmes of University College and of King's College to discover that lectures are given on a great variety of Oriental subjects. But it is this, that when you ask who attend lectures on Pali or on Chinese, you are informed that there are one or two men, and in some cases you will be told that a Professor gives no lectures because there are no students. Well, that is undoubtedly a most lamentable state of things. There are various ways of correcting it. There is, of course, the Government, which in a great many directions in giving employment to officials can make the knowledge of these languages compulsory. In appointments of officials for the Indian, the Colonial, the Foreign Office Services in the East, the Government can raise the standard of requirements. There are a great many other means by which it might be done. As Dr. Gaster has already pointed out, in France there are numbers of students who are attending these lectures, and also in Berlin. Why are these studies vigorously prosecuted in countries with much smaller Oriental territories? And to what is due the disappointing fact that here the need does not seem to be felt for this branch of education? Are we to wait until we reap the disastrous results of neglecting them? That is unfortunately what too often happens in England; at a given moment something happens to reveal the fact that our rivals have overreached us, and why? Because they have forestalled us in training the men who defy our competition. Then there is an outburst of alarm in the country. I need not allude to present circumstances, as you are all aware of them. Then comes the cry, "What has the Intelligence Department

been about?" I hope it will never be our fate in the East to be thus outwitted, but there are circumstances, to which I need not allude, which may any day reveal the fact that the ignorance of the language and customs of a certain tribe might give rise to friction or difficulties. Then of course the cry would be heard, "Why are your officials not properly trained for the discharge of their duties?" It is the same story all round, that what England, above all countries, with her great Empire wants in all directions is organization of its Intelligence Department, and I call this Oriental School, ladies and gentlemen, the Intelligence Department of your Eastern Empire. That is what you want to organize, and your great Eastern interests can never be safe until that Intelligence Department is placed on a regular and sound footing, and the public made aware of the use to which it is to be put. I hope on the next occasion I have to address you that Dr. Gaster and I will not have any reason to allude to this peril.

A note has been put in my hand while I have been mentioning the illustrious dead: "Did I forget to allude to Sir William Hunter?" You will perhaps recollect that immediately after that sad news reached us, at one of our General Meetings, I expressed my sense of the great loss which Orientalism had suffered by the death of Sir William Hunter. I need not tell you that I am prepared to repeat what I said on that occasion as to how much I felt his loss personally. His death deprived the study of the history of India of one of its most eminent writers.

There is one very pleasing duty which still is incumbent on me. Probably no one is more aware of Professor Rhys Davids's services than I am, because no one relies more on his assistance than I do. I ask you to acknowledge the energy and the skill with which our valued Secretary discharges his duties to this Society. One of the most important works that this Society undertakes is the Journal, and its success is due entirely to Professor Rhys Davids and to the magnetism which he exercises on the contributors to the Journal. They have so great a belief in his powers of

editing the Journal that we are never without matter, and very often we have to reject articles which we should be glad to print. During the absence of Professor Rhys Davids—and we were all delighted that he could enjoy that holiday, if holiday it was, because I need not tell you how active he was and how successful his travels have been—Dr. Codrington has discharged the Secretary's duties with the greatest care. As to Miss Hughes, I can only repeat what I have said on many previous occasions—and I am sure that Professor Rhys Davids would say the same—that I do not know how we should get on without her. Whenever anyone comes here and wants to know anything about the Society, she is always ready to give information and to attend to our needs. I hope that our next Annual Meeting will be held under more favourable circumstances as regards India, and that we shall be able to congratulate ourselves on the fact that India has recovered from those two great calamities—famine and plague. We know what an extraordinary recuperative power India displays. I hope also that the list of departed illustrious Oriental scholars will not be so large a one as it has been on this occasion.

I beg to ask you whether you will agree to the adoption of the Report as printed.

(Carried unanimously.)

*Professor Rhys Davids:* I have been asked by Mr. Wollaston, who is not here, to move in his name that the Council have just considered it expedient that a new edition of our rules should be prepared; and he has been asked to lay before this meeting the proposal that Dr. Thornton, Dr. Codrington, Mr. Brandreth, and Mr. Wollaston should be the Committee appointed to prepare such new edition and report to the next anniversary meeting of the Society.

Seconded by Dr. Cust. (Carried.)

Professor Rhys Davids then read the draft of a deed which had been drawn up for the permanent administration of the Medal Fund. The draft was duly agreed to.

*June 22.*—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Mond,  
Mrs. Bullock Workman, and  
Mr. W. W. Skeat

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames read a paper entitled "Some New Gandhāra Sculptures," illustrated by lantern slides. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Sir Martin Conway, Professor Bendall, Dr. Hoey, and the Secretary took part.

## II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band liii, Heft 4.

Burkhard (K. F.). Maḥmūd Jāmī's Yūsuf Zulaikhā romantisches Gedicht in Kashmiri-Sprache.

Barth (J.). Die Casusreste im Hebräischen.

Aufrecht (Th.). Über das Alter von Bhāskaraṛāya oder Bhāsurānandatīrtha, Sohn von Gambhīraṛāya Dīkshita.

Burnstein (L. H.). Maschallah, eine Bemerkung zu der im Fihrist 1, 273, gegebenen Deutung seiner hebräischen Namensform Mišā.

Goldziher (I.). Die Šu'ūbijja unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien.

Jacob (Dr. G.). Bekri Mustafa, ein türkisches Hajāl-spiel aus Brussa.

Spiegelberg (W.). Eine Vermutung über den Ursprung des Namens מריה.

Aufrecht (Th.). Über Šeṣa.

Goldziher (I.). Über eine Formel in der jüdischen Responsenlitteratur und in den muhammedanischen Fetwās.

Weissbach (F. H.). Die geographische Liste in R 50.

Böhlingk (O. v.). Über die mit 'Erde' und 'tragend' zusammengesetzten Wörter für 'Berg' im Sanskrit.

# CONTENTS OF 'FOREIGN' ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

- Schlögl (P. Nivard). Das Alphabet des Siraciden.  
 Praetorius (Fr.). Päsöq.  
 Bacher (W.). Bemerkungen.  
 Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik des rituellen Sūtras.  
 Hurgronje (C. Snouck). Berichtigung.  
 Schulthess (F.). Christlich Palastinisches.

## Band liv, Heft 1.

- Praetorius (F.). Zu Winckler's Aufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift, Bd. liii, 525.  
 ——— Sabaisch "Person."  
 ——— Zum christlich palastinischen Evangeliar.  
 Wolff (M.). Analekten.  
 Goldschmied (Dr. L.). Zur Chronologie der Königsbücher.  
 Steinschneider (M.). Sahl ben Bischr: Sahl al-Tabari und Ali b. Sahl.  
 Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.  
 Goettsberger (Dr. J.). Zur Erklärung des syrischen Tiernamens ܬܝܪܢܐ.  
 Aufrecht (Th.). Neue Erwerbungen aus Bombay.  
 Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.  
 Brooks (E. W.). The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa.  
 Stackelberg (R. V.). Persica.  
 Ginsburger (Dr. M.). Aramaische Introduktionen zum Thargumvortrag an Festtagen.  
 Hüsing (G.). Anmerkungen zur iranischen Namenkunde.  
 Reckendorf (H.). Artikelhafter Gebrauch des Personal Pronomens im Semitischen und Verwandtes.

## II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série ix, Tome xv, No. 1.

- Grenard (M.). La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire.  
 Weill (M. R.). L'Art de la fortification dans la haute antiquité égyptienne.  
 Aymonier (M. E.). Les inscriptions du Bakan et la grande inscription d'Angkov Val.

## III. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xiv, Nos. 1, 2.

Lehmann (C. F.). Von der deutschen armenischen Expedition.

Böhtlingk (O.). Kritische Beiträge.

Winternitz (M.). Genesis des Mahābhārata.

Rhodokanakis (N.). Über zwei zu al-Madina gesehene Sonnenfinsternisse.

Mahler (Ed.). Ueber zwei zu al-Madina gesehene Sonnenfinsternisse.

Oaland (W.). Ueber das Vaitānasūtra und die Stellung des Brahman im Vedischen Opfer.

Kühnert (F.). Zur Kenntniss der chinesischen Musik.

Müller (D. H.). Textkritische Glossen zu den Proverbien, Cap. 23 und 24.

## III. OBITUARY NOTICE.

*William Frederic Sinclair.*

We regret to have to record the death of Mr. W. F. Sinclair, late Bombay Civil Service, on the 15th of May, in his 52nd year.

He was the son of Mr. William Sinclair, D.L., of Holly Hill, County Tyrone, and, after education at the Armagh Royal School, was appointed to the Indian Civil Service in 1866, and arrived at Bombay in 1868. He served through the usual course of grades in the Civil Administrative Ranks, until he became a Senior Collector in 1890 and was appointed to Thana. After holding that post until 1894 he came home and retired. It was whilst acting as Collector and Forest Settlement Officer of the Kolaba District in the eighties that Mr. Sinclair probably did his best work. Here he was in his right place: fond of the sea and all that is in or upon it, an ardent naturalist and student of flora and fauna, and with a lively interest in the hardy seafaring people of the coast, he became more than is usually the case personified



with that district, and there seemed to be nothing about the people, their languages and customs, about the trees and the birds and fishes, of which he had not some, if not full, knowledge. Amongst sailors, European and native, his work in connection with the Alibag lifeboats was well known and appreciated.

Sir James M. Campbell, K.C.I.E., who knew him well, is good enough to send the following notes:—"When Mr. Sinclair was Collector of Kolaba, that is, the coast to the south of Bombay Harbour, the occurrence of more than one wreck showed that, in spite of the improved lighting of the entrance to Bombay, mistakes in dark stormy weather might still occur. The lifeboat and staff of Koli boatmen, which about twenty years before had more than once rendered good service, were maintained in little more than in name. Mr. Sinclair succeeded, mainly by gifts of his own and from his friends, in having an efficient lifeboat built and arrangements for the crew set in order. Mr. Sinclair was much attached to the Kolis, or local fishermen, whose skill and courage as seamen have been the admiration of most officers of the District who have been fond of the sea. With the help of the Kolis he worked at the subject of the salt-water fish of the District with such success as to send one of the best collections to the Fishery Exhibition in London. Besides of fish, Mr. Sinclair had a good knowledge of the animals, especially of the birds, of the parts of Western India in which he served. He was also fond of forest work, and was well acquainted with the forest trees of the Bombay Presidency.

"Place and personal names was a favourite study. On these subjects, and on caste and the daily life, religion, and customs of the Hindus of many portions of Western India, his knowledge was accurate and remarkable. On many of these subjects Mr. Sinclair contributed interesting and useful papers to the *Indian Antiquary* and other journals. Caves and old temples he studied with zeal, and made, perhaps, the most valuable district notes both for Khandesh and for Kolaba of the series which was afterwards embodied in the

'Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency,' compiled by Dr. J. Burgess. Mr. Sinclair's writings did much to increase the knowledge regarding the Hemādpanthi temples and the Ahir or Gauli dynasty of Khandesh. In writing, as in talk, Mr. Sinclair had a homely and humorous way of regarding all subjects which interested him. His style was clear and effective; and for a writer almost cut off from books he had an unusual command of slang or technique of many subjects on which he wrote."

In a notice of Mr. Sinclair in the *Times of India* the writer says: "He had two hobbies. One was the lifeboat which he was instrumental in providing for Alibag, and which has been a blessing to the seafaring population along the coast. The other—and no bad hobby either—was the people of his district. Mr. Sinclair might best be described as a survival into our own days of the district officer of an earlier generation, who was more at home amongst his people than amongst his office files, trusting them and winning their trust, and knowing them better and caring more for them than the loquacious politicians who called him an alien, and pretended that they alone understood the ryot and his wants. It seems but the other day that he was ruling the Kolaba and afterwards the Thana District with a benevolent despotism which the people liked more perhaps than the Government."

Mr. Sinclair became a member of our Society in 1877, and sent several communications to the Journal. Many will feel his loss as of one to whom they could refer for information on many subjects with certainty of a ready and useful reply.

During the last few months Mr. Sinclair was occupied much in translating and editing, in conjunction with Mr. Donald Ferguson, the "Travels of Pedro Teixeira" for the Hakluyt Society.

## IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

DR ALEXANDER DE KEGL requests us to publish the following additions and corrections to his communication printed above at p. 140:—

ADD :

After the first line of the poem :

رندان ولا ابالی و عمار آمدیم خور شد ذره وار چرخست گرد ما

"As drunkards, licentious fellows, and cheats have we come.  
Like unto the atoms in the sunbeam our dust is encircling thee."

In the first line طال is a misprint for هلال ; in the second, سوار is for سیوار .

CORRECT :

In the translation (p. 141), instead of "We have come as the heroes of the mighty, powerful Creator," I would have it now "We have come to go around by the order of the powerful Creator."

Instead of "We have come as the mind and soul of the turning sphere," is to be read "As a soul have we come behind the turning vault."

"When it had become a curtain to us, the sun and the moon of the soul," is more correctly rendered by "When our star had become the moon and sun of the soul."

"FACTS AND FANCIES ABOUT JAVA," by Augusta de Wit (London : Luzac, 1899), is the title of a chatty and readable volume, with illustrations, on the social life and customs of this interesting island. There is nothing very new in this little work, which does not rise above the level of a traveller's account of his experiences. But it gives a number of interesting details and descriptions.

FROM St. Petersburg comes the news of the death, on Thursday, May 10th, of the veteran Professor W. Wassiljew (Vasil'ev), many years Professor of Chinese in the University and member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Wassiljew's great work on Buddhism was written as long ago as 1856, but, being founded on original Tibetan and Chinese authorities, it retains its importance. This was translated into French and German. Amongst the chief of his other works are "History and Antiquities of the Eastern portion of Central Asia" (1857), "Mohammedan Movement in China" (1867), Manchurian Chrestomathy and Dictionary (1863-66), and "Materials for a History of Chinese Literature" (1887). Wassiljew was born in 1818 at Nijni Novgorod.—From the *Athenæum*.

AN interesting literary discovery is announced from Calcutta. Pandit Haraprasāda Śāstri, of Presidency College, has recently received from Nepul a copy of a Sanskrit poem called "Rāmapālacarita." This narrates in the same words (*more indico*) by an elaborate chain of *double entendre* the exploits of the mythical hero Rāma and of Rāmapāla, a member of the last Buddhist dynasty of India, who reigned in Bengal at the end of the eleventh century A.D. The discovery should prove to be of special value, as the Pālas are known only from a few inscriptions and colophons of MSS. and from scanty notices in Mohammedan chroniclers, mention of them in Indian literature having been as yet entirely wanting.—From the *Athenæum*.

## Royal Asiatic Society.

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### GOLD MEDAL FUND.

IN 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and to meet the expense contributions were invited from those interested in the scheme.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the Journal for July, 1898.

The subscriptions (including interest on deposits) amounted to £338 15s. 10d., and the disbursements (including cost of die) to £91 5s. 10d., leaving a balance (after providing the Medal for the present year) of £247 10s. 0d., of which amount £215 6s. 0d. was expended in the purchase of £200 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock (a Trustee Stock), and there is therefore a sum in hand of £32 4s. 0d. The amount invested forms the nucleus of an Endowment Fund; but as it is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year, the annual income required will be about £8. To produce this another £100 Stock must be purchased, and the deficiency is therefore about £70.

It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the Summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

Contributions, which will be acknowledged in the Society's Journal, will be received by the Secretary, or the Chairman of the Committee of the Medal Fund.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

*Chairman of Committee.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.  
June, 1900.



## THIRD LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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WE have much pleasure in announcing that the Medal has been awarded to Dr. E. W. West, in recognition of his distinguished services to historical research in the field of Zoroastrianism. The presentation will be made on behalf of the Society by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House on July 11th at 11.30.



V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

*Presented by the India Office.*

Forrest (G. W.). Index to the Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat. Marátha Series, vol. i, parts 1-3 ; and Home Series, vols. i and ii.

4to. *Bombay*, 1899.

Portman (M. V.). A History of our Relations with the Andamans. Two vols.

4to. *Calcutta*, 1899.

*Presented by the German Government.*

Berlin Royal Library, Catalogue of MSS Vols. xxii and xxiii.

4to. *Berlin*, 1899.

*Presented by the Author.*

Kumaraswami Aiyar (T. S). Vélapuri, or a Peep into the Past of Vellore. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Vellore*, 1900.

Cust (R. N.). Linguistic and Oriental Essays. Series 2-5. 8vo. *London*, 1887-1898.

Edmunds (A. J.). A Dialogue on Former Existence between Gotamo and his Monks. Part i Pamphlet. 8vo. *Philadelphia*, 1899.

Dieterici (Dr. F.). Der Musterstaat von Alfārābī aus dem Arabischen ubertragen. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1900.

Bobrinski (Count A.). Ornaments of the Jajiks of Darwaz, Bokhara. Fol. *Moscow*, 1900.

Sankaranarayana (P.). Telugu-English Dictionary. 8vo. *Madras*, 1900.

*Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.*

Bilgrami (Syed Ali). A Short Guide to the Cave-Temples of Elura. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Madras*, 1898.

*Presented by Dr. Cust.*

"Pro Finlandia."

Fol. 1899.

*Presented by Professor Fausbøll (the editor).*

Dhammapada, edited a second time with a literal Latin translation and notes. 8vo. London, 1900.

*Presented by the British and Foreign Bible Society.*

Weitbrecht (Dr. H. U.). The Urdu New Testament, a history of its language and its versions. 8vo. London, 1900.

*Presented by the Consul for Japan in London.*

Masayoshi (Count Matsukata). Report on the Adoption of the Gold Standard in Japan. 8vo. Tokio, 1899.

*Presented by the Publishers.*

Harlez (C. de). Kong Tze Kia-Yu: Les Entretiens familiers de Confucius traduits. 8vo. Paris, Louvain, 1899.

Eggeling (Dr. J.). Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Part V, Books xi-xiv (S.B.E., vol. xlv). 8vo. Oxford, 1900.

Thimm (C. A.). Arabic Self-taught (Syrian). Third edition. 8vo. London.

Neumann (Dr. K. E.). Die Reden Gotamo Buddhō's aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pali-Kanons. Bd. ii, Lief. 2. 8vo. Leipzig, 1900.

Macdonell (A. A.). History of Sanskrit Literature. 8vo. London, 1900.

Becker (C. H.). Ibn Ġauzī's Manāqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azīz besprochen und im Auszuge mitgeteilt. 8vo. Berlin, 1900.

De Wit (Augusta). Facts and Fancies about Java. 8vo. London, 1900.

Brown (R.), Jun. Researches into the Origin of the Primitive Constellations of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Babylonians. Vol. ii. 8vo. London, 1900.

Nallino (C. A.). L'Arabo parlato in Egitto. 8vo. Milano, 1900.

Bonelli (L.). Elementi di Grammatica Turca Osmanli. 8vo. Milano, 1900.

*Purchased.*

- Soheichl (Dr. F.). Der Buddhismus und die Duldung.  
Pamphlet. 8vo. *Lein*, 1899.  
Dahlmann (J.). Das Altindische Volkstum und seine  
Bedeutung für die Gesellschaftskunde.  
8vo. *Köln*, 1899.

*Presented by the Editors.*

- Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in  
the Taylor-Schechter Collection. Edited by Agnes S.  
Lewis and Margaret D. Gibson. 8vo. *London*, 1900.
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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with  
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

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THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

## II.

### ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit; elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ک . . . . k	آ . . . . a
ب . . . . b	ل . . . . l	ی . . . . i
ت . . . . t	م . . . . m	و . . . . u
ث . . . . <u>t</u> or <u>th</u>	ن . . . . n	
ج . . . . <u>j</u> or <u>dj</u>	و . . . . <u>w</u> or <u>v</u>	DIPHTHONGS.
ح . . . . h	ه . . . . h	آی . . . . ai
خ . . . . <u>h</u> or <u>kh</u>	ی . . . . y	آو . . . . au
د . . . . d		wasla . . . . '—
ذ . . . . <u>d</u> or <u>dh</u>	VOWELS.	hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>
ر . . . . r	ا . . . . a	silent t . . . . h
ز . . . . z	ی . . . . i	letter not pronounced . . . . —
	و . . . . u	

### ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ . . . . p	ک when pronounced as g . . . . k	پ or ت . . . . t	ت . . . . <u>ts</u>
چ . . . . <u>c</u> or <u>ch</u>		ج or د . . . . d	ج . . . . <u>g</u>
ژ . . . . <u>z</u> or <u>zh</u>	گ . . . . <u>ñ</u>	ز or ر . . . . r	ز . . . . <u>ñ</u>
گ . . . . g			پ . . . . <u>ksh</u>
پ . . . . z			
ز . . . . z			

# I.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . . a	ओ . . . . . o	उ . . . . . u	ब . . . . . b
आ . . . . . d	औ . . . . . au	ऊ . . . . . th	भ . . . . . bh
इ . . . . . i	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . d	म . . . . . m
ई . . . . . ī	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . dh	य . . . . . y
उ . . . . . u	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
ऊ . . . . . ū	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ए . . . . . e	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ऐ . . . . . ai	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ

◌ (Anusvāra) . . . . . m	◌ (Avagraha) . . . . . ’
◌ (Anundsika) . . . . . ṁ	◌ (Udātta) . . . . . ˆ
◌ (Visarga) . . . . . ḥ	◌ (Soarita) . . . . . ˜
◌ (Jihvāmūlīya) . . . . . ḥ	◌ (Anudātta) . . . . . ˘
◌ (Upadhmanīya) . . . . . ḥ	





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OF THE  
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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. XXIV.—“*The Twelve Dreams of Sehachî.*”

By M. GASPER.

AMONG the tales that make up the well-known Kalilah and Dimnah cycle, or the Fables of Bidpai, there is one which has a history of its own. In the Syriac version published by Bickell, probably the oldest text available, it is called the “Gate of Bilar” (German translation, p. 93 ff.). In the Arabic recension, and in the Syriac which rests upon it, it is called similarly, “The Story of the Wise Bilar.” A full account of this text, together with an English rendering, has been given by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer (“Kalilah and Dimnah,” Cambridge, 1885, p. xxxi ff., 219 ff., and notes p. 301 ff.). By referring the reader to these “notes” I can dispense with any lengthy discourse on the history of this chapter within the frame of the Pañchatantra. In one form or another it has travelled, together with the rest of the book, from one country to another, always forming an integral portion of it. The curious point about this chapter is, that hitherto no Sanscrit text of it has as yet come to light. The reason assigned for its disappearance has been, that it is of a pronounced Buddhist character and that a humiliating position is given to the Brahmins in this tale. The Brahmins, not being able to modify it by some

slight eliminations, have suppressed it entirely. To Schiefner is due the merit of discovering a Tibetan counterpart of it, thus making the Indian origin and Buddhist character of the tale perfectly clear.

The discovery of this independent Tibetan version is of special value, for apart from the fact that it proves a Buddhist origin, it shows conclusively that this tale circulated also independently of the book. I have often contended in my folkloristic studies, that single tales have been detached from larger collections and have led a distinct and separate life of their own. Some enjoyed greater popularity and spread much farther than the others which remained in the collection and travelled only with it. They developed often in a strange way, being more directly subjected to the operation of popular imagination. They were adapted to suit local or temporal purposes, and were treated similar to the old apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical writings. They were made to serve dogmatic purposes when this was the requirement of the hour, and had to submit to strange transformations. None, e.g., is more curious than the change which created a "Barlaam and Josaphat" legend. Christian elements were introduced and gave the Buddhist Jataka the character of one of the *Vitae Sanctorum*.

The same has happened to the chapter of the Panchatantra which I intend investigating in connection with the publication of the Rumanian version from an unique, though modern, manuscript. It will become evident that this tale must have been taken up at a very early period, by the same agency which transformed Buddha into Barlaam, and subjected to a similar transformation. For it is now a tale with a distinct eschatological tendency, whose purpose is to be a premonitory warning of the "End of Days." The individual element has disappeared. The dreams seen by the king are no longer portents of coming good or evil as far as he personally is concerned, but warnings to the world on the things that are to be expected on the approaching period of the Last Days before the final Judgment takes place. From the time of the Sibyllinian

Oracles onwards more than one vaticination describing coming events appear in the Byzantine literature. They are mostly of Oriental origin, and are ascribed either to the prophet Daniel or to Bishop Methodius of Patara, to Leon the Philosopher, and to others (v. Krummbacher, "Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte," 2nd ed., p. 628 f.). These prophecies were introduced into other writings of a similar character, especially into descriptions of dreams. Nothing could serve the purpose of telling the future better than to connect them with dreams, which play so important a rôle in the Bible. The transition was therefore easy from a Buddhist series of dreams, and their personal interpretation, to a Christian similar series of dreams, but with a Christian eschatological interpretation. The framework was retained as the best vehicle for transmission; the miraculous and mysterious is always sure to appeal to the people, only the interpretation had to be changed to make this non-Christian book thoroughly orthodox.

Following the example of Barlaam, we must look out for a Syriac and Greek text of these dreams, but none has yet been discovered. It may be that the attention now directed to this legend will help to stimulate a new search and will bring eventually such texts to light. Hitherto the "Dreams" were known only in Russia. Professor A. N. Vesselofsky, than whom there is no more competent scholar in that direction, has devoted a special study to the "Twelve Dreams of Shuhaisha," as they are called in Slavonic ("Slovo o dvênadtzati snahñ Shahaishi," St. Petersburg, 1879). With his usual thoroughness he not only published a critical edition of a fifteenth-century text, but he goes into minute details concerning the history of this text, and the influence it has exercised upon Russian and mediæval European literature. He finds traces of these dreams in the cycle of Solomonic legends, in the Quest of the Graal by Chrestien de Troyes, in other romances, and also in popular Russian tales. These dreams exist in Slavonic in at least two redactions, one a more modern and more enlarged in its eschatological element, found among the "Raskolniki,"

the general term used for heretical sects in Russia, and another somewhat shorter and evidently older. In both we find, however, already traces of the Prophecies of Methodius of Patara, one of the old Slavonic apocryphal books, and a remarkable similarity with the Tibetan version, inasmuch as this also partakes of the eschatological character in the interpretation of the dreams. In these Slavono-Russian MSS., of which a fairly good number is known, the name of the king is called, with slight variations, "Shahaisha," and the philosopher who interprets the dreams, "Mamer." Professor Vesselofsky sees in the former the Persian "Shahinsha," "the Emperor," and finds "Mamer" in "Mor-olf," "Memer-olt" of the old German legend of Solomon (pp. 21, 22); and he concludes that the tale, for which no parallels are found in European literature, must have come to Russia straight from Asia, the same way as the tale of the Judge "Shemyakin," whose peculiar cases and judgments sound like riddles. They form part of the Shylock cycle, and have been treated by me in my "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sagen und Märchenkunde," 1883, p. 16 ff.

But a Slavonic text of the fifteenth century, though not yet found among the Southern Slavs, is of greater antiquity than anything yet which has been proved to be due in Russian directly to Oriental sources. The stories of Shemyakin are comparatively modern, whilst all the texts of a somewhat religious character rest ultimately on Byzantine originals. Whether these are forthcoming or not is merely a matter of chance. The negative argument that none are known to exist can at any time be upset by the discovery of such a missing text. We have a case in point in the story of Ahikar and another in this very tale of the Dreams; for the discovery of a Rumanian text sets all doubts at rest. The old apocryphal Rumanian literature is based almost exclusively on South and Old Slavonic originals, which, as remarked, in their turn point to Greek sources. I had suspected the existence of a Rumanian version from a curt note of the late Canonicus



Cipariu (*Gaster*, "Liter. pop. romana," p. 58), but short of seeing the MS. in question the surmise, based only on the title, could not be changed into a positive fact. Since the death of the owner the MS. has disappeared; may be it is now the property of the Rumanian Academy of Science and hidden away in their cellars, which have become the catacombs of Rumanian literature. Fortunately I learned from the Rev. Canonieus Voileanu, of Sibiu, in Transylvania, that he possessed a number of MSS. written in the last century by his forefather Voileanu, and with a liberality which it is a privilege to acknowledge here, placed them all at my disposal. Among these I discovered also the text of the twelve dreams, written in the year 1786. As all the MSS. written by Voileanu have proved to be copies of much older texts, I have no hesitancy to recognize in the present text a copy of a much older manuscript. In many places it is evidently corrupt. By comparing it with the old and with the more recent Slavonic, both published by Vesselofsky (*loc. cit.*, pp. 4-13), the absolute similarity cannot be gainsaid. They are clearly derived from one old text common to all, which had its origin among the Slavonians of the South.

The Rumanian text is the shortest of the three, and in many instances more archaic even than the fifteenth-century Slavonic version. Noteworthy among the differences is the name of the king, who is called in Rumanian "Sehachi," without a trace of the other form "Shahai-shah," due no doubt to later popular etymology. With the disappearance of this Persian form disappears also one of the most potent arguments of Professor Vesselofsky for the immediate Oriental origin of the Russian versions. I see further in the name "Mamer," the philosopher, a corruption from the Syriac form "Bilar," due by careless writing of the letters *b* and *l* in Syriac, or to the Byzantine transliteration  $\mu\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho = Mpilar$ . A glance at K. Falconer's table (p. 303) will show how profoundly the names have been changed in the various versions of the Panchatantra.

The following is a faithful translation from the unique

MS. of the Rumanian version, to which I have appended a carefully transliterated copy of the MS. written originally by Voileanu, with the old Slavonic letters in use in Rumania up to fifty years ago. The text has become a mystical treatise, and is called :

*A teaching concerning the End of Days.*

"In a place called Vaihon there ruled a king called Sehachi. He once dreamed in a night twelve dreams, and there was none who could interpret them to him, until at last they found a man, by name Mamer, who was a great scholar and a philosopher. So he went to the king and said: 'My lord Sehachi, these dreams do not portend any evil concerning thee, but God has shown thee what will happen at the end of days. Tell me, then, what hast thou seen in thy first dream.' And the king replied: 'I have seen a golden pillar reaching from earth to heaven.' And Mamer replied: 'When the last days approach much evil will there be in the world. In that time justice will disappear and good thoughts, and no one will utter goodly words, only vile, and the old will become dotards, and all will fall into grave sins and not repent. There will be many famines, and the autumn will last all through the winter, and the winter will be prolonged beyond the middle of the summer; men will sow at all seasons, and one seed-time will miss the other (i.e. none will be at the proper time); they will sow much and reap little. At that time children will not respect their parents, and they will marry near relations (within the forbidden degrees), they will not beware of sin, and harlots will have children, not knowing who their fathers are. At that time kings and princes will act violently towards the poor. Many will forsake their faith and embrace another. The sun will get darkened, and the moon will not shine, the days will be short, and many signs will be seen. Priests will not be distinguishable from laymen, they will tell lies, and truth and justice will perish. This dream is an example for all!'

"The philosopher said : 'How was the second dream which thou didst dream, O king?' And the king said : 'I saw a woman holding in her hand a towel that reached from heaven to earth.' And the philosopher said : 'When the last days will be near the people will forsake their true faith and will begin to hold another, and no one will think of worshipping God. They will refuse to have any intercourse with their poor relations, and they will pass their time with strangers.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the third dream which thou didst dream?' And the king replied : 'I saw three kettles boiling over a big fire, one filled with fat, the other with water, and the third with oil, some of the fat was running into the oil and some of the oil into the fat, but none fell into the water, which boiled by itself alone.' The philosopher replied : 'At the end of days men will plant villages in places where such villages had never been thought of before, and at one end of the village a rich man will live and at the other another rich man, and all the poor will live in the middle. And the one rich man will invite the other to feast with him, but he will ignore all the poor, even if there be a brother among them. All will be hypocrites, they will neglect their own relations, they will hate their parents and brothers and love only the wife's family. Women will leave their husbands and will run away with other men. Old women will marry young men and old men will marry young girls, for then shame will have disappeared from among men, and there will not be found a single pure woman.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the fourth dream which thou didst dream?' And the king replied : 'I saw an old mare chewing some hay and the foal neighing within its belly.' The philosopher replied : 'When the end of days approaches mothers will act immodestly and join their daughters with strangers with whom they will closet them, and they will be shameless.'

"And the philosopher said : 'How was the fifth dream which thou didst see?' And the king said : 'I saw a bitch

lying in a pond and the puppies were barking within her belly.' And the philosopher replied: 'During the last days fathers will teach their sons properly, but the sons will not listen, and will say, "You have grown old and have lost your senses, and you do not know what you are talking about"; and the parents will be put to shame, and will keep silent.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the sixth dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a large number of priests standing in a mire up to their necks.' The philosopher replied: 'At the time of the end of days the priests will teach the people God's word, but they themselves will not observe it, and will only be gathering riches to themselves, and by this they will bring their souls to the everlasting fire.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the seventh dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a beautiful horse with two heads, with one in front and the other at the back; with the first it fed upon the grass and with the second it drank water.' And the philosopher replied: 'When the end of days comes near they will deliver wrong judgment, accepting bribery, and the bishops will appoint ignorant priests—a thing which ought not to happen—only because they will be paid for it. There will be many priests, but few good among them; they will have neither fear of God, nor shame of men, and will not think that they will go down to the torment of hell.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How was the eighth dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw a quantity of pearls strewn upon the face of the earth, and fire fell from heaven and burned everything.' And the philosopher replied: 'At the end of days all will become traders, and the rich will make the poor out to be liars, and will take away by wrong means everything from the poor; by so doing they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the ninth dream?' And Sehacha said: 'I saw a large number of people working together in one spot.' And Mamer replied: 'At the end of days men will bring their riches

and put into other people's keeping. They will receive them with love, but when they will be asked to return the riches they will deny it, and say: "We do not know what you ask for, nor that you have left anything with us," even when the people will claim their property under oath. For doing which they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the tenth dream which thou didst see?' And the king replied: 'I saw a large number of men and women standing together upon the earth.' And the philosopher said: 'At the end of days people will practise trickery, and will pride themselves on it; by so doing they will lose their souls.'

"And the philosopher said: 'How about the eleventh dream?' And the king replied: 'I saw men wearing beautiful flowers on their heads.' And the philosopher said: 'At the end of days men will be slanderers and misers and libertines, and no word of truth will be found among them; brother will be cruel to brother, and if a poor man says anything wise they will all laugh at him, but if a rich man says however stupid a thing all will exclaim, "Hark! that great man is speaking," and all will say, "The master speaks well." For thus they will go to the torment of hell.'

"And Mamer said: 'How about the twelfth dream which thou didst see?' And he replied: 'I saw a multitude of men with terrible eyes, and with wild (hard) hair, with nails like eagle's claws, and with long legs.' And Mamer said: 'At the end of days the rich will strangle the poor, and the poor will say, "Happy those that have died before us, for they have not fallen upon such evil days."'

"Mamer, the philosopher, made then his obeisance before the king and said: 'I am the servant of you all, and I say again to you, my lord, that there will be great trouble at the end of days.'"

Thus far the Rumanian version. The interpretation, in which the Rumanian agrees in the main with the Slavonic version, does apparently not fit in with the dreams. The

incongruity between the image, as given by the dream, and the interpretation, which ought to show some similarity, can only be explained by the distance of time which separates us from the original form. In the course of transmission the interpretation, no longer corresponding with any actual need or not answering any longer any immediate dogmatic purpose, may have been changed almost beyond recognition. An intimate connection between dream and interpretation must have existed originally. The Tibetan version shows it clearly. In the change from a Buddhist to a Christian tale the eschatological character has been profoundly modified, and we can now only here and there find a trace of this connection. May be the dreams have also been somewhat curtailed, which would increase the difficulty of recognizing the relation between symbol and interpretation. Older Greek and Oriental texts alone will solve satisfactorily this problem.

*Inrădătură la vrémă de apoi.*

Fost-au într-o cetate ce să kema Vuihon un împărat ce-l kema Sehaci, și au văzut într'o noapte 12 visuri, și nu să afla nime să le dezlêge, dară aflară un om ce-i era numele : Mamer, și era cărturari mare și filosof. Dêcă mersă la împăratul, zisă : dîmne Sehaci ! visele tale nu ți-s de rău, ci dîmnezău au arătat ție ce va să fie la vrémă de apoi. Ce-m spune visu dintăi cum l-ai văzut ? Zisă împăratul : Văzui un stâlp de aur din pămînt până la ceriu sta. Zisă Mamer : când va veni vrémă de apoi, mult rău va fi preste toată lumê, și într'acêi vrême va peri dreptatê și gândurile cêle bune, și cuvinte dîmnezăesti nime nu va grăi, ce tot drăcești ; și bătrânii vor fi în minte pruncască, și toți oameni vor cădê în păcate grêle și nu să vor pocăi. Și vor fi adêse ori foameți, și va băga toamna în iarna, iară iarna va fi până în miază-vară ; și vor sămăna oameni de toate sămînțâlê (!), și sămînță păuă la sămînță nu va ajunge ; multe vor sămăna oameni dar puțin vor secera. Intr'acêa vrême fecori nu vor cinesi pre părinți săi, și nêam aproape să vor lua, de păcate nu vor gâdi, și curvele vor face prunci, și nu vor ști cine

le easte tată. Intr'acela vreme dîmni și bovari vor luora fără-de-lêge cu mișei, și mulți oameni vor lăsa lîgă lor și alta vor apuca a ține. Atuncē soarele să va întineca, și luna nu-și va da lumina sa, zilele să vor mici, și multe seamne să vor arăta. Iară popii nu să vor cunoaște din oameni cei proști, ce vor fi mincinoși. Dereptatē și adovărul va peri. Aceasta-i un vis de pildă la toți.

Iară al doilē vis zisă filosoful, cum l-ai (văzut?) înpărate? Și zisă înpăratul: Văzuu o mucare țindu o mănăstergură din ceri pînă în pămînt spanzurată. Și zisă filosoful: când va veni vrēmē de apoi lîgē dirēptă vor lăsa și alta vor apuca a ținē, și toți oameni la slujba lui Dîmnezău nu vor gîndi, și de nēm̃ul său cel mișel să vor lepăda, și cu streini vor petrēce.

Și iară zisă filosoful: al treilē vis cum l-ai văzut? Și zisă înpăratul: Văzuu 3 cîldări ferbînd într'o pară de foc, într'una era său, într'alta era apă, într'alta era unt, și sārē din său în unt și din unt în său, iară în apă nu cādē, ce ferbe de sine. Zisă filosoful: când va veni vrēmē de apoi oameni vor face sate pe unde n'au mai fost sate, și într'un cap de sat va fi un bogat, și în cela cap de sat va fi alt bogat, în mijloc vor fi săraci; deci bogatul va chema pre bogat de-l va ospăta, iară pre cei mișei nu vor vedē macar i-ar fi frate. Și toți oameni vor fi fățarnici, nu-și vor căuta de nēm̃ul său, ce-și vor ură părinți și frați, și-ș vor îndrăgi nēm̃ul mueri-și. Mueri is vor lăsa băbați și vor fugi cu alți, și muerilē bătrāne să vor mār̃ita după cei tineri, și oameni bătrāni vor lua fēte, cā atunci nu va fi rușine în oameni; și nice o mucare nu va fi bună.

Iară zisă filosoful: al patrulē vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă înpăratul: văzuu o iapă bătrānă unde rodē niște fân iară mănzul rānceza dintr'ānsa. Iară zisă filosoful: când va veni vrēmē de apoi își va votri muma la fată să o mār̃ite, și o va închide cu altul în casă și să vor înpresura (!), și de nime nu să vor rușina.

Iară zisă filosoful: al cincilē vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă înpăratul: văzuu o cātē într'un lac zăcānd iar cāțai lătra dintr'ānsa. Iară zisă filosoful: la vrēmē de apoi atunci va

învăța părintele pre fechor bine; iară fechori nu-i vor asculta, ce vor zice, înbătrânit-ați și mintă v-ați pierdut și nu știți ce grați, iară părinții să vor rușina și vor tăce.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 6 vis cum l-ai văzut. Zisă împăratul: văzui preoți mulți într'o tină până în grumazi. Zisă filosoful: la vrémê de apoi învăța-vor preoți pre oameni în lîgê lui Dîmnezău, iăra ei cu sine nu o vor ține, ce vor aduna avuții multe, și cu acêea își vor băga sufletelê în focul nestins.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 7 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui un cal frumos unde avê 2 capete, unul dinaintê, altul dinapoi, cu cel dinainte păștê, iară cu cel dinapoi be apă. Zisă filosoful: când va veni vrémê de apoi atunci va judeca cu strâmbul pentru plată, și, vlădici vor pune popi săi și fără de carte, care nu s-are cădê, numai pentru plata; și mulți popi vor fi, iară puțini buni și drepti. De Dîmnezău nu le va fi frică, nici de oameni rușine, și nu-și vor aduce aminte că vor mêrge în munca iadului.

Iară zisă: al optulê vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui preste toată lumê mult mărgăritariu vărsat pre pământ, și căzu foc din ceriu și ară tot. Și zisă filosoful: la vrémê de apoi atunci toți oameni vor fi negoțitori, și cei bogați vor face mincinoși pre cei săraci, și vor lua cu strâmbul de la cei mișai, și cu acêea își vor pêrde sufletul.

Iară zisă Mamer: al 9 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă Săhaicê: văzui lucrători mulți unde lucra într'un loc. Zisă Mamer: când va veni vrémê de apoi atunci vor duce oameni avuție la alți să o ție, și când o vor da, o vor primi cu drag, iară când va fi de alurê (*leg.* a o lua) o vor tăgădui și vor zice: nu știm (ce) ceri, și ce mîi dat; și cu jurămint va să o ea înapoi. Și pentru acêea își vor pêrde sufletele.

Iară zisă filosoful: al 10 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui mueri multe și bărbați unde sta pre pământ. Zisă filosoful: la vrémê de apoi vor unbla oameni tot în vicleșuguri și trufindu-să, și pentru acêea încă își vor pêrde sufletul.

Iară zisă Mamer: al 11 vis cum l-ai văzut? Zisă împăratul: văzui niște oameni purtând flori în cap foarte



frumoasă. Zisă filosoful : la vreme de apoi, fi-vor oameni acumpi și clevetitori și cu(r)vari, și vorbă drăptă nu să (va) afla, și frate cūtră frate nemilosiv va fi. Și de va grăi vre un mișul cuvânt înțelept, toți îl vor râde ; iară de va grăi vre un bogat v'un (cuvânt) și cam prost, toți vor zice : ascultați, ca grăește cel boeari . și toți vor zice . bine grăește dîmînul. Și pentru acêea vor mîerge în munca iadului.

Zisă Mamer : al 12 vis cum l-ai văzut ? Vazuiau mulți oameni cu ochi grozavi, și aspri la păr, și cu unghi de vultur, și cu picioare lungi. Iară zi-ă Mamer : când va fi vreme de apoi, bogați vor sugușa pre cei săraci, și vor zice saraci . ferice de cei ce muriră înaintē noastră de nu ajunsă (!) acēste zile rēle.

După acēea să închină Mamer filosoful înaintē împăratului și zisă : a tuturor sânt slugă acestora, ce spun mării tale, însă mult rău va fi atuncē în zilele cēle de apoi



ART. XXV.—*The Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*: by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. Summarized and partially translated by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

IN a recent number of the *Journal* (July, 1899, p. 671 seq.) I briefly described a manuscript, now in my possession, of the *Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*, and promised to give some further account of it at an early date. The work in question is mentioned by Sufadī<sup>1</sup> and probably, as I have shown,<sup>2</sup> by Hāji Khalifa. Dhahabī, in his list of Abū'l-'Alā's writings, includes it tacitly under the heading *dirāsu'l-rasā'id*, but he makes ample amends by setting it in the very forefront of his article on Abū'l-'Alā,<sup>3</sup> which begins:

احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان بن محمد بن سلمان بن احمد  
بن سليمان ابن داود بن المطهر بن زياد بن ربيعة ابو العلاء التنوخي  
المعترف اللغوي الشاعر المشهور صاحب التصانيف المشهورة والزبدة  
الماثورة له رسالة العمران في مجلدة قد احتوت على مزدكة واستخفاف  
ففيها ادب كثير

The *Risāla* will be looked for in vain in the catalogues of European libraries,<sup>4</sup> though copies of it may perchance lie buried, like so much else, in the East. Hence the following summary is necessarily based upon a single text. This must

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, ed Margoliouth, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *J.E.A.S.*, 1899, p. 671.

<sup>3</sup> *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 171 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Should not we read *رددة*? There is no mention of Mazdak and his doctrines in the *Risāla*.

<sup>5</sup> Margoliouth (Introd., p. 38) says "A work called *Forgiveness* would also appear to be in existence, and to be remarkable in character." This statement is now verified. I do not know Professor Margoliouth's reason for making it.

be considered a grave drawback, for, to quote the words of an eminent scholar, "everyone who has the smallest acquaintance with Arabic MSS. knows how numerous are the mistakes which even the better class of copyists are prone to commit."<sup>1</sup> The present MS. appears to be the work of three different hands. It is written, on the whole, with tolerable correctness and distinctness, except the last seventy or eighty pages, where one is continually reduced to more or less conjectural emendation. I do not say that a satisfactory text might not be established by a liberal expenditure of time and trouble. Those who have perused Abū'l-'Alā's correspondence, lately edited by Professor Margoliouth, will appreciate the difficulty of such a task even for one thoroughly at home in the bewildering desert of Arabic antiquities, poetry, and philology. The author's style, especially in the rhymed passages, is highly allusive and artificial, and I am not foolish enough to suppose that my failure to understand is always due to an illegible or corrupt text. It would, of course, be the business of a competent editor to investigate and clear up these obscurities, however trifling, and not to shrink from any labour and research involved. But as my aim just now is merely to give a general view of the contents of the *Risāla*, I have felt myself free to evade points of little or no importance that did not yield to the first attack.

After transcribing the Arabic text and making a rough translation, I found that the *Risāla* was divided into two parts, the former (pp. 4-123) mainly of literary and philological interest, the latter (pp. 124-219) embodying, along with much of the same kind, a somewhat discursive and anecdotal sketch of various heretics, freethinkers, false prophets, and pretenders to divinity, a race which has always flourished exceedingly within the titular boundaries of Islām. Abū'l-'Alā himself was branded with heresy in his lifetime, though the charge was never pushed *à outrance*. He was, in fact, more sceptic than heretic; there was

<sup>1</sup> W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, p. vi.

nothing positive in his heresy, unless we broaden the term so as to make it include vegetarians and upholders of cremation. Judged, however, by the Mohammedan rule of orthodoxy, which weighs "honest doubt" and total unbelief in the same balance and finds them equally wanting, Abū'l-'Alā could not complain if his attitude towards accepted truth set up a minatory wagging of pious beards. What he thinks, therefore—or rather, what he says—about men like Husain b. Mansūr, Ibnu'l-Rāwandī, Bushshār b. Burd, and others, while it cannot be regarded as finally significant of his real opinions, does at any rate afford the entertainment of a deft exhibition of skating over thin ice. It is needless to observe that the *Risāla* was in no sense a private and confidential document. Abū'l-'Alā often elucidates words and phrases which his learned correspondent must have known as he knew his A B C. The reason is quite obvious, and in one place Abū'l-'Alā expressly says (p. 124): "You are far from requiring such an explanation, but I fear that this letter may fall into the hands of a dull youth in his teens, and that the word, being strange to him, may form a shackle and bring him to a dead stop." An audience thus contemptuously anticipated was not likely to be favoured with dangerous confessions.

The citations of verse are numerous and not very accurate. In the first part of the *Risāla*, as the nature of the subject would lead us to expect, these are derived almost entirely from the ancient poets. Generally a few verses only are cited, but occasional longer pieces chequer the narrative. As regards the anonymous verses, I decided not to attempt a systematic pursuit, which must have resulted in "much cry and little wool," and though I have chanced upon some in the dictionaries, particularly in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, the number of missing authors is still considerable. Where the poet's name was mentioned, I turned to accessible editions or to the great anthologies. It seemed best, in a paper of this scope, to print only a small proportion of the verses cited, and in making a choice I have preferred, on the principle *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, either anonymous verses or those

which I was unable to find in the ordinary collections. Thus I have printed nearly all the verses of 'Adī b. Zaid, A'shā Kais, and Humaid b. Thaur, that are cited in the *Risāla*. Probably these extracts are in being elsewhere, but the *divāns* of 'Adī and Humaid are unknown, while al-A'shā's is preserved in a single manuscript in the Escurial.

I have never altered the manuscript reading (save in cases of mere carelessness) without noting the alteration. There are several places in which I suspect, and a few in which I feel sure, that the text as it stands cannot be right, but I have usually left it untouched. Scientific emendation in any given Arabic poem must follow the comparative method so admirably illustrated by Ahlwardt in his *Khalaf al-Aḥmar's Qasside*, that is to say, it must be grounded on a minute and exact knowledge of Arabic poetry. Possessing this knowledge, the critic can emend with a certainty that will hardly be attained in Latin or Greek, where he is not aided by the combination of precise detail and elaborate monotony which distinguishes the bards of the desert; not possessing it, he will, if he is wise, respect the written word.

For the vowel marks I am responsible; they are almost wholly absent from this MS.

The date of the *Risāla* is fixed at 424 A.H. by the following sentence, which occurs in a passage denying the possibility of prediction (p. 156):—

ولا يجوز أن يُخبر مُخْبِرٌ مَذ مائة سنة أن أمير حلب حرسها الله  
 في سنة أربع وعشرين وأربع مائة اسمه فلان بن فلان وصفته كذا فان  
 ادعى ذلك مُدَّعٍ فأنما هو متخَرِّصٌ كاذب

Other facts support this date. E.g. *Shiblu'l-Daula* is mentioned (p. 62) in a context which implies that he was governor of Halab at the time when the *Risāla* was written. Now *Shiblu'l-Daula* became governor in 420 and died in 429.

Concerning the person to whom the *Risāla* is addressed, *Abū'l-'Alā* gives us little information. His full name is

'Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ṭalīb al-Ḥalabī (p. 62), and his *kunya* Abū'l-Ḥasan (p. 123). He had travelled in 'Irāk and Egypt, and when Abū'l-'Alā wrote had recently arrived in Aleppo. Notwithstanding his advanced age it was rumoured that he contemplated marriage,<sup>1</sup> and Abū'l-'Alā, while recalling Khalīl's aphorism, that after sixty a man should beware of maids,<sup>2</sup> felicitates Aleppo on the prospect of numbering so renowned a scholar among her resident citizens. He had made the pilgrimage five times, which speaks well for his piety,<sup>3</sup> but was evidently a Bohemian at heart. His friend warns him that "it is time to repent," and compares him to Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, who was blamed for drinking wine, and retorted, "I will give it up when it becomes the greatest of my sins." On his learning Abū'l-'Alā lavishes a wealth of flowery panegyric, of which the following passage may serve as a specimen (p. 195):—

وإن تناسخت الأمم في العصور فهو على بن المنصور بالدى مدحه  
الجعفى فقال والتألى ونفى

<sup>1</sup> It does not appear whether this was the Shaikh's first venture in matrimony, or what Dr Johnson calls "the triumph of hope over experience." No argument can be drawn from the *kunya*, as it may have been a complimentary title.

<sup>2</sup> p. 170, إذا بلغ الرجل الستين فإياه وإيا الشوات

<sup>3</sup> Abū'l-'Alā, however, lets fall a remark which is not without significance even if it is merely facetious (p. 201):

وليت شعري أمارا اهل أم مفتردا وأرجوان لا تكون لقبته بمكة  
شهلة تعرض عليه فتيا ابن عباس تحلف ما بها من باس فتذكر قول  
القائل

قالت وقد طُئْتُ سُبْحًا حول كعبتها  
هل لك يا شيخ في فتيا ابن عباس  
هل لك في رخصة الأطراف ناعمو  
نفسى فجيئك حتى مصدر الناس

<sup>4</sup> I.e. al-Mutanabbī (De Sacy, *Choix de poésies*, iii, 33). This couplet is in Diesterici's edition, p. 175.

فِي رَتْبِهِ حَجَبُ الْوَرَى عَنْ نِيلِهَا  
وَعَلَا فُسْطُوهُ عَلَى الْحَاجِبَا

حَجَبُ طُلَّابِ الْاَدَبِ عَنْ تِلْكَ الرُّتْبَةِ وَنَزَلَ بِالشَّامِخَةِ اِلَّا الْعُتْبَةَ  
وَاَمَّا الْعُلَمَاءُ الَّذِيْنَ لَقِيَهُمْ فَاولُئِكَ مَصَابِيحُ النَّاجِيَةِ وَكَوَاكِبُ الدَّاجِيَةِ  
وَإِنَّ فِي النَّظَرِ إِلَيْهِمْ لَشَرْقًا فَكَيْفَ بِمَنْ اغْتَرَفَ مِنْ كُلِّ بَحْرِ وَجَدَ غُرْفًا  
وَإِنَّمَا اَقُولُ ذَلِكَ عَلَى الْاِقْتِصَارِ وَلَعَلَّهُ قَدْ نَزَفَ بِحَارِهِمُ بِالْعِلْمِ وَالْفَهْمِ  
وَفَتَحُوا لَهُ اَغْلَاقَ الْبَيْمِ [وَالْبَيْمِ] جَمَعَ بِهَيْمَةٍ وَهُوَ الْاَمْرُ الَّذِي لَا يَهْتَدِي لَهُ  
فَأَخَذَ عَنِ الْكُتَّانِيِّ<sup>1</sup> سُورَ التَّنْزِيلِ وَفَازَ بِثَوَابٍ جَزِيلٍ فَكَأَنَّمَا لَقْنَهُ آيَاتُ  
الرَّسُولِ وَبَدَوْنَ تِلْكَ الدَّرَجَةَ يَبْلُغُ السُّؤُولُ<sup>2</sup> أَوْ اخَذَهَا عَنْ جَبْرِيلَ بَلَا<sup>3</sup>  
غَيْرِ وَلَا تَبْدِيلَ وَسَهَّلُوا لَهُ مَا صَعِبَ مِنْ حَبَالِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ فَصَارَتْ حَزُونَ<sup>4</sup>  
كِتَابٍ سَيَبْرِيهِ عِنْدَهُ كَالْدِمَاطِ وَغْنَى فِي اللَّحْمِ عَنْ رُكُوبِ الْاَرِمَاتِ

<sup>1</sup> MS. الكُتَّانِيُّ. Al-Kattānī, who was Ibn Ḥazm's master in logic, and died after 400 A.H., is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (De Slane's translation, vol. ii, p. 268), but there is no reason to suppose that he is the person meant. In my MS. *Shadharātu'l-Iḥḥab* (see J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 911), under the year 331 A.H., I find:

وَفِيهَا أَبُو عَلِيٍّ حَسَنُ بْنُ سَعْدِ بْنِ اَدْرِيسَ الْحَافِظُ الْكُتَّابِيُّ الْقُرْطُبِيُّ  
قَالَ ابْنُ نَاصِرٍ الدِّينِ كَانَ مِنَ الْمُحْفَظَاتِ الصَّالِحِينَ لَكِنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ بِالضَّابِطِ  
الْمَتِينِ وَقَالَ فِي الْعَبْرِ سَمِعَ مِنْ نَتَّى بْنِ مَخْلَدٍ بِسَنَدٍ وَبِمَعْرِفَةٍ مِنْ أَبِي  
يَزِيدَ الْقُرَاطِيْسِيِّ وَبِالْيَمَنِ مِنْ اسْحَقِ الدَّبَرْتِ وَبِمَكَّةَ وَبَغْدَادَ وَكَانَ فَقِيهًا  
مُفْتِيًا صَالِحًا عَاشَ ثَمَانِيًا وَثَمَانِينَ سَنَةً

The phrases in the *Risāla*, however, would seem to imply that 'Ali b. Manṣūr was actually a pupil of the individual in question, not merely a student of his writings.

<sup>2</sup> MS. السُّؤُولُ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. فَلَا.

<sup>4</sup> MS. حَزُونَ.



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 He is borne triumphantly on a throne of gold to his pavilion in Paradise (122-123).

On p. 1, besides the autograph of J. Shakespear (presumably the well-known Orientalist) and the name of a former owner, يوسف ابن المرحوم زين الدين المصرى (P) الحلبي, we read "Treatise on Moral Subjects"—a description that was probably drawn at a venture. P. 2 is blank. P. 3 gives the title,<sup>1</sup> under which is written the following enigma in verse<sup>2</sup> :—

يا صاحب فطنة ودرك وبقين  
 ما ذو عدد يفوق ضعف الخمسين

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 671.

<sup>2</sup> The metre is *dū bait* (Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 441), one of the common metres of the Persian *rubā'ī*. I should not have attempted to discover the solution of this puzzle, which would probably baffle any European ingenuity, but I have come upon a note of my grandfather recording the answer suggested by Aḥmad Fāris, author of the *Jādis 'alā'l-Kāma*, viz. that قهوة is the word. Its letters amount to 116. Deduct the last three, which make the sum of 16, and there remains ج, i.e. Mount Kāf, the Wonderful Mountain.

إِنْ تُحَذِّفُ مِنَ الْحَمَلَةِ دُونَ الْعَشْرَيْنِ  
إِنْ قُلْتَ نَذَا مُعْجِزَةٌ هُوَ مُبِينٌ

The MS. begins (p. 4):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَدْ عَلَّمَ الْحَمْرَ الَّذِي نُسِبَ إِلَيْهِ جَبْرِئِيلُ \*  
وَهُوَ فِي كُلِّ الْخَبَرَاتِ سَمَلٌ \* أَنْ فِي مَسْكَنِي حَمَاطُهُ \* مَا كَانَتْ قَطُّ  
أَفَابِيهِ \* وَلَا الْمَنَازِرَةَ بِهَا عَابِيهِ \* تَشْمُرُ مِنْ مَوَدَّةِ مَوْلَى الشَّيْخِ الْجَلِيلِ  
كَبَتِ اللَّهُ عَدُوَّهُ \* وَأَدَامَ رَوَاحَهُ إِلَى الْفَضْلِ وَغَدُوَّهُ \* مَا لَوْ حَمَلَتْهُ  
الْعَالِيَةَ مِنَ الشَّجَرِ لَدَسَّتْ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ غَصُونُهَا \* وَأُذِيَلَتْ مِنْ تِلْكَ  
الثَّمَرَةِ مَصُونُهَا \* وَالْحَمَاطَةُ ضَرَبَ مِنَ الشَّجَرِ يَفَالُ لَهَا إِذَا كَانَتْ رَطْبَةً  
بِأَفَانِيَةٍ فَإِذَا يَبَسَتْ فَهِيَ حَمَاطَةٌ قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ

إِذَا أُمُّ الْوَلِيدَةِ لَمْ تُطِغْنِي

حَنِيتُ لَهَا يَدِي بَقْضًا حَمَاطٍ

وَقُلْتُ لَهَا عَلَيْكَ بَنِي أَقْيَسٍ<sup>1</sup>

فَأَنْكَرَ غَيْرَ مُعْجَبٍ الشُّطَاطِ

وَتُوصَفُ الْحَمَاطَةُ بِأَلْفِ الْهَيْتَاتِ لَهَا قَالَ

أَتَبَحَّ لَهُ \* وَكَانَ أَخَا عِيَالٍ

شَجَاعٌ فِي الْحَمَاطَةِ مُسْتَكِنٌ

وَأَنَّ الْحَمَاطَةَ الَّتِي فِي مَقَرِّي لَأَجِدُ مِنَ الشُّوقِ حَمَاطُهُ \* لَيْسَتْ

بِالْمَصَادِفَةِ لِمَاطِهِ \* وَالْحَمَاطَةُ حُرْقَةُ الْقَلْبِ قَالَ

رَمَتْ حَمَاطَةٌ قَلْبِي غَيْرَ مُنْصَرِفٍ

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "Begone to your own tribe." The Banū Zuhair b. Aklā, a subdivision of 'Ukl, are mentioned in *Aghani*, xix, 158.

<sup>2</sup> MS. لَهَا .

Proceeding in this strain Abū'l-'Alā plays on the double meaning of حِصْب, (a) a kind of serpent, (b) the core of the heart; then, varying the metaphor, he says (p. 5) :

وَأَنْ فِي مَنْزِلِي لِأَسْوَدَ هُوَ اعْزَ عَلَيَّ مِنْ عُنْتَرَةٍ عَلَى زَيْبِهِ \* وَأَكْرَمَ  
عَلَيَّ مِنَ السُّلَيْكِ عِنْدَ السُّلْكِهِ \* وَاحَقَّ بَايَارِي مِنْ خُفَافِ السُّلَمَى  
بِخُفَايَا نَدْبِهِ

After mentioning several persons named Aswad or Suwaid, and quoting verses by al-Yashkuri (Hārith b. al-Hilliza),<sup>3</sup> Imru'u'l-Kais,<sup>3</sup> and Suwaid b. al-Sumai,<sup>4</sup> he continues: [P. 7] "I have received your letter, which is 'a swollen sea'<sup>5</sup> of wisdom, and confers on those who read it a future reward, for it enjoins submission to the law, and blames such as sacrifice the root for the branch. I plunged in the o'erflowing billows of its elegant diction and admired the setting of its brilliant gems. The like of it intercedes and avails and brings near to God and exalts. I found that it was introduced by a *Magnificat* (مُحَمِّد) that could not have issued save from one distinguished for eloquence . . . .

<sup>3</sup> Name of the poet's mother, who was an Abyssinian slave. Sulaka and Nadba were the mothers of Sulaik and Khulāt. Ahlwardt (*Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 51 seq.) gives a list of thirteen

"أغربة العرب."

<sup>3</sup> *Mu'allaka*, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Ahlwardt, *The Dirāna*, xiv, 3.

<sup>5</sup> إِذَا طَلَبُوا مَعِيَ الْيَمِينَ مَا حَتَمَ (عَطِيتُهُمْ (v).

يَمِينًا كَبُرَ الْأَحْمَى الْمَمْرِي (الْمَخْرِي (v).

وَأِنْ أَحْلَفُونِي بِالطَّلَاقِ أَتَيْتُهَا

عَلَى حِينٍ مَا كُنَّا وَلَمْ نَتَفَرَّقِ

وَأِنْ أَحْلَفُونِي بِالْعَتَاقِ فَقَدْ دَرَى

عَبِيدٌ غَلَامِي أَنَّهُ غَيْرُ مُعْتَقِي

<sup>6</sup> Kor., lii, 8.

And perchance, if God please, on account of this laudation there has been planted for your honour in Paradise a grove, whereof every tree comprehends the whole world from East to West in its far-spreading shade . . . .

[P. 8] In the shadow of this grove, which is described as a gift of Allah to 'Alī b. Mansūr, reserved for him until the day of Judgment, are boys of Paradise, sitting and standing; at its foot flow rivers of the water of life; there are jugs of the wine celebrated by 'Alkama,<sup>1</sup>

'That heals the aching brow, and in the brain  
Creates no dizziness or feverish pain.'"

The mention of jugs (البارقي) recalls to the author a number of verses in which this word occurs: among the poets cited are Abū'l-Hindī,<sup>2</sup> Abū Zubaid,<sup>3</sup> Ibn Aḥmar,<sup>4</sup> 'Adī b. Zaid, al-Uḡaishir al-Asadī,<sup>5</sup> Iyās b. al-Aratt, and al-'Ajjūj. Speaking of 'Adī he says: "When I was in Baghdād, I saw a copyist (بعض الزّافين) inquiring about his poem, which begins: <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ahlwardt, *The Dirāsa*, xiii, 39.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Mu'min b. 'Abdu'l-Kuddūs b. Shabath b. Rib'ī. Two distichs are quoted. Both are in *Aghāni*, xxi, 277. The second alone is in *Kamil*, p. 463, l. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Aghāni*, xi, 24 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The verse quoted is.

تَقَلَّدَتْ إِرْبِقًا وَعَلَقَتْ جَعْبَةً

لِئْهَيْكَ حَيًّا ذَا رِهَاءٍ وَخَامِلٍ

<sup>5</sup> *Aghāni*, x, 84 sqq. Of him Abū'l-'Alā says:

أَنَّهُ مَتَى بَقَاشِرٌ \* وَشَقَى إِلَى يَوْمٍ حَاشِرٌ \* قَالَ وَلَعَلَّهُ سَيَنْدَمُ \* إِذَا

تَفَرَّى الْأَدَمُ

أَفْنَى تَلَادَى وَمَا جَمَعْتُ مِنْ نَشَبٍ

قَسَرَ الْقَوَاوِيرَ أَفْوَاهُ الْإِبَارِيقِ

The verse is quoted in *Agh.*, x, 96, with قَوَاوِيرَ for قَوَاوِيرَ.

<sup>6</sup> Cited in *Rasādatu'l-Adab* (Beirut, 1858), p. 220. According to *Ḥallatu'l-Kumūṣ* (Cairo, 1276 A.H.), p. 49, the verses were ascribed by Ḥammād al-Rāwiy to Tubba'a'n'l-Yamānī. The MS. reads الْمَازِلَاتِ and وَدَعَا.

[P. 10] بَكَرُ الْعَاذِلُونَ فِي غُلَسِ الصَّبْحِ يَقُولُونَ لِي أَلَا تَسْتَفِيقُ  
وَدَعُوا لِلصُّبُوحِ فَجْرًا فَبَجَاتٍ قَيْنَةً فِي يَمِينِهَا إِبْرِيْقُ

He asserted that Ibn Hājib al-Nu'mān<sup>1</sup> looked for this poem in 'Adī's divān, and it was not there. Afterwards I heard a man of Astarābād read the poem from the divān of the 'Ibādite, but it was wanting in the Library<sup>2</sup> copy."

[P. 12] "There are also rivers of clarified honey, 'not made by bees that haunt the flowers, nor hid in waxen cells,' but God Almighty said 'Be,' and it was. I would fain know whether Namir b. al-Taulab al-'Uklī was permitted to taste this honey. He would realize that, compared with it, the honey of the perishable world resembles colocynth. When he described Umm Hīṣn and the food she enjoyed in comfort and security (وَمَا رَزَقْتَهُ فِي الدَّعَةِ وَالْأَمَنِ), he mentioned white bread with fresh butter (خَوَّارَى بِسْمَنِ) and clarified honey. God have mercy on him now that he is dead, for he professed Islām and recited a tradition,<sup>3</sup> for which he is the sole authority (وَرَوَى حَدِيثًا وَاحِدًا مُفْرَدًا), and God is able to assuage our wounds. Poor Namir said:

الْمَ بِصَحْبَتِي وَهُمُ هُجُوعُ  
خِيَالٍ طَارِقٍ مِنْ أُمِّ حِصْنٍ  
لَهَا مَا تَشْتَهِي عَسَلًا مُصَفًّى  
إِذَا شَادَتْ وَخَوَّارَى بِسْمَنِ

You (may God make your glory perpetual!) are familiar with the story told of Khalaf al-Aḥmar and his friends concerning these verses, to the effect that he said: 'Suppose am had been substituted for ḥsn, how would the

<sup>1</sup> This is possibly a mistake for al-Hājib Abū'l-Husain b. al-Nu'mān, a savant of 'Irāq, mentioned in *Dumyātū'l-Ḳaḡr* (British Museum MS. Add. 9,994, f. 38e).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Academy of Sābār. See Margoliouth's Introduction to *The Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 24 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Aghāni*, xix, 158.

poet have rhymed it? As they made no answer, he said :  
'حَوَّارَى بِلْمَصْ,' *lamg* being synonymous with *al-adhahj*."

[P. 13] By way of "completing the story," Abū'l-'Alā goes through the whole alphabet and gives about forty variants, adding in most cases an explanation of the rhyme-word. Some of these glosses are here transcribed.

فان قال ام صمت جازان يقول وحَوَّارَى بَكَمَّتْ يعنى جمع  
كَمَمَّتْ وذلك من صفات التمر وَيُشَدُّ لَاسود بن يَغْفَرُ<sup>1</sup>

[P. 14] وكنت اذا ما قُرب الزاد مولعا  
بكل كميت جلدَه لم تَوَسَّفْ<sup>2</sup>

وقال الآخر<sup>3</sup>

ولست أبالي بعد ما آكمت<sup>4</sup> مريدى  
من السممر أن لا يعطر الأرض كوكب

فان اخرجه الى الجعم فقال من ام ليج جازان يقول حَوَّارَى بَدَجْ  
والدج الفروخ جاء به العماني<sup>5</sup> في رجزه فان خرج الى الحاء فقال  
ام شح جازان يقول وحَوَّارَى بَمَحْ وبَرَحْ وبَجَحْ وبَسَحْ فالبح مع  
البيضة وبَحْ جمع ابَحْ من قولهم كَسَّرَ ابَحْ اى كثير الذسم قال الشاعر  
وماذلو هبت على تلومنى<sup>6</sup>  
وفى كفها كسَّرَ ابَحْ ردوم

<sup>1</sup> *Aghāni*, xi, 134 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> So the MS. One naturally thinks of *تَوَسَّفَ* (*Safaf*, sub.) جلدَه, but this is out of the question unless جلد can be made feminine. Two distichs by al-Aswad in this metre and rhyme will be found in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> MS. الواحر.

<sup>4</sup> MS. اكمت.

<sup>5</sup> *Aghāni*, xvii, 78 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> This line is apparently imitated from *Sakhr* (*Kāmil*, p. 106, l. 17). Cf. 'Adī b. Zaid (cited in *Rasā'at'u'l-Adab*, p. 219):

وماذلو هبت بليل تلومنى  
فلما عَلمت فى اللوم قلت لها آقصدى

ويجوز ان يعنى بالبح القداح اى هذه المرأة أهلها ايسار كما قال  
السلمى<sup>1</sup>

قروا اضيافهم ربحا ببحر

يعيش بفضلهم الهى سمر

ورج جمع ارج وهو من صفات بقر الوحش اى يُصاد لهذه المرأة  
ويقال لاطلاف البقر الوحشى رج قال الاعشى الشاعر

[P. 15]

ورج بالزماح مرفعات

بها تنضو الوغى وبها تروى

والسح تمر صغار يابس والجمح صغار البطيخ قبل ان ينضج

فان قال ام غرض جاز ان يقول وحوارى بفرض والقرض ضرب من  
التمر قال الراجز<sup>2</sup>

اذا اكملت لبننا وقرضا

ذهبت طولا وذهبت عرضا

وفى نصب طول وعرض اختلاف بين المبرد وسيويه فان قال من  
ام لقط جاز ان يقول حوارى بأقط يريد أقط على اللغة الربيعية فان  
قال من ام حظ فان الاطعمة تنزل فيها الظاء كقلتها فى غيرها لان الظاء  
قليلة جدا ويجوز ان يقال حوارى بكظ اى يكظها الشبع ونحو ذلك  
من الاشياء التى تدخل على معنى الاحتيال

فان قال قائد ام مخف قال حوارى برخف والرخف زبد رقيق  
والواحدة رخفة قال الشاعر

لنا غنم يرمى النزىل حليبها

ورخف يغاديه لها وذبيح

<sup>1</sup> Khufāf b. Nadba. The verse is quoted by Lane under أبح.

<sup>2</sup> The verse is cited by Sibawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), vol. i, p. 70. He ascribes it to "a man of 'Umān."



[P. 17] After this digression, which, he says, عَرَفَ فِي قَوْلٍ, the author returns to his eulogy of the celestial honey, quoting Hārith b. Kalada :

فَمَا عَسَلُ بُمَارِدَ مَاءٍ مُزِنٍ  
عَلَى ظَمَأٍ لِسَارِهِ يُشَابُ  
بِأَشْهَى مِنْ لَفْتِكُمْ الْبِنَا  
كَفَيْتُ إِنْابَةً وَمَتَى الْإِيَابُ

Swimming in it are fish of *hilaica* that would have made Ahmad b. Husain<sup>1</sup> despise the gift referred to in his lines :

هَذِيثٌ مَا رَأَيْتُ مُهْدِيَهَا  
إِذْ رَأَيْتُ الْإِسَامَ فِي رَجُلٍ  
أَفَلْ مَا فِي أَفْلَها سَمَكٌ  
يَلْعَبُ فِي بَرَكَةٍ مِنَ الْعَسَلِ

"Methinks I see you," the author continues, "(may God perpetuate majesty by preserving your life !) in possession of the lofty rank that is due to veritable repentance, and surrounded by companions chosen from among the scholars of Paradise, such as the man of Thumāla and the man of Daus,<sup>2</sup> and Yūnus b. Habib al-Dabbī<sup>3</sup> and Ibn Mas'uda al-Mujāshī'i,<sup>4</sup> dwelling together in peace and amity like those of whom it is said : ' We will remove all malice from their

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the famous Badī'u'l-Zamān Ahmad b. al-Husain al-Hamadānī.

<sup>2</sup> كَأَخِي ثُمَالَةَ وَأَخِي دَوْسَ. One of these is probably the celebrated Khalīl b. Ahmad al-Azdi al-Farāhidī al-Yahmadī. He might be called either أَخُو ثُمَالَةَ (the Banū Thumāla belonged to the Banū Na'r b. Azd and were closely connected with the Banū Yahmad). The other may be Ibn Duraid, whose genealogy is traced by Ibn Khallikān to Daus b. 'Adnān.

<sup>3</sup> Brockelmann, i, 99.

<sup>4</sup> Sa'id b. Mas'ada, better known as al-Akhfash al-Ausaf (Brockelmann, i, 105).

bosoms, etc.'<sup>1</sup> And here is Aḥmad b. Yahyā,<sup>2</sup> his hatred [P. 19] of Muḥammad b. Yazīd<sup>3</sup> washed clean away; so sincere and perfect has their friendship become that they are inseparable by day and by night, like Mālik and 'Aḳīl, the companions of Jadhīma; and Abū Bishr 'Amr b. 'Uthmān Sibawaihi no longer bears in his heart a grudge against 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'i and his followers for their treatment of him in the assembly of the Barmakites;<sup>4</sup> and Abū 'Ubaida is on the best of terms with 'Abdū'l-Malik b. Kuraib:<sup>5</sup> nothing can disturb their intimacy . . . . And angels entered at every gate, to give the company greeting, and the situation of the Shaikh with his fellows (may God strengthen learning by his long life!) was like that depicted by the Bakrite:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kor., xv, 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab (Brockelmann, i, 118).

<sup>3</sup> The author of the *Kāmil*. A personal animosity existed between him and Tha'lab as contemporary leaders of the two great rival schools.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khallikān tells the story in his article on Sibawaihi. Cf. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Aḡma'i. A marginal note says:

فإن بين أبي عبيدة وبين الأصمعي منافرة شديدة نذكر طرفاً من ذلك قيل لأبي عبيدة أن الأصمعي قال بينما أباي سائر على فرسه فقال أبو عبيدة سبحان الله والله ما ملك أبوه قط دابة إلا فى زيقه يعنى القمل قال رجل لأبي عبيدة أن الأصمعي دعى قال كذبت لا يدعى أحد إلى اصمع وكان الأصمعي يسمى أبا عبيدة ابن الحائلة

<sup>6</sup> A'ahā Kais. These lines are in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 368. Variants: (1) مُتَكَنَّا (4) تَسْمَعُهُ. The following commentary is written on the margin of my MS. :—

سقيت قهوة لأنها تقي شاربها أى تذهب بشهوة الطعام قال ابن حبيب الراووق أنا والخمر والنخل الدائم الندى وقال أبو عبيدة الراووق والناجود ما يخرج من ثقب الدن قال أبو عمرو يعنى بالمستحبيب العود شبه صوته بصوت الصنج دعاه فاجابه وترجع

1. نَارُهُمْ تُصَبُّ الرِّيحَانِ مُزْنَفًا  
وَقَهْوَةٌ مُزَّةٌ رَاوَوْهَا حَصِيلُ
2. لَا يَسْتَفِيقُونَ مِنْهَا وَهَى رَاهِنَةٌ  
إِلَّا بِهَاتٍ وَإِنْ عُلُّوا وَإِنْ نُهِلُوا
3. يَسْعَى بِهَا ذَوْ جَا جَاتٍ لَهُ نَعْفُ  
مُتَغَلِّشٍ أَشْفَلُ السَّرْبَالِ مُغْتَمِلُ
4. وَمَسْتَجِبٌ لَصَوْتِ الصَّخْرِ يَسْمَعُهُ  
إِذَا تُرْجِعُ مِنَ التَّيْبَةِ الْفُضْلُ

And Abū 'Ubaida recounted to them the battles of the Arabs and the combats of the cavaliers, and al-Aṣma'i recited the most excellent poetry, and their souls were stirred to frolic, and they began to throw their flagons into the rivers of wine, and these flagons, when they clashed against each other, created melodies that might wake the dead. Then said the Shaikh: 'Alas for the fall of A'shū Maimūn! How many a safe-stepping camel did he urge to speed! [P. 20] I wish that the Kuraish had not prevented him when he turned to the Prophet. Just now the clash of these vessels reminded me of his verses in the poem rhymed in *h*:

1. وَشُمُولٍ مُحَسَّبِ الْعَيْنِ إِذَا  
صَفِيَّتْ جُنْدُهَا نَوَّرَ الدَّبْحُ<sup>1</sup>

والقيته عند العرب الأمة مغتية كانت أو غير مغتية وقال القينات  
الإماء المولدات قال الاصمعي كل عاملة عند العرب بجديدة قين  
والفعل فان يقين وهو تايين

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 394, with وَرَدَتْهَا instead of جُنْدُهَا.

2. مثل ربح المسك ذاك ربحها
- صَبَّهَا السَّاقِي إِذَا قِيلَ تَوَحَّ<sup>1</sup>
3. من زقاق<sup>2</sup> التَّجَرُّفِ بَاطِيَّةٌ
- جَوْنَةٌ جَارِيَةٌ ذَاتِ رَوْحٍ
4. ذَاتِ غَوْرٍ مَا تُبَالِي يَوْمَهَا
- غَرَفَ<sup>3</sup> الْإِبْرِيْقَ فِيهَا وَالْقَدَحَ
5. وَإِذَا مَا الرَّاحَ فِيهَا أَزِيدَتْ
- أَقْلَ الْإِزْبَانَ عَنْهَا فَمَصَحَ
6. وَإِذَا مَكَّوْكُهَا صَادَمَهُ
- جَانِبَاهَا كَرَفِيهَا فَسَبَحَ
7. فَتَرَامَتْ بَزْجَاجٍ مُعْمَلٍ
- يَخْلُفُ النَّازِحَ مِنْهَا مَا نَزَحَ<sup>4</sup>
8. وَإِذَا غَاضَتْ رَفَعْنَا زَيْنَا
- طَلَقَ الْأَوْدَاجَ فِيهَا فَتَسَفَّحَ

Had he professed Islām, he might have been of our company, reciting to us the poems, in strange metres, which

<sup>1</sup> I.e. تَوَحَّ = 'make haste!'

<sup>2</sup> MS. زَمَاق.

<sup>3</sup> MS. عَرَف.

<sup>4</sup> "And the wine-bowl conveyed from hand to hand long-used cups of glass (i.e. the drinkers filled their cups from it in turn, by means of the *إبريق*), while those who drew therefrom mixed their draught (with water)." This seems to be the sense, if the reading is correct. يَخْلُطُ بِالْمَاءِ = يَخْلُفُ.

But 'يَخْلُفُ', i.e. the wine is so powerful that those who draw (and drink) it are forced to swear they never did what they have just done. For تَرَامِي cf. al-A'zhā's verse cited by Lane under غَرَبَ.

he composed in the abode of sorrow, and informing us of what befell him with Haudha b. 'Alī and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail and Yazīd b. Mushir (مُشِير) and 'Alkama b. 'Ulātha and Salāma b. Dhī Fā'ish,<sup>1</sup> and others whom he eulogized or satirized.'

Now it occurred to the Shaikh to think of what in the perishable world is called recreation (التزهُة). He mounted a camel of turquoise and pearl, which resembled a flash of light as it threaded the hillocks of ambergris, and he raised his voice and quoted the lines of the Bakrite:

لَسْتُ شَعْرَى مَتَى نَحْتَ بِأَنْفَادِ حَوَّ الْعَذَابِ فَاتَّصِبُونَ<sup>2</sup> [P. 21]  
مُحِبِّبًا زُكْرَةً وَخَبَرًا وَحِبَابًا، وَطَعَةً مِنْ نُونِ

He heard a *hātif* asking, 'Do you know who made these verses?' 'Yes,' he replied, citing Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā as his authority, 'they are by Mammūn b. Kais b. Jandal, the man of Rabi'a (أَخِي رِبْعَةَ), who belonged to Sa'sa'a b. Kais b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukābu b. Sa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il.'<sup>3</sup> 'I am he,' said the *hātif*, 'God has forgiven me.' The Shaikh questioned him concerning the manner of his escape from Hell-fire, and al-A'shā related how he was being dragged away by the infernal police (الزبابة), when [P. 22] 'Alī approached and pulled them off, saying to him, 'What is your passport?' 'Thereupon,' said he, 'I repeated some verses of my poem in praise of Muḥammad,<sup>4</sup> of which the last is:

<sup>1</sup> In *Aghāni*, viii, 85, he is called Salāma Dhī Fā'ish.

<sup>2</sup> مَوْعِدٌ فِي شَعْرِ الْعَشَى (Yākūt, *Ma'aridul-Iḥṣā*).

<sup>3</sup> The author adds: يَعْنِي بِأَحْمَدَ حَرْزَةَ الْبَغْلِ.

<sup>4</sup> This genealogy varies slightly from that given by Dr Sacy, *Chrestomathy*, ii, 479 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Aghāni*, viii, 85; *Kāmil*, 90. Nine districts are cited. Abū'l-'Alā says: 'Al-Farrā is the sole authority for أَعَار in the sense of 'come to the low lands,' but if the verse is really by al-Ḍaḥḍā, he can only have meant *ighāra* as

نَبِيٌّ يَمُرُّ مَسَالًا لَثَرُونَ وَذَكَرَهُ  
أَعَارَ لَعْمَرِي فِي الْبِلَادِ وَالْجَدَا

[P. 23] 'And when I spoke this,' continued al-A'shā, addressing 'Alī, 'I believed in God and the final reckoning and the resurrection; witness my verses:

مِمَّا أَتَلَيْتُ عَلَى هَتَكِلِ  
سَاءَ وَصَلَّتْ فِيهِ وَصَارَا<sup>1</sup>  
كُرَاجُ مَنْ صَلَوَاتِ الْمَلِ  
كَ طَوْرًا حَمْدًا وَطَوْرًا جَوَارَا  
بَأْظَمَ مَكَ نَقَى فِي الْحَسَابِ  
أَمَّا السَّمَاوَاتُ نَقَضْنَ الْعَارَا

'Alī told the Prophet, who interceded for me, and I was admitted to Paradise on condition that I should drink no wine therein, for it is the rule that he who does not repent of wine-drinking in the world of illusion shall not drink it in the next'

Then the Shaikh let his eye wander over the fields of Paradise, and he saw two lofty pavilions, and said to himself, 'I will go and ask to whom they belong.' So he drew

the opposite of *myād* Al-Asma'ī gives two readings: (1) عدا عَدَوًا = أَعَارَ (2) he transposes and reads with *zādf*, عار في البلاد. Sa'id b Mas'ada read عار for أعار, making the verse *mahbūrūn* Cf Lane under غور.

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is cited by itself in Cheikho's *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 393, with أَتَلَيْتُ for أَتَلَيْتُ, and the following note

الْأَيْتَلَى الرَّاهِبَ فَمَاذَا أَنْ يَكُونَ أَعْجَمِيًّا وَأَمَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ قَدْ عَثَرَهُ يَا  
الْإِسَافَةَ وَقَتْلَ الْإِبِلِ صَاحِبَ الْمَافُوسِ الْخ

Two more couplets in the same metre and rhyme will be found *ibid.*, p. 381.

near, and on one was written, 'This is the pavilion of Zuhair b. Abi Sulmā al-Musani,' and on the other, 'This is the pavilion of 'Abid b. al-Abraq al-Asadi,' and he marvelled thereat, because these poets died in the Ignorance. He resolved to ask them how they had gained forgiveness, and began with Zuhair. And lo! he was a youth like Zuhri the Jinnīya, just as if he had never worn the [P. 24] garment of decrepitude, or sighed (تأفف) from weariness, or said in his poem rhymed in *m* :

سَمْتُ بِكَالَيْفِ الْعَمَادِ وَمَنْ يَعِشُ  
نَمَاسِنْ حَوْلًا لَا أَسَا لَكَ يَسَامُ<sup>1</sup>

'Come, come,' cried the Shaikh, 'are not you the father of Ka'b and Bujair? How were you pardoned? For you lived in the *Patra*, when men roamed without restraint and wrought all manner of mischief.' Zuhair answered: 'My soul abhorred unrighteousness, and I found a merciful Lord. I believed in God Almighty, and I saw, as in a dream, a rope let down from heaven, and those of the dwellers on earth who clung to it were saved. Now I knew this for a divine ordinance, so I enjoined my sons on my deathbed, saying: "If there shall arise one who calls you to serve God, obey him." Had I lived to Muḥammad's time, I should have been the first of believers, and I said in the *mimtya*:<sup>2</sup>

"Seek not to hide from God your secret soul;  
God knoweth whatsoe'er ye hide in vain,  
Whether 't is laid till Doomsday in a scroll,  
Stored up, or sudden vengeance promptly ta'en."

The Shaikh asked Zuhair if he was debarred from the pleasures of wine,<sup>3</sup> like A'shā Kais. 'No,' said he, 'it [P. 25] was prohibited after my death, and followers of the pre-Islamic prophets might drink it with impunity.' So

<sup>1</sup> Ahlwardt, *The Dirnas*, xvi, 47. Another verse on the same topic (xxix, 2, in Ahlwardt's Appendix) is quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dirnas*, xvi, 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> I, 31, 33 *ibid.* are cited in this connection.

the Shaikh invited him to drink and found him a witty companion . . . . On leaving Zuhair he went in search of 'Abīd b. al-Abras, who had been forgiven on account of his verse :<sup>1</sup>

من يسأل الناس يحرموه  
وسائل الله لا يخيب

The tale of Zuhair and 'Abīd inspired the Shaikh with good hope of the salvation of many other poets. He asked for [P. 26] 'Adī b. Zaid, and learned that his dwelling was close at hand. 'O Abū Sawāda,' said he, when 'Adī had satisfactorily explained his presence among the elect, 'won't you recite to me the poem rhymed in ʿ, <sup>2</sup> for it is one of the most original pieces in Arabic poetry ?' So 'Adī began :

1. أَبْلِغْ خَلِيلِي عَبْدَ هَنْدٍ فَلَا<sup>3</sup>  
زَلْتُ قَرِيبًا مِنْ سَوَادِ الْخُصُوصِ
2. مُوَازَى الْقُرَّةِ أَوْ دُونَهَا<sup>4</sup>  
غَمِيرَ بَعِيدٍ مِنْ غَمِيرِ اللَّصُوصِ<sup>5</sup>
3. تَجْنِي لَكَ الْكَمَاءَ رِبْعِيَّةَ<sup>6</sup>  
بِالنَّحْبِ بَنَدَى فِي أَمْوَالِ الْقَمِيصِ<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 607, where it is said that according to Ibnū'l-A'rābi the author of this verse is Yazid b. Dabba al-Thakafī.

<sup>2</sup> Eight disticha of this poem are cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 470, in the following order: 1, 2, 8, 4, 17, 5, 13, 11. They give some important variants, which I print below, using Ch. for brevity of reference.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. عند هندی.

<sup>4</sup> MS. القُرَّةِ أَوْ دَائِرِ الْقُرَّةِ. According to a note in Ch.: مَوَارَى الْفُتُورَةِ. وقيل القُرَّةُ وَغَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ قَرِيبَتَانِ مِنَ الْحِمِيرَةِ قَرِيبَتَانِ مِنَ الْقَادِسِيَّةِ

<sup>5</sup> In marg. غَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ قَطْرٌ بِالْحِمِيرَةِ. Ch. غَمِيرُ اللَّصُوصِ.

<sup>6</sup> MS. والرَّبْعِيَّةُ هِيَ أَوَّلُ مَا تَجْتَرُّ مِنَ النَّدَى. In marg. رِبْعِيَّة.

<sup>7</sup> In marg. والقَمِيصُ وَاحِدَتُهُ قَمِيصَةٌ هِيَ شَجَرَةٌ قَلَّ مَا يَكُونُ فِي. اصلها كَمَاءٌ وَالنَّحْبُ سَهْلٌ بَيْنَ حَزَنَيْنِ.



4. نَأْكُلُ مَا شِئْتَ وَتَعْتَلَهَا
- حَمْرَاءَ وَلُحُصٍ كُلَّوْنِ الْفُصُوصِ<sup>1</sup>
5. تُنْفُصُكَ الْحَبْلُ وَتَصْطَادُكَ آلُ<sup>2</sup>
- مَلْبُورٍ وَلَا تُنْكِعُ لِهَوِّ الْقَنِيصِ<sup>3</sup>
6. عُتِبْتَ عَنِّي عَبْدٌ فِي سَاعَةِ آلِ
- شَرٍّ وَجُتِبْتَ أَوَّانُ الْعَوِيصِ<sup>4</sup>
7. لَا تَنْسِينَ ذِكْرِي عَلَى لَدَةِ آلِ<sup>5</sup>
- كَاسٍ وَطَرَبٍ بِالْمَحْذُوفِ الْحَوْضِ<sup>6</sup>
8. أَنْكَ ذِرْعُهُ وَذُو مَصْدِي
- مُخَالَفًا هَذَى الْكَذُوبِ اللَّمُوضِ<sup>7</sup>
9. يَا عَبْدَ هَلْ تَذَكَّرْنِي سَاعَةً
- فِي مَوْكِبٍ أَوْ رَايِدًا لِلْفَنِيشِ
10. يَوْمًا مَعَ الرُّكْبِ إِذَا أَوْضَوْا<sup>8</sup>
- تُرْزَعُ فِيهِمْ مِنْ مَجَاءِ الْفُلُوضِ

<sup>1</sup> Ch. خَمْرًا مِنْ الْحُصِ.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. تَفْنُصُكَ.

<sup>3</sup> *In marg.* وَلَا تَنْكِعُ أَيْ لَا تَنْغَصُهُ وَابْعَ نَقَصَ. This boyt is supplied in the margin.

<sup>4</sup> *In marg.* وَالْعَوِيصُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَدِيدُهُ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. تَنْسِبِن.

<sup>6</sup> *In marg.* وَالْمَحْذُوفُ الْإِثَانُ السَّمِينَةُ وَالْحَوْضُ الْحَايِلُ الَّتِي لَمْ تَلْقَ.

See Koenigstein, *Carmina Hudaalitarum*, p. 168, last line, for another example of حَذُوف in this sense.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. مُخَالَفٌ عَهْدِ الْكَذُوبِ.

<sup>8</sup> *In marg.* الْمَوْفُصُ الْمَجْدُ فِي السَّيْرِ.

11. قَدْ يُذْرِكُ الْمُبْطِئُ مِنْ حَفْظِهِ  
وَالْخَيْرُ قَدْ يَسْبِقُ جَهْدَ الْحَرِيضِ<sup>1</sup>  
12. فَلَا يَزَلْ مَذْرِكُ فِي رَيْبِهِ<sup>2</sup>  
يَذْكَرُ مَتَى تَكْفَى أَوْ خُلُوصِ<sup>3</sup>  
13. يَا نَفْسُ أَتَبْقَى وَأَتَقَى شَتْمَ ذِي آلِ  
اعْرَاضٍ إِنْ الْجَلْمُ مَا إِنْ يَنْوُضُ<sup>4</sup>  
14. يَا لَيْتَ شَعْرَى وَإِنْ ذُو عَجْجِهِ<sup>5</sup>  
مَتَى أَرَى شَرِّتَنَا حَوَالِي أَصِيصِ<sup>6</sup>  
15. بَيْتِ جُلُوفٍ بَارِدٍ ظِلُّهُ<sup>7</sup>  
فِيهِ ظِلْبَاءٌ وَدَوَاخِيلُ خَوْضِ

<sup>1</sup> Ch. has: وَالْجَبْنُ قَدْ يَسْبِقُ جَهْدَ الْحَرِيضِ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. فَلَا يَزَالُ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. خُلُوصَى.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. (ar) وينوص يفتر ومنه قوله تعالى. *In marg.* الاعراض في غير نوص. *(Kor., xxxviii, 2)* معناه ليس بحين فرار وقيل  
وَلَا تَحِينُ مَنَاصِي. بمعنى يسبق.

<sup>5</sup> This verse is cited in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* under اصص. For وَأَنَا = وَإِنْ see below.  
Instead of ذُو عَجْجِهِ a marginal note in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* gives ذُو عَجْجِهِ.

<sup>6</sup> *In marg.* Jauhari explains اصص =  
كان يوضع ليجلوا فيه اذا اصل الدن، and we read in the margin that it  
شربوا.

<sup>7</sup> For the omission of the so-called وَائِزُ رَبِّ see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*,  
ii, 217. *In marg.* والجلوف الواحد جلف الوعاء الضخم والدن الضخم.  
MS. بادر ظله.

16. وَالرَّهِيصُ الْمَكْمُولُ أَرْدَائُهُ  
 يَهْشَى رُوَيْدًا كَتَوَقَّى الرَّهِيصُ<sup>1</sup>  
 17. يَنْفُخُ مِنْ أَرْدَاهِ الْمَشْكُ وَآلُ<sup>2</sup>  
 عَنَسَرُ وَالْقَسْوَى وَلَسَا قَفُوضُ<sup>3</sup>  
 18. وَالْمُشْرِفُ الْمَشْمُولُ نَسَقَى بِهِ<sup>4</sup>  
 أَتْخَصِرُ مِنْهُنَا بِمَاءِ الْخَرِيصِ<sup>5</sup>  
 19. ذَلِكَ حَيْرٌ مِنْ مَوْجٍ عَلَى آلٍ  
 بَابٌ وَمَنْدُتَيْنِ وَعُلَى قَرُوضُ<sup>6</sup>  
 20. أَوْ مَرَّتَقَا سَتِي عَلَى بَثِّي  
 أَذْكَرَ عَزْوِي دَى أَكَابِ قَمُوضِ  
 21. لَا يَشْمِنُ السَّيْعُ وَلَا يَحْمِلُ آلُ  
 رِدْفٍ وَلَا يُغَطِّي بِهِ قُلُوبُ خَوْصِ

<sup>1</sup> *In mare* الرهضة الذى اصابته الرهضة.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. ارداك.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. والهدئ والعار وكنتى قفوض.

<sup>4</sup> *In mare* والمشرف انا من الآية انى كانوا يشربون بها والمشمول  
 الصيب يقال للرجل اذا كان كريما لانه لمشمول

والمطموث الممسوس يقال قد غُمِثَتِ الفدح اذا احذته  
<sup>5</sup> *In mare* من مكانه الخريص الماء البارد والخريص جمع خريضة وهى السحابة  
 التى يجئ مطرها ثم تصت مئا شديدا حتى تقشر وجه الارض.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 'Adi's verses in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 464 seq.

أَبْلِغَا عَامِرًا وَأَبْلِغْ أَخَاهُ أَتْنَى مُوْتَقٍّ شَدِيدٌ وَنَاقِى  
 فِى حَدِيدِ الْقَسْطَاسِ يَرْقُبْنِى الْحَارِسُ وَالْمَرْءُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَلَاقِى

22. اَوْ مِنْ نُسُورِ حَوَّلَ مَسَوْتَى مَعَا  
يَاكُلْنَ لَحْمًا مِنْ طَرَفِ الْفَرِيضِ

'Bravo!' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'bravo! Had you been stagnant water, you would not have stunk.'<sup>1</sup> A scholar of Islām, known as Abū Bukr b. Duraid,<sup>2</sup> has composed a poem in this metre beginning :

يسعد ذو الجد ويشقى الحريض  
ليس لخلق عن فناء مميم

but you, Abū Sawāda, retain the merit of priority. I cannot, however, commend your verse :

يا ليت شعري وإن ذو عَجْو

Either you have *wasled* the *hamzatu'l-kaṭ'* and aggravated the offence by eliding the second *alif*, or you have "lightened"<sup>3</sup> the *hamza*, making it *baina baina*, and have then ventured to change it into pure *alif*. This, indeed, is a fine pass to which you have brought the normal usage,<sup>4</sup> though a similar instance occurs in the lines :

[P. 28] يقولون مهلاً ليس للشيخ عَجِلْ  
فها أنا قد أَعْيَلْتُ وإن رَقُبْ

If you had said

وليت شعري أنا ذو عَجْو

it would, in my opinion, have been better and more accordant with analogy.' 'Adī retorted that he only spoke as he

<sup>1</sup> أَخَسَّنْتَ أَخَسَّنْتَ لَوْ كُنْتَ الْمَاءَ الرَّاكَدَ لَمَا أَسْنَتَ , i.e., if you had continued your recitation, I should not have been displeased.

<sup>2</sup> MS. دِيرِيد.

<sup>3</sup> MS. حَقَّقَتْ. I read خَفَّفَتْ (see Freytag under بَيِّن).

<sup>4</sup> وحسبك بهذا أنقضاء للمادة.

heard his contemporaries doing, 'but you Moslems have invented many things of which we are ignorant.' The Shaikh was sorry that 'Adi did not understand his objection. 'And now,' said he, 'I am anxious to ask you about your distich quoted by Sibawaihi <sup>1</sup>

أَزَاجٌ مَوَدَّعٌ أَمْ نَكُورٌ  
أَنْتَ وَتَنْظُرُ لِأَيِّ حَالٍ تَصُرُ

Sibawaihi's explanation seems to me far-fetched, and I imagine that you did not construe the verse as he does.' 'Spare me these trifles,' cried 'Adi; 'in the perishable world I was a great hunter, and perhaps you have heard my verses : <sup>2</sup>

1. وَلَعَدَ اَعْدُو بَطْرِفِ زَانَهُ  
وَجْهَهُ مَرْوُوفٌ وَخَدُّهُ كَالْمِسْنِ
2. ذِي تَلَلٍ مُشْنِقِي قَايِدَةٍ  
يَسْرِفِي الْكَفَّ نَهْدِ ذِي عُسْنِ
3. مُدْأَمِجٍ كَالْفِدْحِ لَا عَيْبَ لَهُ  
فِيْرَى فِيهِ وَلَا صَدْعٌ أَبْنِ
4. رَمَاهُ الْبَارَى فَسَوَى دَرَاهِ  
عَمَزُ كَفَّيْهِ وَتَخْلِقُ السَّقْنِ
5. أَثَى تُغْرِ مَا يُخْصَفُ يُنْدَبُ لَهُ  
وَمَتَى يُخْطَلُ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ يُصْنِ
6. كَرِيبٌ <sup>3</sup> الْبَيْتِ يَفْرِى مَجْلَهُ  
طَاعَهُ الْغُصْنُ وَتَسْعِيرُ اللَّبْنِ

<sup>1</sup> Sibawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), vol. i, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to find either of the following poems elsewhere, but fourteen distichs in the metre and rhyme of the second are cited in *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 464 seq.

<sup>3</sup> MS. الرِّيبُ الْجَارِيَةُ, but in *marg.* كَرِيبٌ.

7. فَبَلَعْنَا مُنْعَهُ<sup>1</sup> حَتَّى شَتَا  
 نَاعِمَ الْبَالِ لَجُوجًا فِي السَّنَنِ  
 8. فَإِذَا جَالِ جِمَارٌ مُؤَشَّرٌ<sup>2</sup>  
 وَنِعَامٌ نَافِرٌ بَعْدَ عَيْنِ  
 9. شَاءَنَا ذُو مَيْعَةٍ<sup>3</sup> يُبْطِرُنَا<sup>4</sup>  
 حَمَرَ الْأَرْضِ وَتَقْدِيمَ الْجَنَنِ<sup>5</sup>  
 10. يَرَأْبُ الشَّدَّ بَسَحَ<sup>6</sup> مُرْتَسِلِ  
 كَأَحْتِفَالِ الْغَيْثِ بِالْمَرِّ الْيَفَنِ  
 11. أَتَسَلَ الذِّرْعَانَ<sup>7</sup> غَرَبَ خَذَمَ  
 وَعَلَا الرَّرَبَ أَزَمَ<sup>8</sup> لَمْ يُدَنَّ<sup>9</sup>  
 12. فَالذَّى يَمْسُكُهُ يَحْمَلُهُ  
 تَيْثُ كَالسَّيْدِ<sup>10</sup> مُمْتَدُّ الرَّسَنِ

<sup>1</sup> See Ahlwardt, *Khāṭaf al-Aḥmar's Qasīde*, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> MS. App. مؤَشَّرٌ . حِمَارٌ مُوَشَّرٌ . attenuatus (Freitag).

<sup>3</sup> This expression occurs in a verse of Iḥṣān al-Mu'tazz cited by Ahlwardt, *ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> *In marg.* وابطر عجل وابطرننا عجلنا وابطرنى عن حاجتى اعجلنى .

For the construction with accus. instead of with عن cf. ابطره جَلَمَهُ (Lane, *sub voc.*).

<sup>5</sup> *In marg.* والجنى ما غاب عنك والجنى بفتح الجيم الكفن .

<sup>6</sup> App. "gathers speed by running." Cf. Jauhari's explanation of مِسْحَ :

كَانَهُ يَصُبُّ الْجَرَى مَبًّا .

<sup>7</sup> MS. الدرعان اولاد البقر الواحدة درع . *In marg.* الدرعان .

<sup>8</sup> *In marg.* الازم الشدة , but here it seems to be = أَزَمَ .

<sup>9</sup> *In marg.* يدن يقف .

<sup>10</sup> See Ahlwardt, *Khāṭaf al-Aḥmar's Qasīde*, p. 210 seq.

13. وإذا نحن لدينا أربعم

يهتدى السائل عنا بالدخن

and my verses :

1. ومحمود قد أسحمر تناوير ككون الفهون في الأغلاي<sup>1</sup>
2. عن خريف سقاء نؤف من الدلو تدلى ولم توار<sup>2</sup> أعرافى
3. لم يعبه إلا أداحي<sup>3</sup> فتد وتر بغض الريال في الأفلاق<sup>4</sup>
4. وإران الشيران حؤل نعاج مطنلات يحمين بالأزواق
5. وتراهن كالأغرة في المحفل أو حين نعمة وآرتساق
6. قد تبطنه بكفى خراج<sup>5</sup> من الخيل فاضل في السياق
7. وله النجعة المرئ فجاه الركب عذلا بالنابى المخراق<sup>6</sup>
8. والنجذب<sup>7</sup> العارى الروايد<sup>8</sup> ملتحقان داني الدماغ<sup>9</sup> للمانى

Then 'Adi invited the Shaikh to engage in the chase, but the Shaikh answered that he was a man of peace and of the pen; if he mounted one of the celestial steeds, who would

<sup>1</sup> *In marg.* والاعلاق ما يعلق على الهودج.

<sup>2</sup> MS. توارى.

<sup>3</sup> MS. الأداخي.

<sup>4</sup> *In marg.* والأفلاق ما تفلق من البيض.

<sup>5</sup> MS. خراج. خروج. For the irregular use of مفعولن for فاعلاتن in a foot other than the last of the second *migrū*, see Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> MS. النابى المخراق and نجعة الرمل = النجعة. النامى المخراق is her mate, "the lowing wild-bull."

<sup>7</sup> MS. الجذب.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ahlwardt's note on عارى النساء, *Qasids*, p. 217 seq.

<sup>9</sup> MS. الدماغ.

secure him against the fate of Halam,<sup>1</sup> the husband of [P. 30] al-Mutajarrida,<sup>2</sup> when he rode the black horse (البحرور), or against what happened to the son of Zuhair,<sup>3</sup> when he fell from the courser Dhū'l-Mair and broke his neck, and to 'Adī's own son, 'Alkama, when he went a-hunting on horseback? 'I might be dashed upon the emerald stones, and fracture an arm or leg, and cut a ludicrous figure before the people.' 'Adī smiled, and assured the Shaikh that in Paradise such calamities were unknown. So they set off, and the Shaikh aimed his spear [P. 31] at a wild bull, which, however, he was induced to spare because it once had saved some believers in the desert. Presently they came on a man who was milking in a golden pail. Thus was Abū Dhū'aib, the Hudhalite. He quoted to them his lines :

[P. 32]      وَرَبُّ حَدِيثًا مِنْكَ لَوْ تَعْلَمِينَهُ  
                  جَتَى أَنَا حَلٍ فِي أَلْبَانِ عَوِيٍّ مُطَافِلٍ  
                  مُطَافِلٍ أَبْكَارٍ حَدِيثٍ نِتَاجِهَا  
                  تُشَابُ بِمَاءٍ مِثْلَ مَاءِ الْمَفَافِلِ

And when the pail was full of milk, God formed a hive of jewels, from which Abū Dhū'aib extracted the honey and tempered his milking and bade his visitors taste. 'T was a draught that, distributed among all the people of Hell, would have transported them to Paradise while they sipped !

Then the Shaikh said to 'Adī: 'There are two things in your poetry that I wish you had left unsaid. One is :<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. جَلَمًا.

<sup>2</sup> Her name is variously related as Māwīya or Hind. Halam was her first husband. She afterwards married Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.

<sup>3</sup> His name was Sālim. The story is told in *Aghāni*, ix, 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Aghāni*, ii, 42.

<sup>5</sup> MS. عَوِيٍّ.

<sup>6</sup> *Christian Arabic Poets*, p. 472, with يَفَرَى for يَفَرَى and الْجِيَان for



فَدَانِ يَمْرَى حُلَّةَ عَنْ سِرَاتِهِ  
يَبْدُ الرِّهَانِ فَاِرْهَا مُسْتَاِرِعَا

and the other :

فَلَبِثْتُ دَعْبَ "لَهْمَ عَنَى سَاعَةٍ  
فَنَمَسِي عَلَى مَا خُلِبْتُ نَاعِمِي بَالِ

'Adī replied in his 'Ilālī dialect :<sup>1</sup> '() thou whose broken [P. 33] fortunes have been repaired, the blessing bestowed on thee should turn thy mind from poetry.' 'Nay,' said he, 'I asked God not to deny me in Paradise the least of my earthly pleasures, and He has granted my prayer.'

Now he saw two youths walking to and fro<sup>2</sup> at the gate of a pavilion of pearl, and he gave them greeting. They were the two Nābighas, Nābigha of the Banū Dhubyān and Nābigha of the Banū Ja'da. 'You,' said the Shaikh, addressing Nābigha al-Ja'dī, 'are duly rewarded for having observed the religion of Abraham, but your case, O Abū Umāma, is beyond my comprehension.' 'Why,' said the Dhubyānī, 'I professed belief in God and made pilgrimages

يا مكبور بعد : زَيْتٌ مَا يَكِبُّ أَنْ يُشْفَكَ عَنْ الْقَرِيضِ<sup>1</sup> The author adds :

قوله يا مكبور يريد : محبور فعمل الجهم كاقا وهي لغة رديئة يستعملها  
اهل اليمن وجاء في نص الحاديث ان الحارث بن هاشم ابن ابي  
شمر بن جبلة الكندي آسنهم يوم ساباط فنادى يا حكر يا حكر يريد  
حجر بن عدى الدبر فعطف فاستنله ويكب في معنى يحجب

For the interchange of ج and ك cf. Dr. Riou, cited in Browne's *Pennan Catalogue*, p. 19. I cannot find any mention of Harth b. Hām', nor do I know what battle at Sābāt a village near Mada'in) is meant : possibly the engagement in which the Khārijite leader Mustaurid fell, 42 A. H. (Ibnū'l-Athīr, iii, 356 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> MS. يتخادبان. يتخادب is not in the dictionaries, and in view of the words immediately following (وكل واحد منهما على باب الخ) would seem to be more natural.

to the Ka'ba in the Ignorance. Have not you heard my verses?—<sup>1</sup>

Nay, by Him in whose House my feet have kept pilgrim's  
troth,  
And by the stones bespattered with sacred blood be my  
oath!

As I did not live to the Prophet's time, I cannot be accused of disobedience, and God pardons a great sin for a small merit.'

[P. 34] 'O Abū Sawāda,' cried the Shaikh, 'and Abū Umāma and Abū Lailā,<sup>2</sup> let us carouse together. What says our master, the 'Ibādite?—

أيها القلب تعلل بदन  
إن همى في سماء وأذن  
وشراب خسرواني إذا  
ذاقه الشايخ تغنى وآرجحن

Would that Abū Basīr<sup>3</sup> were with us!' The words were scarcely uttered ere Abū Basīr had made their party five. . . . Now when they had feasted and drunk their fill, the Shuikh said to Nābigħa Dhubyānī: 'O Abū Umāma, you are a man of sound judgment and wise, but you did not show wisdom in saying, with reference to Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir:<sup>4</sup>

"How fresh"—the Prince averred—"how sweet her lip!  
After one kiss, a second, then a third!  
Oh, such a mouth—'t was never mine to sip—  
Would slake a raging thirst"—the Prince averred.'

<sup>1</sup> *The Dirāns*, v, 37. Abū'l-'Alā reads حَجَّجَا قَدْ زُرْنَاهُ. v. 38, and xvii, 21, 22, are also quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Kunya* of Nābigħa al-Ja'dī.

<sup>3</sup> *Kunya* of A'ashā Kūis.

<sup>4</sup> *The Dirāns*, vii, 22-24, but Abū'l-'Alā omits the second *migrā* of 22 and the first *migrā* of 23. He reads بَرِيًّا رَيْقَهَا ببرد لثنتها for .

Nābigha rejoined: 'Had my critics treated me fairly, they would have recognized that I took the greatest possible precautions. Al-Nu'mān was infatuated with this woman, and when he ordered me to celebrate her in my poetry, I reflected and said to myself: "If I mention her by name, the king will be displeased, and if I only describe her in general terms, my description will be attached to some other woman, whereas, if I put it in the king's mouth, he will [P. 35] perceive that I have done so to prevent people from thinking that I actually saw what I describe." In the verses which follow those you have quoted the king recounts the lady's charms, and the verses beginning<sup>1</sup>

وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَ رَأَيْتَ قَمَرًا مُشْرِقًا

are also spoken by the king. Hence the proper reading is not رَأَيْتَ, as you tell me it is ordinarily read, but رَأَيْتُ, for the former, if it hints at a scandal (إِنْ نَسَبْتُمُوهُ إِلَى مُدَيَّةَ), is outrageous, and, if it refers to al-Nu'mān, is contemptuous and wanting in respect.' 'Admirable!' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'O star of the Banū Murra! Verily, the scholars among the *rāwis* have defamed you by a false reading. Would that the two Abū 'Umars<sup>2</sup> and al-Māzinī<sup>3</sup> and al-Shaibānī and Abū 'Ubaida and 'Abdu'l-Malik and the rest were here, that I might ask them in your presence how they read it. I wish you to know that I am not a forger or a liar.' Almost before these words were impressed on Nābigha's ear (فَلَا يَبْقَرُ هَذَا الْقَوْلَ فِي خُدَّيْ أَبِي أَمَامَةَ) God Almighty had brought thither all the above-mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 30. It is cited very incorrectly

<sup>2</sup> MS. أَبَوَيَّ عَمْرٍو. It is obvious to suppose that 9 has fallen out before the 9 immediately following, and that the true reading is أَبَوَيَّ عَمْرٍو, viz. Abū

'Amr b. al-'Alā and Abū 'Amr al-Shaibānī. But as al-Shaibānī is mentioned just afterwards, I retain the manuscript reading without feeling sure of its correctness. The two Abū 'Umars are perhaps Abū 'Umar al-Jarmi and Abū 'Umar Muḥ. al-Muṭarriz (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, pp. 81 and 174).

<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥ. b. 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (Flügel, p. 83).

*rdais*, without causing them any trouble or inconvenience, [P. 36] and the Shaikh asked them how they read the verse. They answered: 'With *fathā*, but the poet has absolute authority, like Bilkīs' (Kor., xxvii, 33).

'O Abū Lailā,' said the Shaikh, turning to Nābigħa al-Ja'dī, 'recite to us your poem rhymed in *sh*, in which you say:

ولقد اغدو بشرب أنف  
نبل أن يظهر في الأرض ريش الح<sup>1</sup>

[P. 37] 'I never used *sh* as a rhyme,' said Nābigħa, 'and in this poem are words that I now hear for the first time, such as <sup>2</sup> ريش and سَيْمَة and خَشَش.' The Shaikh, however, was not convinced, and suggested that Nābigħa's devotion to the wine and luxurious meats of Paradise had driven all his learning out of his head.

[P. 38] Now a flock of geese alighted in the garden, and ranged themselves, as though awaiting a command. 'What is your business here?' asked the Shaikh. They answered (for the birds of Paradise are endowed with speech): 'God inspired us to settle in this garden, that we might sing to the revellers therein'; and straightway they became damsels in the flower of youth, swaying in their gait, clad in celestial broideries, and in their hands were lutes and other instruments of music. The Shaikh was astonished, as he had reason to be, and said to one of them by way of trial: 'Play the words of Abū Umāma, who is sitting yonder, in the rhythm *thakīlu'l-awwal*:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eight more distichs are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Not in the dictionaries. According to Abū'l-'Alā's explanation it means 'patches of herbage'.

واما ريش فمن قولهم ارض ريشاً اذا ظهرت فيها قطع من النبات  
وكانها مقلوبة عن ريشاً

<sup>3</sup> Kosegarten, *Liber Cantilenarum*, i, 138. No doubt musicians will find his explanation perfectly lucid and intelligible. He translates *ثقيل الاول* (*ibid.*, i, 33) by "Melodie im Dreinachteltact in D moll" and "mesure à trois-huit en Re mineur." The passage which follows in the original text contains a number

أَمْسَ آلَ مَيْتَةٍ رَأَيْتُ أَوْ مَغْتَدٍ  
عَمَلَانِ ذَا زِلْوَ وَغَيْرِ مَرْوَدٍ<sup>1</sup>

When she had done this in the most enchanting manner imaginable, at the Shaikh's request she varied the rhythm and changed it again and again, so that all were filled with wonder and delight. While they were thus engaged, a youth passed by, and they asked his name. He answered: 'I am Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālīk b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.' 'Welcome, welcome!' cried the Shaikh, 'had you said "Labid" and stopped, you would have been known.' Then the Shaikh begged him to recite his *Mu'allafā*, but Labīd answered that he had left poetry behind him and would never return to it, having got something better and holier in exchange. Undeterred by this rebuff the Shaikh quoted Labīd's verse:<sup>2</sup>

تَرَاكَ أَمَكَيْتَ إِذَا لَمْ أَرْضَهَا  
أَوْ يَرْتَبِطَ بَعْضُ النَّفُوسِ حِمَامُهَا

and asked whether he used *بَعْضُ* in the sense of *كُلُّ*. 'No,' said he, 'I meant myself, just as one says to a man, "When your money goes, somebody will give you money," meaning one's self, though on the surface the words may apply to any person.' After further discussion the Shaikh quoted:<sup>3</sup>

[P. 41] بَصُوحٍ صَافِيَةٍ وَجَذْبٍ كَرِينَةٍ  
مُؤَثَّرٍ تَأْتِيهِ إِبْهَامُهَا

'Which of the two readings did you intend,' said he, 'تَأْتِيهِ'?

of technical terms, and is written in such a strain of enthusiasm as seems to show that Abū'l-'Alā not only had a considerable knowledge of music but was very susceptible to its influence. Here he would naturally seek consolation for his blindness: Homer, Milton, and Rūdāfi might be called, if examples were needed, to prove that loss of sight is often accompanied by a keener and more delicate appreciation of the pleasures of sound.

<sup>1</sup> Nābigha in *The Dirāsa*, vii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Mu'allafā*, 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Mu'allafā*, 60. See Lane under *أَوَى*.

from آل or تَأْتَى لَهُ from أَوَى? 'Either is possible,' said Labīd. Then the Shaikh began a philological disquisition upon تَأْتَى, maintaining that it arose from اِيتَى in the same way as, according to Khulīl and Sibawaihi, اسْتَحْيَتْ arose from اسْتَحَى. Labīd listened with impatience, and turning to A'shū Kais exclaimed: 'Praise be to God, O Abū Baṣīr, who has forgiven you in spite of your confessing that which you wot of!' 'O Abū 'Aqīl,' said the Shaikh to Labīd, 'I suppose you mean his verses:

وَأَشْرَبُ بِالرِّيقِ حَتَّى يُقَا  
لُ قَدْ طَالَ بِالرِّيقِ مَا قَدْ رَجُنُ  
مَرِيفَتُهُ طَيِّبًا طَعْمُهَا  
تَصَفَّقُ مَا بَيْنَ كُوبٍ وَدُنُ  
وَأَثَرَتْ عَيْنِي مِنَ الْغَنَانِيَا  
تِ إِمَّا نِكَاحًا وَإِمَّا أَرْنُ<sup>1</sup>

[P. 42]

and his verses: <sup>2</sup>

فَظَلَلْتُ أَرْعَاهَا فَطَلَّ يَحُوطُهَا  
حَتَّى دَنَوْتُ إِذَا الظَّلَامُ دَنَا لَهَا  
فَرَمَيْتُ غَفْلَةً عَيْنِهِ عَنْ شَاتِهِ  
فَأَصَبْتُ حَبَّةَ قَلْبِهَا وَطَحَّالَهَا

and others, similar in character, which are ascribed to him. Now either he is not guilty, and these passages are merely poetical embellishment, or he is guilty and God has pardoned him, for He pardons every sin except idolatry' (Kor., iv, 116). The Shaikh then quoted an erotic piece by Nābigha

<sup>1</sup> MS. أَرْنُ. It أَرْنُ is correct, it must stand for أَرْنُ, so that وَإِمَّا أَرْنُ = "sive mihi dicebatur, 'O scortator.'" For إِمَّا with the Jussive see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii, 43. It seems unnecessary to write زَرْنَا = زَرْنَا.

<sup>2</sup> The second couplet is cited in *Kāmil*, 160.

al-Ja'di, on which he pronounced a long and extravagant eulogy. This ended, the song of the singing-girls at Cairo<sup>1</sup> [P. 44] and Baghdād came into his mind, and he remembered how they used to trill the poem by Mukhabbal al-Sa'di,<sup>2</sup> which is rhymed in *m* :

وَإِذَا أَنْتُمْ خَيَّالُهَا طَرَقَتْ  
تَيْنِي مَمَاهُ شُؤْنُهَا سَجَمُ  
كَالدُّوْلَةِ الْمَسْجُورِ تَوْبَعِ فِي  
سَلَكِ النِّطَامِ فَحَانَهُ النَّظْمُ

No sooner had he thought of this than the goose-maidens were chanting it, and so sweetly did they sing, that every syllable produced a joy exceeding all the joys of the world from the creation of Adam to the destruction of the last of his children. After the Shaikh had recited some more of Mukhabbal's poetry and moralized thereon, Nābigħa al-Ja'di said to A'shū Kais: 'O Abū Basīr, is this Rabāb mentioned by the Sa'dite she whose name occurs in your poem?—

[P. 46] يَعْاصِي الْعَوْدَلِ طَلَقَ الْيَدِي  
بِيعْطِي الْجَزِيلَ وَيُرْخِي الْإِزَارَا  
فَمَا نَطَقَ الدِّيكُ حَتَّى مَلَأَ  
تُ نَوْبَ الرِّبَابِ لَهُ فَاسْتَدَارَا  
إِذَا آتَاكَتْ أَزْهَرُ بَيْنِ السُّقَاةِ  
تَرَامُوا بِهِ غَرْبًا وَنُضَارَا<sup>3</sup>

'You are old, Abū Lailā,' replied A'shū Kais, 'and it seems to me that you have lost your wits and are still looking for

<sup>1</sup> MS. قُسْطَاس, which I cannot find as the name of a place. I therefore read قُسْطَاط.

<sup>2</sup> *Aghānī*, xii, 40 sqq. *Ranādatu'l-Adab*, 155 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> This distich is cited by Lane under غَرْبٌ.





and in craftsmanship,<sup>1</sup> and the number of my verses was equalled by none of my predecessors. You amused yourself by maliciously slandering the noble of your tribe, and if you told the truth, the more shame to you and your [P. 47] neighbours!<sup>2</sup> The woman of Hizzān<sup>3</sup> was well rid of you: in you she companioned with a one-eyed dog, who went round the tents in search of discarded bones and eagerly scraped up the mould of sequestered graves.'<sup>4</sup> 'Do you say this,' cried Abū Basir angrily, 'when one verse of my composition is worth a hundred of yours, with all your prolixity, for the prolix man is like one who preaches at night. Doubtless there are tribesmen of Rabi'atu'l-Faras among the Jurhūma.<sup>5</sup> You belong to the Banū Ja'da, and what is Ja'da but the redundancy of a dried-up well?'<sup>6</sup> You taunt me with my panegyrics on kings, but if you, fool that you are, had been able to do the same, you would have deserted your family and children. But you are by nature a weakling and faint-hearted, never walking abroad in the dark night nor journeying under the scorching heat of noon. You have mentioned my divorcing the woman of Hizzān, though, methinks, she parted from me with

<sup>1</sup> واتى لأطول منك نفساً وأكثر تصرفاً. *tasarruf* may mean 'versatility,' as in *Rauḍatu'l-Adab*, p. 71 (spoken of Tamīm b. Abī Muḥbil): وله في غير وصفهن تصرف بين حماسه وفخر وغير ذلك.

وانت لا بعفارتك على كرايم قومك وان مدقت فسحريتا لك  
بعفارتك. Perhaps instead of بعفارتك we should read ولمقاربك.

<sup>2</sup> *Aghāni*, viii, 83.

عاشت منك الناجح عشي فطاف الأخوية على العظام المنتبذة  
وحرص على انتبات الاجداث المنفردة

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the saying: هم نسله فليأتهم  
(Lane, *sub voc.*). Apparently the sense is: "Nullum malum est quod non aliquid boni permisceat."

<sup>4</sup> زائدة ظليم نفود.

secret anguish; and divorce is no disgrace to high or low' (ليس بمنكر للسوق ولا للملوك). 'Peace, O vagabond!' (يا ضلّ بن ضلّ) cried Nābigħa al-Ja'dī, 'I swear that your admission to Paradise is a scandal, albeit things come to pass according to the will of God. You deserve to be in the lowest division of Hell, where many better than you are burning<sup>1</sup> . . . . You disparage the Banū Ja'da, but [P. 48] one of their battles outweighs all the achievements of your tribe; and you call me a coward who am braver than you and your father, and more apt to endure a journey in a dark frosty night, and speedier of foot in the sultry midday hours' (واشدّ ايعالاً في الهاجرة أمّ الصخدان).

Now in his wrath Nābigħa al-Ja'dī smote Abū Baṣīr with a golden ewer, but the Shaikh interposed. 'There is no brawling in Paradise,' said he; 'were it not written, "their heads shall not ache from drinking wine nor shall their reason be disturbed" (Kor., lvi, 19), I should have fancied that you, Nābigħa, were out of your mind. Abū Baṣīr has tasted nothing but milk and honey: his mien is sober and discreet, and he behaves like a gentleman even when ceremony is relaxed (لا يخفّ عند حلّ المحبوة). Among us he holds the place of Abū Nuwās, who says:<sup>2</sup>

أيها العاذلان في الراح لوما  
لا ادوق المدام إلا شميما  
نالني بالعتاب فيها إمام  
لا ارى لى خلافه مستقيما  
إن حظى منها اذا هوى دارت  
أن اراها وأن أشمّ النسима

<sup>1</sup> Here Nābigħa quotes some very coarse verses by al-A'ashā.

<sup>2</sup> *Diwan* (Cairo, 1860), p. 291. The verses are not in Ahlwardt's edition of the *Weinlieder*.

فَمَرَفَاهَا إِلَى سَوَايَ فَاتَى  
لَسْتُ إِلَّا عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ نَدِيمَا  
فَكَاتَى وَمَا أَحْسَنُ مِنْهَا  
فَعِنْدَهُ يُحَسِّنُ الْحَكِيمَا  
لَهُ يُعِينُ حَمَلَةَ السِّلَاحِ إِلَى الْحَرْ  
بِ فَأَوْصِي الْمُطْلِقَ أَلَّا يُعْصِمَا

'In the world of illusion,' said Nābigha al-Ja'dī, 'milk-drinking was often the cause of outrageous conduct, especially in low rascally fellows. The *rajiz* says:

[P. 49] يَا آتَنَ هَشِيمٍ أَهْلَكَ النَّاسَ الْكَثَنَ  
فَكُنْهُمْ يَغْدُو بِسِينٍ وَقَرَنَ

And another poet says:

مَا دَهْرٌ صَبَّهَ فَأَعْلَمَ مَحْتٌ أَنْتِنَا  
وَأَتَمَّا هَاجَ مِنْ جَهَالِهَا اللَّبَنُ

And someone, who was asked when the Banū so-and-so were to be feared, replied: "When they have plenty of milk" (إِذَا الْبَنُوا). Al-A'shā retorted by a bitter tirade against wine, whereupon Nābigha rose in high dudgeon as if to depart. The Shaikh, wishing to restore his good-humour, proposed that he should take one of the goose-maidens home with him, but this plan was upset by Labid, who pointed out that the precedent might be followed, and all Paradise would ring with the news thereof, and they would be nicknamed "husbands of the geese."

[P. 50] Now Hassān b. Thābit came along, and the Shaikh invited him to drink, quoting his lines:

كَأَنَّ سَبِيَّةً مِنْ بَيْتِ رَأْسٍ  
يَكُونُ مِزَاجُهَا عَسَلٌ وَمَاءُهَا الْخَمْرُ<sup>1</sup>

'Were not you ashamed,' said he, 'to introduce a topic like this in your eulogy of the Apostle of God?' Ḥassān replied: 'He was more easy-tempered (أَسَجَحُ خُلُقًا) than ye imagine. Besides, I only speak of wine at second hand; I do not say that I ever drank it, and I am not [P. 51] guilty on that score.' Then the Shaikh put some grammatical questions, but before he got a reply one of the company said to Ḥassān: 'How of your cowardice, O father of 'Abdu'l-Rahmān?' 'Is this taunt addressed to me,' he cried, 'whose tribe is the bravest of the Arabs? Six of them resolved to attack the pilgrims (أهل الموسم), and they covenanted with the Prophet to make war upon all recalcitrants, and Rubī'a and Muḍar and all the Arabs shot at them with the bow of hostility and bore a deadly hatred against them. If at times I showed caution, it was dictated by prudence, in order that I might rally or execute a strategic retreat' (Kor., viii, 16).

Then the party broke up after a sitting that had lasted the space of many mortal lives. And as the Shaikh was strolling through the fields of Paradise, he met five<sup>2</sup> men mounted on camels. These were the one-eyed men of Kais (عُورَانُ قَيْسٍ), namely, Tamīm b. Muḵbil al-'Ajlānī, 'Amr b. Aḥmar al-Būhili, Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muḵbil,

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 829, l. 4; *Kāmil*, 73. After this beyt Abū'l-'Alā inserts:

عَلَى أَنْيَابِهَا أَوْ طَعْمُ غَضٍّ  
مِنَ النَّقَاحِ هَضْرَهُ آجَتْنَا  
عَلَى فِيهَا إِذَا مَا اللَّيْلُ قَلَّتْ  
كَوَاكِبُهُ وَمَالَ بِهَا الْغِطَاءُ

The fourth and last beyt is إِذَا مَا الْأَشْرِيَاتُ ذُكِرْنَ الْخَمْرُ.

<sup>2</sup> Six are mentioned.

Shammākh (Ma'kil b. Dirār of the Banū Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān), Rā'ī-Ibil 'Ubaid b. al-Ḥussain al-Numairi, [P. 52] and Humaid b. Thaur al-Ḥilālī. The Shaikh begged Shammākh to recite his poems rhymed in *z* and *j*, as he wanted information on certain points, but Shammākh declared that he could not remember a single verso. The Shaikh rebuked him, saying that these poems had made him famous and were more profitable to him than his two daughters,<sup>1</sup> just as Nābigha's poem<sup>2</sup> stood him in better stead than his daughter 'Akrub, who disgraced him and was taken captive,<sup>3</sup> and was the cause of gifts being withheld from him. Then the Shaikh offered to recite Shammākh's poem in *z*, which begins:<sup>4</sup>

عَا مِنْ سُلَيْمَى بَطْنُ قَدِّ فَعَالِرُ  
فَذَاتُ الْعَصَا وَالْمُشْرِفَاتُ الْمَوَاشِرُ

But he found that Shammākh did not understand it, for the delights of Paradise had weaned him from all vanities. 'I only followed the profession of poet,' said Shammākh, 'in hope of getting the loan of a she-camel for riding or the present of a scanty measure of grain to feed my family in a year of drought,<sup>5</sup> as the *rājiz* says:

لَوْ شَاكَ مِنْ رَأْسِكَ عَظْمٌ يَابِسُ  
لَالَ مَسْكٌ بِجَمَلٍ حُمَارِسُ

<sup>1</sup> The notice in the *Aghāni* throws no light upon this allusion.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *v* in Ahlwardt's *The Divāns* is meant, which by some was reckoned among the Mu'allakāt. Others gave this honor to a poem formed by combining two pieces (xi in the *Divān* and xxvi in the Appendix).

<sup>3</sup> See Nābigha, ed. Derenbourg, pp. 9 and 238.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in *Jamharatu ash-shi'ar* l-'Arab, p. 154, with transposition of *ذات العَصَا* for *ذات الصفا* and with *بَطْنُ قَدِّ* and *مِنْ سُلَيْمَى*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *أَنَا كُنْتُ اسْتَقْتُ هَذِهِ الْأُمُورَ وَأَنَا أَمَلْتُ أَنْ أَفْتَرَّ بِهَا نَاقَةً أَوْ* *أَعْطَى كَيْلَ عَالِي عِيَالِي سَنَةً*. For *اسْتَقْتُ* read *اسْتَقْتُ*. The last words seem to be corrupt. Perhaps *أَوْ أُعْطِيَ كَيْلَ عَالِي لِعِيَالِي*.

سَوَىٰ عَلَيْكَ الْكَئِيلَ شَيْخَ بَايَسَ  
مَثَلُ الْحَصَىٰ يُعْجِبُ مِنْهُ اللَّامِسُ<sup>1</sup>

[P. 53] Now the Shaikh turned to 'Amr b. Aḥmar and asked him to recite his poem beginning :

بَانَ الشَّبَابُ وَأَخْلَفَ الْعُمُرُ  
وَتَغَيَّرَ الْأَخْوَانُ وَالْدَهْرُ

'There is a dispute,' he added, 'about العمر, whether it means "life" or whether it is the singular of عُمُور الأسنان (the flesh between the gums).' In reply 'Amr quoted :

خُذَا وَجْهَ هَرَسَىٰ أَوْ كِلَاهَا فَاتَهُ  
كِلَا جَانِبَيْ هَرَسَىٰ لِمَنْ طَرِيقُ<sup>1</sup>

He excused himself from reciting on the ground that he was still dazed by the terrors of Judgment, and expressed his surprise that the Shaikh could remember so much. 'It was always my custom,' said the Shaikh, 'at the end of my prayers, to implore God that He would allow me to retain my scholarship in both worlds, and He has granted me this boon.' Then the Shaikh repeated these verses by 'Amr :

وَلَقَدْ غَدَوْتُ وَمَا يَفْزَعُنِي  
خَوْفُ أَحَادِيدِهِ وَلَا دَعْرُ  
رَدَّوَا الشَّبَابَ كَأَنِّي غُضُنُ  
بِحَرَامِ مَكَّةَ نَاعِمٌ نَضْرُ<sup>2</sup>  
[P. 54] كَشْرَابٍ قَيْلٍ عَنْ مَطِيَّتِهِ  
وَلِكُلِّ أَمْرٍ وَاقِعٍ قَدَرُ

<sup>1</sup> I.e., you may take it either way. "Harshā is a pass on the road to Mecca, near al-Juhfa, from which the sea is visible. It has two paths, and the traveller may use either to gain his end" (Sahāḥ under هَرَسَ, where this verse is cited

(كِلاها for قَعاها and خُذَا وَجْهَ for خُذَى أَنْفَ).

<sup>2</sup> MS. نص.

مَدَّ النَّهَارَ لَهُ وَطَالَ لَيْلُهُ  
 فِي اللَّيْلِ وَاسْتَعْنَتْ بِهِ<sup>١</sup> النَّفْسُ  
 وَمُسَفَّ<sup>٢</sup> دَهْمًا دَاجِنَةً  
 رَكَدَتْ وَأُثْبِلَ دَوْبُهَا السَّيْرُ  
 وَحِرَادَتَانِ تُفْغِيَا فِيهِمْ  
 وَتَذَلُّ<sup>٣</sup> الْأَلَمَ رَجَانِ وَالشَّدَا  
 وَمُحْتَجِلٌ<sup>٤</sup> دَانٌ زَبْرَجْدُهُ  
 حَدَثَ كَمَا يَتَحَدَّبُ الدُّبُرُ  
 وَتَانِ حَمَانَانِ بَيْنَهُمَا  
 وَتَرٌّ أَجَشْ غَنَاءَهُ زَمُرُ  
 وَبَعِيرُهُمْ سَاجٍ بِجَرَّتِهِ  
 لَمْ يَوْزُوهُ غَرَّتٌ وَلَا تَنْفُرُ  
 فَاذَا مَجَرَّجَرُهُ شَقٌّ بَازِلُهُ  
 وَإِذَا أَصَاخَ فَنَانُهُ بَلُّرُ  
 خَلُّوا طَرِيقَ الدِّيدَانِ فَقَدْ  
 وَلَّى الْعَبْيَ وَتَفَاوَتَ التَّجَارُ<sup>٥</sup>

<sup>١</sup> App. استعنت به = اسْتَعْنَتْهُ, but ؟ استعنت .

<sup>٢</sup> MS. مُسَفَّ . مسفَّ (see below) is not found in the dictionaries. Cf., however, <sup>٣</sup> وَايَ مُسَفَّ (Lane under سفه). It is derived from سفيه, used like the Latin *improbus* = 'inordinate, excessive.'

<sup>٤</sup> See below.

<sup>٥</sup> MS. تجرر.

<sup>٥</sup> MS. التجر. Cf. Farazdaq's verse :

أَنَّ الشَّبَابَ لِرَاجِحٍ مِّنْ بَاعِهِ  
 وَالشَّيْبَ لِمَيْسِ لِبَائِعِهِ تَجَارِ

'What do you mean by قَيْل,' he asked, 'the singular of اقيال or Kail b. 'Iṭr' of 'Ād P' 'Amr thought either would do, but the Shaikh insisted that the mention of the Jarādatān was a strong argument in favour of the proper name. 'I was astonished,' said he, 'to find in some copies of the *Aghānī* a tune which the Jarādatān are said to have sung, viz. :<sup>2</sup>

اقفر من اهله المصيف  
قطن عردة فالغريف الخ

Now the words are modelled on

اقفر من اهله ملحوب

and, according to a tradition handed down to the singers in the age of Hārūn al-Rashīd and later, were sung by the [P. 55] Jarādatān. I do not assert that the lines are forged, but the tradition is improbable.' 'Amr remarked that جرادتان in his verse by no means involved a reference to Kail b. 'Iṭr, as the ancient Arabs applied the term جرادة to any singing-girl. A poet says:

تُعْتَمِنَا الجَرَا وَحَن شَرَبْ  
نُعَلِّ الرَّا حَالِطَهَا الْمَشُورْ

He then explained مُسَقَّةٌ دَهْمَاءٌ as referring to the cooking-pot (الْقِدْر) and مُجَلْجَلٌ دَانٌ زَبْرَجْدُهُ as referring to the lute, of which the ornaments (ما حسن منه) are called زبرجد. مُجَلْجَلٌ with *kasra* of the *jīm* would denote clouds, for زَبْرَجْ = مَا تَلَوَّنَ مِنَ السَّحَابِ.

'It seems,' cried the Shaikh in astonishment, 'that you, a pure Arab, whose expressions and verses are cited, maintain that زبرجد is derived from زبرج. This supports the theory, held by the author of the *Kitābu'l-'Ain*<sup>3</sup> but

<sup>2</sup> See Margoliouth, *Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, p. 106, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Aghānī*, viii, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Khalīl b. Aḥmad.



rejected by the school of Bāṣṭā, that the *dal* in صَلَّيْكُمْ is superfluous.' Then God inspired Ibn Aḥmar, and he said: 'Why should you refuse to rank زَبْرَجَد and زَبْرَج under one root? The verb زَبْرَجَ is formed from زَبَرَجَد, because no verb can have five radical letters; from this again is formed a noun زَبْرَج. You are aware that the diminutive of فَرَزْدَق [P. 56] is فَرَزْدَقٌ and the plural فَرَارِد, yet this does not prove the superfluity of the *kāf*.' 'Your hypothesis,' answered the Shaikh, 'implies that the verb is prior to the noun.' 'Amr demurred to this statement, and argued the question at some length. As the Shaikh found that little information was to be got from him, he said 'Which of you is Tamim b. Ubayy? Explain to me your verse:

يَا دَارَ سَلَمَى خَلَا لَا أَكْتَفِهَا  
إِلَّا الْمَرَاةَ حَتَّى تَسَامَ الدِّينَا<sup>2</sup>

What did you mean by الْمَرَاةَ? According to some it is the name of a woman, according to others of a she-camel, while some regard it as equivalent to الْعَادَةُ. 'I did not bring with me to Paradise,' said Tamim, 'an atom of poetry or *rajaz*, for I had to undergo a severe reckoning, and I was charged with having fought against 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and al-Najāshī al-Ḥārithī<sup>3</sup> confronted me as I escaped from the fire, and dragged me several times by the forelock.'

Here begins a long narrative by the Shaikh of his experiences in the place of Judgment. It may be abridged without much loss to the reader.

'I remembered,' said he, 'the verse (Kor., lxx, 4), "The angels ascend unto Him, and the Spirit (Gabriel) also, in a day whose space is 50,000 years," and the term seemed

<sup>1</sup> Also فَرَزْدَق (Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, i, 168).

<sup>2</sup> MS. نَسَامَ الدِّينَا. The *Ṣaḥāḥ*, under مَرْن, reads اَتَعَرَفَ الدِّينَا.

<sup>3</sup> A satirical poet and partisan of 'Alī. Verses by him are quoted in Nöldeke's *Doctus*, p. 80.

tedious to me, for my thirst was terrible and the heat intense. Now I am a man quick to thirst (وبیاف), so I considered and perceived 't was a matter one like me could [P. 58] not withstand. The Recording Angel brought me my book of good deeds, and lo! my merits were few as grassy meadows in a year of drought, albeit repentance at the close resembled the lamp of the Christian monk that beacons aloft for him who threads his way through a water-course.' The Shaikh goes on to relate how he sought favour with Ridwān and another guardian of Paradise, called Zufar, by composing laudatory verses in every metre capable of being rhymed with their names, but they [P. 60] remained inflexible. Then he saw a man crowned with an aureole in the midst of a resplendent 'entourage. This was Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and the Moslems slain at Oḥod. 'And I said to myself: "Poetry is better laid out on him than upon the guardians of Paradise, for he is a poet, and so are his brothers, and his father, and his grandsire. Methinks, there is no security for me between him and Ma'add b. 'Adnān.'" Accordingly the Shaikh composed a poem in the style of the verses by Ka'b b. Mālīk, which begin :<sup>1</sup>

صَفِيَّةٌ قَوْمِي وَلَا تَعْجِزِي  
وَبَكِي النِّسَاءِ عَنِّي حَمْرَةٌ

[P. 61] Ḥamza said: 'I cannot do what you want, but I will send with you a messenger to my nephew 'Alī, that he may speak to the Prophet touching your affair.' When 'Alī heard the messenger's report, he asked the Shaikh, 'Where is your voucher?'—meaning his book of good deeds.

'Now I had observed (says the Shaikh) an old man known as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī,<sup>2</sup> who in the transitory world used to teach grammar. He was being jostled by a crowd attacking him and crying, "You have insulted us by your interpretations." Espying me, he waved his hand, and

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 110.

I hastened to his aid. Among the crowd was Yazid b. al-Ḥakam,<sup>1</sup> who was saying, "Woe to you! you made المَاء nominative in my verse:<sup>2</sup>

وليس كذا كان شرك كنه  
وخرک عني ما آرتوى الماء مَرْتَوَى

Moreover, in my verse

تبدل خيلة لي كشكليك شكله  
فاني خيلة صادق بك مَقْتَوَى

you have asserted that I pronounced the *mīm* of مقتوى with *fatha*,<sup>3</sup> whereas I pronounced it with *ḍamma*." And a *rajiṣ* said: "You have libelled me, for in my verse<sup>4</sup>

يا إلهي ما ذنبه فناييه  
ماء رَوَانَه ونَحَى حَوْلِيَه

you vocalize the *yā* in ناييه. By God, I never did this, nor any Arab." And there was a multitude of this sort, all reviling him for his interpretations. At last I said: "Gentlemen, surely these are trifles. Do not abuse the old man. He may put forward as a plea for your consideration [P. 62] his book on the Kor'ān, entitled *al-Iḥjja*. He never shed your blood nor took your property. Pray, leave him in peace." While I was engaged in addressing them and expecting their answer, the scroll, in which mention was made of my repentance, slipped from my hand, and when I returned to seek for it, I could not find it.'

'Alī, seeing the Shaikh's consternation and distress, said: 'Never mind! Have you any witness to your repentance?' 'Yes,' said he, 'I have 'Abdu'l-Mun'im b. 'Abdu'l-Karīm,

<sup>1</sup> Yazid b. al-Ḥakam al-Thakafi (*Aghāni*, xi, 100 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Aghāni*, xi, 105.

<sup>3</sup> For مَقْتَوَى see 'Amr's *Mu'allaka*, 56, and Nöldeke, *Fünf Mu'allakāt*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in the *Saḥīḥ* under رَوَى, with ذَنْبِه for ذَامِه.

Kādi of Aleppo and of its public officials (وَعُدُولُهَا) in the time of Shiblu'l-Daula.' Then 'Alī ordered a *ḥatīf* to cry out in the place of Judgment: 'O 'Abdu'l-Mun'im (giving his full name), have you any knowledge of the repentance of 'Alī b. Mansūr b. Tālib al-Halabī, the scholar?' None answered, and the Shaikh was seized with fear and trembling. Then he cried out a second time, but there was no response, and the Shaikh fell prostrate on the ground (وَلَجَّ بِى). At the third summons, however, a voice answered: 'I was present at the repentance of 'Alī b. Mansūr, late in his life (مَأْخِذُهُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ). It took place in my house, and was witnessed by a number of assessors.' Thereupon the Shaikh, having come to his senses, stood up and implored 'Alī to admit him to Paradise. But 'Alī turned his back on him, saying, 'Verily thou seekest a thing hard, impossible' (حَدَّثًا مُمْسَقًا). In his despair the Shaikh approached the kin of the Prophet, entreating them to demand the intercession of Fātima, when she came forth [P. 63] from Paradise, as she does every day, to greet her father, who is a spectator of the Judgment. So when Fātima appeared, they urged his petition, and she handed him over to her brother Ibrāhīm, and since his name was found with the seal of repentance in the Dīwānu'l-A'zam, the Prophet interceded for him.

Now he came to al-Sirāt, and Fātima bade one of her girls take him across (for by himself he was unable), and she advanced, outstripping him as he swayed unsteadily to and fro. 'O damsel,' said he, 'if you desire to save me, practise with me the saying of the poet:

يَتَّيْنُ إِنِ اعْمَاكَ أَمْرِي

[P. 65] مَا حَمَلَنِي زَقْفُوهُ

'What is زَقْفُوهُ?' said she. 'It means,' replied the Shaikh, 'that a man throws his arms over the shoulders of another, who takes hold of his hands and carries him with his belly

resting on the bearer's back. Have you not heard the lines of al-Jahjūl of Kafartāb?¹—

صلحت حالتي الى المخلق حتى  
صرت أُمشي الى الوري زفقوه

'No,' said she, 'I never heard of زفقوه, or of al-Jahjūl, or of Kafartāb.' Then she bore him across al-Sirūt like a flash of lightning, and Fātima said: 'We give you this girl to be your handmaid in Paradise.' 'My stay in the place of Judgment,' said the Shaikh in conclusion, 'lasted only one year, and on this account my memory is unimpaired.'

[P. 66] Then, after a brief parley with Rā'īl-Ibil, the Shaikh accosted Humaid b. Thaur. '(O) Humaid,' said he, 'you have excelled in your verse.'

أرى نصري مد رابني بعد مَحْوٍ  
وحسبك دَاءٌ أَنْ تَصِحَّ وتسلما

How is your sight now?' 'Truly,' answered he, 'I am in the western region of Paradise, yet can I lightly glance at my friend in the eastern part thereof, though between me and him is a thousand years' journey measured by the sun.' Then the Shaikh praised Humaid's poem in *dāl*,² quoting these verses:

جَلْبَابُهُ وَرَهَاءُ تَخْصِي جِمَارِهَا  
يَفِي مَنْ تَقَى خَرّاً لَدَيْهَا الْجَلَامِدُ  
إِذَا مَعَايِرُ لَا يَزَالُ يَطَاقُهَا  
شَدِيدًا وَفِيهَا سُورَةٌ وَهِيَ قَاعِدُ  
تَتَابَعَ أَعْوَامٌ عَلَيْهَا هَزْأَتُهَا  
وَأَقْبَلَ عَامٌّ يَنْعَشُ النَّاسُ وَاحِدُ

¹ My ignorance is almost equal to the damsel's. I never heard of المجهول and cannot get any information either about him or about زفقوه. Kafartāb is a village between Ḥalab and Ma'arra.

² Cited in *Āḥṣal*, 125.

³ I have not found it elsewhere.

'I have forgotten *mims* and *dāls*,' said he, 'and my time is occupied in sporting with plump houris.' 'What!' cried the Shaikh, 'do you abandon a poem like this, which contains the passage:

عَصَمَرَةٌ فِيهَا بَقَاءٌ وَشِدَّةٌ  
وَوَالٍ لَهَا بَادَى النُّصِيحَةِ جَاهِدُ  
إِذَا مَا دَعَى أَجْيَانُ جَاءَتْ حَنَا جُرُ  
لَهَا مَيْمٌ لَا يَمْشِي إِلَيْهِنَّ قَائِدُ  
فَجَاءَتْ بِمَعْيُوفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ مُكَلِّعُ  
أَرَشَتْ عَلَيْهِ بِالْأُكُفِ السَّوَاعِدُ

[P. 67], and contains also the description that, I suspect, al-Kuṭāmī appropriated, though, as you were contemporaries, his poem may have preceded yours—I mean the lines:

تَأَوَّبَهَا فِي لَبَلٍ مَحْسٍ وَقَرَّةُ  
خَلِيلِي أَبُو النُّخْشَنَاشِ وَالنَّيْلُ بَارِدُ  
فَقَامَ يُعَادِيهَا فَخَالَتْ تُرِيدُنِي  
عَلَى الزَّادِ<sup>1</sup> شَكْلُ بَيْتِنَا فَتَبَاعَدُ  
إِذَا قَالَ مَهْلًا أَتَجِئُ لِمَحْتٍ لَهُ  
بِزَرْقَاءَ لَمْ تَدْخُلْ عَلَيْهَا الْمَرَاوِدُ  
كَأَنَّ حَجَاجِي رَأْسَهَا فِي مُلْتَمِ  
مِنَ الصَّخْرِ جَوِيٍّ أَخْلَكْتَهُ الْمَوَارِدُ

This description is like that of al-Kuṭāmī, where he says:

تَلَقَّعْتُ فِي ظِلِّ وَرَيْحٍ تَلَقَّنِي  
وَفِي طَرْمَسَاءَ غَيْرِ ذَاتِ كَوَاكِبِ النِّخِ<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., we cannot exchange greetings. الزاد = رَدَّ حَيْثُ = ما كان من تسليم وردَّ حَيْثُ (Aghāni, cited in De Sacy's *Chrestomathy*, ii, 415).

<sup>2</sup> MS. عَلَيَّ.

<sup>3</sup> Aghāni, xx, 119. Four more distichs are cited.

And in the same poem you say.

فَمَا بَدَىٰ أَوْبَسَ أَغْبَرَ شَأْنُهُ  
وَعَبَّرَ حَتَّىٰ مَلَّ هَلْ هُوَ خَالِدٌ  
مَعْرَادٍ حَتَّىٰ أَسْنَدَاهُ كَاتَهُ  
عَلَى الْقُرُوعِ غُنُوفٌ مِنَ التَّرَكِّ سَانِدٌ  
وَلَقَدْ حَتَّى اللَّيْلُ عَنْهَا وَأَسْرَتَتْ  
وَفِ غُلَسِ التَّجْبِجِ الشَّحُوصُ الْأَسَاعِدُ  
رَمَى شَنْبَهُ ۚ مِنْهُ نَقَرَاتُ جَعْدَةٍ  
عَنْهَا نَعَامُهَا وَعَنْهَا تُرَاوِدُ

[P. 68] Now it seemed good to the Shaikh that he should hold a *salon* (مَأْدِنَةٌ), and invite the poets of Islām and the *Mukhadram*s, and not only the men who established the Arabic language and stored it in books, but also those who had some small tincture of scholarship. And presently he heard the sound of hand-mills grinding the wheat of Paradise, which is as superior to that mentioned by the Hudhalite in his verse

لَا دَرَكَتَ إِنِ اطَّغَمْتُ رَايَدَهُمْ  
قَرَبَ الْخَبْنِ وَعِنْدَى الْبَرُّ مَكْنُوزُ

as the heavens are superior to the earth. So he contrived (and lo! God had already brought his contrivance to pass) that there should be in front of him houris busily working [P. 69] the hand-mills. One hand-mill was of gold, one of pearl, and others were adorned with jewels, the like of which was never seen in the world. As the Shaikh looked upon them he praised God and remembered the lines of the *rajiz*:

الْجَانِي الْمَجْبَسُ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الْكَثِيرِ الشَّعْرُ وَيَقَالُ ۚ  
فَيُفِ الْخُلُقِ (Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudhalitarum*, p. 168).

أَعَدَدْتُ لِلصَّيْفِ وَلِلجِيرَانِ  
خُرَيْمَيْنِ<sup>1</sup> تَتَعَارَوَانِ<sup>2</sup>  
لَا تَرَأَمَانِ وَهُمَا ظُلُمَانِ

Then he smilingly said to the damsels: 'Grind, turning the mill from your right (شُرًّا) and from your left' (بَيْتًا). They were puzzled by these terms, which the Shaikh explained, quoting :

وَصَبَحَ بِالْغَدَاةِ أَتَرَّ شَيْءٌ  
وَنُئِسِي بِالْعَشِيِّ طَلْتَفِجِيًا<sup>3</sup>  
وَنَطْحِنِ بِالرَّحَى شُرًّا وَبَيْتًا  
وَلَوْ نُعْطِيَ الْمَغَازِلَ مَا عَمِنَا

From the author's description of the banquet I take the following extracts :—

فَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ لِلطَّحْنِ مَا يَظُنُّ أَنَّهُ كَافٍ لِلْمَادَّةِ تَفْتَرَقُ خَدَمُهُ مِنَ  
الْوِلْدَانِ الْمُخْتَلِدِينَ فِجَازًا بِالْعِمَارِيسِ وَهِيَ الْجِدَاءُ وَضُرُوبُ الطَّيْرِ الَّتِي  
جَحَرَتْ أَلْعَادَةُ بِأَكْلِهَا كَالْجَاكِجِ الْعَاكِرِ وَجَوَازِلِ الطَّوَارِيسِ وَالسَّمِينِ مِنَ  
دَجَاجِ الرَّحْمَةِ وَفَرَارِيجِ النُّحُلِ وَسَمْتِ الْبَعْرِ وَالْغَنَمِ وَالْأَبْلِ لُغْنَتَبَطَ  
فَارْتَفَعَ رُغَاءُ الْعُكْرِ وَيُعَارِ الْمَعْرُوءُ وَأَوَاجُ الصَّانِ وَصِيَاحُ الدِّيَكَةِ لَعْيَانِ  
الْمَذْيَةِ وَذَلِكَ كُلُّهُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ فِيهِ وَآتَمَّا هُوَ جَدُّ مِثْلِ اللَّعْبِ

<sup>1</sup> MS. حريتين .

<sup>2</sup> MS. يتعاروان .

<sup>3</sup> النخالى الجوف ويقال المَعْيَى (المُعْيَى) or العُجْب = الطلنج . The author of the *Shahāḥ*, who cites this distich, ascribes it to "a man of the Banū Hirmās." Abū'l-'Alā says . يقال أن هذا الشعر لرجلٍ أيسرَ فكتب إلى قومه بذلك .



. . . . . فإذا جعلت الكحوض فوق الأفاض والأفاض مثل  
 الأضام بكفة طى قال زاد الله امره من النفاذ أحضروا [P. 70]  
 من في الجنة من الطهارة الساكن بحلب على مَمَرِ الزمان فاحضر  
 جماعة كثره سائرهم بالخذاد الطعمة . . . . . فإذا أتت  
 الطعمة افترق علمانه الذين كانهم اللؤلؤ المكنون لإحضار المدعويين  
 فلا يتركون في الجنة شاعرًا إسلاميًا ولا مخضرمًا ولا عالمًا بشي من  
 اصناف العلوم ولا متأدبًا إلا احضره فيجتمع بجَدِّ عظيم والبجد  
 الحسن الكثير فال شاعر

تطوف البُجُودُ بابوابه  
 من الصُرَى أزمان السنين

فتوضع الحون من الذهب والفوائير من اللجين ويجلس عليها  
 الأكلون وتُشَقُّ البهم الصحاف فتقيم الصفحة لديهم وهم يصيبون ممًا  
 ضمنته كقمر كَوَى وسُرَّق وهما النسران من التاجوم فإذا قضاوا الرب  
 من الطعام جاءت السقاة باصناف الاشربة والمغتيات بالاصوات  
 المطربة ويقول لا فتى ناطقًا بالصواب على بمن في الجنة من  
 المغنين والمغتيات ممن كان في الدار العاجلة وقُضِيَتْ له التوبة . . . .  
 . . . ويذكر ان ذكره الله بالصالحات الابيات التي تُنسب الى [P. 73]  
 الخليل بن احمد والخليل يومئذ في الجماعة وأنها تصلح لأن يُرَقَّصَ  
 عليها فيُتَشَقَّى الله القادر بلطف حكمته شجرة من غفر والغفر العجوز  
 فتدفع ليوثها ثم تَشُقُّ عَدَنًا لا يحصيه إلا الله تعالى وتنشق كل

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find غفر with this meaning in the dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'budded,' 'put forth shoots.' See Dozy, *Supplément*, sub voc.

واحدة منها عن اربع جوارٍ يُرَقَن الرايس<sup>١</sup> ممن قرب والناين يرقص  
على الايات المنسوبة الى الخليل وآزلها

إِنَّ الخَلِيطَ تصَدَّعَ

فَطَرُ بَدَأَتْكَ اَوْ دَعَا الخ<sup>٢</sup>

فتهمز ارجاء الجنة ويقول لا زال منطقاً بالسدد لمن هذه يا ابا عبد  
الرحمن فيقول الخليل لا اعلم فيقول انا كُتافي دار العاجلة نروى  
هذه الايات لك فيقول الخليل لا اذكر شيئاً من ذلك ويجوز ان يكون  
ما قيل حقاً، فيقول أَنَسِيْتُ يا ابا عبد الرحمن وانت أَذْكَرُ العرب  
في عصرِكَ فيقول الخليل إِنَّ عبور السراط ينقص الخَلَدَ مَقَامَ اسْتَوْبَعِ

The banquet was broken up by Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī and al-Aṣma'ī, who had high words on the subject of the original measure of [وَزْرَة]. When the guests departed, the [P. 77] Shaikh was left alone with two houris. Their exceeding beauty amazed him, and he was lavish of his compliments, but one of them burst into laughter, saying, 'Do you know who I am, O Ibn Maṣṣūr? My name in the transitory world was Ḥamdūn, and I lived at the Bābu'l-'Irāk in Aleppo. I worked a hand-mill, and was married to a seller of odds and ends (مَقَطَّ), who divorced me on account of my ill-smelling breath. Being one of the

<sup>١</sup> MS. للرايس.

<sup>٢</sup> This couplet and the three which follow are cited by Ibn Ḳutaiba (Nöldeke's *Beiträge*, p. 45). The MS. gives حور المدامع for مثل الجأآذر ; اَمَّ البنين for الرباب ; للظاعن آظفَعَن ; والرباب for والبغوم ; اَمَّ البنين for الرباب ; للقلب ارحل.

<sup>٣</sup> MS. اذكى.

ugliest women in Aleppo, I renounced worldly vanities and devoted myself to the service of God, and got a livelihood by spinning. Hence I am what you see.' 'And I,' said [P. 78] the other, 'am *Taufik al-Saudā*. I was a servant in the Academy at Baghdād in the time of the Keeper Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī,<sup>1</sup> and I used to fetch books for the copyists.'

After this the Shaikh, wishing to satisfy his curiosity concerning the creation of houris, was led by an angel to a tree called 'The Tree of the Houris,' which was laden with every sort of fruit. 'Take one of these fruits,' said his guide, 'and break it.' And lo! there came forth therefrom a maiden with large black eyes who informed the Shaikh that she had looked forward to this meeting four thousand years ere the beginning of the world. . . .

[P. 79] Now the Shaikh was fain to visit the people of the Fire, and to increase his thankfulness for the favour of God by regarding their state, in accordance with His saying (Kor., xxxvii, 49-55). So he mounted one of the horses of Paradise and fared on. And after a space he beheld cities crowned with no lovely light, but full of catacombs and dark passes. Thus, an angel told him, was the garden of the 'Ifrits who believed in Muḥammad and are mentioned in the *Sūratu'l-Aḥḳāt* and in the *Suratu'l-Jinn*. And lo! there was an old man seated at the mouth of a cave. Him the Shaikh greeted and got a courteous answer. 'I have come,' said he, 'seeking knowledge of [P. 80] Paradise and what may perchance exist among you of the poetry of the Mārids.' 'Surely,' said the greybeard, 'you have hit upon one acquainted with the bottom of the matter, one like the moon of the halo, not like him who burns the skin by filling it with hot butter.<sup>2</sup> Ask what you please.'

<sup>1</sup> Letter xix (ed. Margoliouth) is addressed to this person.

<sup>2</sup> ومن هو كالتمر من الهالة لا كالحاقن من الهالة. There is a play on *حاقن*, which also means 'a decumbent moon.'

'What is your name?' 'I am Khaishafūdh,<sup>1</sup> one of the Banū Shaḡabān<sup>2</sup>: we do not belong to the race of Iblis, but to the Jinn, who inhabited the earth before the children of Adam.' Then the Shaikh said: 'Inform me concerning the poetry of the Jinn; a writer known as al-Marzubānī<sup>3</sup> has collected a good deal of it' (جمع منها قطعة صالحة). 'All this is untrustworthy nonsense,' rejoined the old man. 'What do men know about poetry, save as cattle know about astronomy and the dimensions of the earth? They have only fifteen kinds of metre, and this number is seldom exceeded by the poets,<sup>4</sup> whereas we have thousands that [P. 81] your littérateur<sup>5</sup> never heard of'<sup>6</sup> . . . . Now the Shaikh's enthusiasm for learning made him say to the old man, 'Will you dictate to me some of this poetry? In the transitory world I occupied myself with amassing scholarship, and gained nothing by it except admittance to the great. From them, indeed, I gained pigeon's milk in plenty, for I was pulling at a she-camel whose dugs were tied' . . . . What is your *kunya*, that I may honour you therewith?' 'Abū Hadrash,' said he; 'I have begotten of children what God willed.' 'O Abū Hadrash,' cried

<sup>1</sup> The reading is not quite certain. If I am right, خَيْشَفُوز is the Persian خَيْشَفُوج = cotton-seed. Cf. Mustard-seed, the name of the fairy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. sons of Decrepitude.

<sup>3</sup> Ob. 378 or 384 A.H. See Ibn Khallikān (English Trans. by De Slane), iii, 67 seq. *Fihrist*, 132 seq. He was the author of numerous works on poetry, including one entitled كتاب اشعار الجن المتمثلين.

<sup>4</sup> MS. فل ما يعدوها القايلون.

<sup>5</sup> الانيس. Cf. مجلس الانس = *salon*.

<sup>6</sup> I do not fully understand the words immediately following: واتما كانت مخطر بهم أطيافاً متاعارمون (؟) فتغنث اليهم مقدار الضرارة (الضراء). Na'mānu'l-Arāk is a wadd situated between Mecca and Tā'if.

<sup>7</sup> فاحتلب منهم دتر بكم واجهد اخلاف مصروري (مصرر) MS.

the Shaikh, 'how is it that you have white hair, while the folk of Paradise enjoy perpetual youth?' 'In the past world,' said he, 'we received the power of transformation, and one of us might, as he wished, become a speckled snake or a sparrow or a dove, but in the next world we are deprived of this faculty, while men are clothed in beautiful forms. Hence the saying, "Man has the gift of *hila* and [P. 82] the Jinn that of *hauḷa*." I have suffered evil from men, and they from me.' Abū Hadrash then related how he struck a young girl with epilepsy, 'and her friends gathered from every quarter and summoned magicians and physicians and lavished their delicacies, and left no charm untried, and the leeches plied her with medicines, but all the time I never budged (وانا سدك بها لا ازل). And when she died I sought out another, and so on like this, until God caused me to repent and refrain from sin, and to Him I render praise for ever.'

Then the old man recited a poem describing his past life. The following extracts will show its character:—

(a) حمدت من حظ اوزارى ومزقها  
عنى فاصبح ذنوبى الآن مغفورا  
وكنت آلف من اتراب قرطبة  
خودا والصين اخرى بنت يغورا  
أزور نلک وهذى غير مكرث  
ف ليلت قبل ان أستوضح النورا  
ولا أمر بوحشى ولا بشر  
الوغادره ولهان مذعورا  
أزوع الزنج إماما بنسوتها  
والروم والترك والسقلاب والغورا  
وأركب الهتيق فالظلمات معتسقا  
او لا فذب رباو بات مغورا

[P. 83] (b) وقد عرضت لموسى في تفرده

بالشأء تُسْتَجَّ عَمْرُوسًا وَفُرُورًا  
لم أَخْلُو من حديث ما ووسوة<sup>1</sup>  
اذ دك ربك في تكليمه الطورا<sup>2</sup>  
أضللت رأى أبى ساسان عن رشد  
وسرت مختلفيا في جيش سابورا

(c) ثم آتعتُ وصارت توبتى مثلاً

من بعد ما عشت بالعصيان مشهورا  
حتى اذا آنقصت الدنيا ونودى إله  
رائيل ويحك هلا تنفخ الصورا  
اماتنى الله ميثاً ثم ايقظنى<sup>3</sup>  
لمبعضى فرزقت الخلد مبرورا

Then the Shaikh inquired about the languages of the Jinn, and Abū Hadrash said : ' We are a people of sharp wit and intelligence, and there is none of us but knows all the tongues of men, and we have a speech besides of which men are ignorant.' He added that it was he who introduced the Kor'ān among the Jinn. ' I journeyed at nightfall in a company of the Jinn, Marids of Yaman, and we passed by Yathrib in the season of ripe dates, and heard a marvellous chanting that showed us the way to righteousness.<sup>4</sup> So

<sup>1</sup> For this use of ما see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Kor., vii, 139.

<sup>3</sup> امانى الخ, i.e., God caused me to sleep the sleep of death.

<sup>4</sup> ادلجت في رفق من الخابل مرید اليمين فمرنا بيشرب في زمان  
المعد اى الركب فسمعنا قرآنا عجيبا يهدى الى الرشده. The MS.  
reads المزبد اليمين. I have no example of مرید used collectively. Possibly  
من يد اليمين is the correct reading.

I returned to my people and told them the news, and some [P. 84] believed eagerly, the more so as they were punished for eavesdropping by being pelted with blazing stars.' 'O Abū Hadrash,' exclaimed the Shaikh, 'inform me whether this "pelting" with stars existed in the Ignorance, for it is said to have begun with Islām.' 'Dear me!' said the old man, 'have not you heard the lines of al-Audī?'<sup>1</sup>—

كشهاب الفذف يرميكم به  
فارش في كتفه للحرب نار

and of Aus b. Hajar?—

مَا نَعَاكَ كَالدَّرَّتْ يَتَبَعُهُ  
نَقْعٌ يَثُورُ مَخَالَهُ طَبْنَا

"Pelting," however, did increase at the time of Muhammad's mission.' Here Abū Hadrash repeats a poem of his own, 'فى قصة الرجم',<sup>2</sup> which runs to sixty-seven couplets and covers three pages of manuscript. It begins :

مَكَّةَ أَقْوَمْتُ، مِنْ بَنَى الدَّرَدَ بَيْسَ  
فَمَا لِحِجَّتِي بِهَا مِنْ حَسِيْسٍ  
وَكُسِّرْتُ أَصْنَائِهَا عَنُوءَ  
فَكُلَّ جَبِيَّتٍ بِنَصِيلِ رَدِيْسٍ  
وَقَامَ فِي الصَّفْوَةِ مِنْ هَائِمِ  
أَزْهَرُ لَا يَفْعَلُ حَقَّ الْجَمَلِيْسِ  
يَسْمَعُ مَا أُنْزِلَ مِنْ رَبِّهِ آآ  
قَدُوسٍ وَخِيَا مِثْلَ قَرْعِ الطَّسِيْسِ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps al-Afwah al-Audī, who is cited several times by Yāktū.

<sup>2</sup> This title is misleading. The poem is a replica, considerably enlarged, of the one that precedes it.

After describing how he diabolically possessed a girl on the eve of her marriage, he continues :

وَأَذْلِجُ الظُّلَمَاءَ فِي فُئِيَّةٍ  
مِلَّ جَنِّ فَوْقَ الْمَاحِلِ الْعَرَبِيِّسِ  
[P. 85] فِي طَامِسٍ تَغْرِزُ خَبَائِثَهُ<sup>1</sup>  
أَقْفَرًا لَا مِنْ عَفَارِيَتٍ لَيْسَ  
بِضٍ بِهَالِيلٍ ثَقَالٍ يِعَا  
لَيْلَ كَرَامٍ يَنْطِقُونَ الْهَيْسِ  
يَحْمِلُوا فِي الْجُنْحِ خَيْلٌ لَهَا  
أَجْبَحَةٌ لَيْسَتْ كَخَيْلِ الْأَنْبِيسِ  
وَأَيُّقُ تَسْبِقُ أَبْصَارَكُمْ  
مَخْلُوقَةٌ بَيْنَ نَعَامٍ وَعَيْشِ

He says of the Jinn :

لَا نَسْكُ فِي إِيَامِنَا عِنْدَنَا  
بَلْ نُكَيِّسُ الدِّينَ فَمَا إِنْ نَكَيْسُ  
فَالْأَحَدُ الْأَعْظَمُ وَالسَّبْتُ كَالْ  
إِثْنَيْنِ وَالْجُمُعَةُ مِثْلُ الْخَمِيسِ  
لَا مُجْبَسٌ مُحَنٌ وَلَا هُوْدٌ  
وَلَا نَصَارَى يَبْتَغُونَ الْكُنَيْسِ  
نُكْرِزُ التَّوْرِيَّةَ مِنْ هَوْنِهَا<sup>2</sup>  
وَمُحْطَمُ الصُّلْبَانِ حَطَمَ الْيَمِيسِ  
مُحَارِبُ آلِهِ جُنُودًا لِإِ  
لَيْسَ أَخَى الرَّأْيِ الْغَبِينِ التَّجْمِيسِ

<sup>1</sup> MS. فِي طَامِسٍ تَغْرِزُ جَنَاتِهِ. The sandy tracts hum with the sound of the Jinn. Cf. Lucretius, i, 256 : " novis avibus canere undique silvas."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. مِنْ سَكِينَتِهَا.



Then, having recounted sundry malicious and wicked pranks, he relates his conversion to Islām, and how he took part in the fighting at Badr, Ohod, and other battles where the believers were engaged. The final exhortation to repentance was like a spur (he says) to a willing steed :

مادف مئى واعظ توبۃ

[P. 87] مكات اللقوة عند القيس<sup>1</sup>

The Shaikh marvelled at what he heard from this Jinnī, but would not stay with him longer, so he farewelled him and went on his way. After meeting the lion which devoured 'Uṭba b. Abī Lahab and the wolf which wounded the Aslamite<sup>2</sup> in the Prophet's time, he came to a tent like the hut of a shepherdess (كانه جفش أمة راعية). Inside was a man who lacked the aureole of the people of Paradise, and hard by grew a sorry bush with scentless fruit. Ḥuṭai'a (for it was he) told the Shaikh that intercession was made for him on account of his sincerity in the verses :<sup>3</sup>

أبت شفتای اليوم ألا تكلما

نجم فما ادرى لمن انا قايله

[P. 89] أرى لى وجهاً شوه الله خلقه

فنج من وجوه وقبح حامله

'Were you not pardoned,' said the Shaikh, 'for the lines ?—

من يفعل الخير لا يعدم جوازيه

لا يذهب الغرر بين آله والناس

<sup>1</sup> The proverb is كانت لقوة لاقت (or مادفت) قيساً (Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 309).

<sup>2</sup> I cannot explain this allusion.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in *Raḡdatu'l-Adab*, p. 85, where it is said that Ḥuṭai'a in his perplexity repeated the first couplet several times until he happened to catch sight of his own face in a pond.

'No,' said he, 'the idea had been expressed by righteous men before me, and I did not practise what I preached.' Then the Shaikh asked for Zibriḳān b. Badr,<sup>1</sup> and Huṭai'a said: 'He is a chieftain in this world as in the last; he profited by my satire when others failed to profit by my praise.'

Leaving him, the Shaikh passed on, and as he approached the place which commands a view of Hell-fire (المُطَّلَع إِلَى النَّارِ), he saw al-Khansū of Sulaim, who said: 'I wished to behold Ṣakhr, so I clambered up and saw him like a lofty peak with fire blazing on its summit. And he said to me, "Your words have come true," meaning my verse—

وَأَنْ صَخْرًا لَتَأْتُمُ الْهَدَاةَ بِهِ  
كَأَنَّهُ عَـلِمٌ فِي رَأْسِهِ نَارٌ

Then the Shaikh ascended and introduced himself to Iblis, who was suffering horrible tortures. 'My profession,' said he, 'was that of a scholar.' 'A bad profession,' rejoined Iblis; 'though it may afford a bare livelihood, it brings no comfort to one's family, and surely it makes the feet stumble. How many like thee hath it destroyed! But [P. 90] what of Bashshār b. Burd? He has a peculiar claim upon me, for he used to pay me compliments, as no other poet ever did, and he says:

إِبْلِيسُ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ أَبِيكَمِ آدَمَ  
فَتَبَيَّنُوا يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَشْرَارِ  
النَّارُ عُنْصُرُهُ وَآدَمُ طِينُهُ  
وَالطِّينُ لَا يَسْمُو سُمُو النَّارِ

. . . . And lo! he met Bashshār b. Burd, whose sight had been restored to him that he might see his tortures,

<sup>1</sup> Huṭai'a's patron, whom he quarrelled with and satirized. Zibriḳān appealed to 'Umar, and the poet was thrown into prison.

and 'O Abū Mu'ādh,' cried the Shaikh, 'your poetry was as excellent as your belief was vile. I used to repeat some of your verses, and felt pity for you, hoping that you might be overtaken by penitence, e.g. your verses—

لَارْجِعْ اِنِّى نَكِي تَعِيشَ بِهِ  
 ذَهَبَ الرِّمَانُ وَأَنْتَ مُنْفَرِدٌ  
 تَرْجُو عَدَا وَغَدُ كَحَامِلُهُ  
 فِي الْحَيِّ " بِدُرُونَ مَا تَلِيدُ

and your verses—

[P. 91] وَأَمَّا لَأَسْمَاءَ آبِنَةَ الْأَشَدِّ  
 وَأَمَّتْ تَرَأَى إِذْ رَأَتْنى وَحْدَى الْخ<sup>1</sup>

In this poem you employ السَّبْد as a rhyme<sup>2</sup>. Now if you meant the plural of سَبَد, you have done wrong, for فَعْل never makes this plural. And if you made the *b* of سَبَد *sākin*, you have erred. You must not adduce irregular examples, such as are found in the verse of al-Akhtal<sup>3</sup>—

وَمَا كُلُّ مَغْبُورٍ إِذَا سَلَفَ صَفْقُهُ  
 يُرَاجِعُ مَا قَدْ فَاتَهُ بِرَدَائِهِ

and in the verse—

وَالْوَلَا تُرَابِيَّ فَتَلْتُ صَدَقْتُمْ  
 أَبِي مِنْ تُرَابٍ خَلَقَهُ أَنَّهُ آدَمَا

<sup>1</sup> Five more distichs are quoted. The poem to which they belong is in *Aghāni*, iii. 37 seq.

<sup>2</sup> It is not so used in the verses cited in *Aghāni*.

<sup>3</sup> *Diwan*, ed. Salhani, p. 137, where the verse is given in this form :

وَمَا كُنْتُ مَغْبُورٍ إِذَا سَلَفَ صَفْقُهُ  
 بِرَاجِعٍ مَا قَدْ فَاتَهُ بِرَدَائِهِ

The readings وَالْأَسْمَاءُ وَرَدَادُ (كسحاب) بِرَدَائِهِ or بِرَدَائِهِ and يَرَجِعُ (وكتاب) are mentioned *ad loc.*

As for Jamīl's verse<sup>1</sup>—

وصاح ببَيْنٍ من بُئَيْتَةٍ والتوى  
جميع بذات الرضم مردٌ مُحَجَّلٌ

they are wrong who read *صُرِّ*, meaning *صُرِّ*. The correct rendering is *صُرِّ*, i.e. "a black crow having no speck of white." *المُحَجَّل* is synonymous with *المُتَّيِّد*, which is an epithet applied to the crow on account of the shortness of its leg-tendon.<sup>2</sup> The poet says:

وَمُتَّيِّدٌ بَيْنَ الدِيَارِ كَاتِهٌ  
حَبَشِيٌّ دَا جَنْوَةٌ يَخْرُوعَتَلِيْ

[P. 92] Then the Shaikh met Imru'u'l-Kais, whom he questioned concerning the grammar and *mètre* of some of his verses,<sup>4</sup> and 'Antara the 'Absite. 'What ails you?' asked the Shaikh, observing 'Antara's astonishment at hearing so much poetry. 'One would think you had never said:

ولقد شربت من المدامة بعد ما الخ

<sup>1</sup> Not in *Aghānī*, vii, 77 seq.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *لقصر ساء*, but a later hand has drawn a line through the *lamca*. I do not remember an instance of *نساء* applied to a bird; this, however, gives the meaning required. Cf. *حاجل* = hopping or hobbling, as though shackled (Lane, s.v.). The crow (*Annosa cornix*) cannot be described as *قصير النساء*. One might suggest, on palaeographical grounds, *لقصر لسانه*; I don't know what the ornithologists say.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the tradition cited in Damiri (article *غراب*):

كَانَتْ بِحَبَشِيٍّ أَفْحَجٍ السَّاقَيْنِ أَزْرَقِ الْعَيْنَيْنِ أَفْطَسِ الْأَنْفِ كَبِيرِ الْبَطْنِ

<sup>4</sup> Ahlwardt, *The Divāns*, xlviii, 8, 24, 39, 73; lix, 14, 16; xx, 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Mu'allafah*, 37 seq. The commentators explain *المشوف المَغْلَم* as (a) *dīnār*, (b) bowl. Abū'l-'Alā suggests that it refers to the *ردآء*, i.e., the poet says, like Hāfiz, that he has pawned his embroidered cloak in order to purchase wine.

When I recall your line

هل عاذر الشعر من متردماً<sup>1</sup>

I say to myself, "This was spoken when the sum of existing poetry was small and retained in the memory, whereas now there are more lizards than hunters and all the world is wise instead of ignorant"<sup>2</sup> Had you heard all the poetry that has been written since the sending of Muhammad, you would rebuke yourself for this statement and would recognize that the truth of the matter is declared by Ḥabīb b. Aus:<sup>3</sup>

[P. 97] ملو كان يُغنى 'شعر أفاذ ما قرئت

حيأصك . مه في التصور الذواهب

ولكنه صوت الغول 'دا آتجلت

سأئت مه أتعبت سحائب

'Who is this Ḥabīb?' asked 'Antara. 'A poet of Islām,' said the Shaikh, and recited some more of his poetry. 'The ideas,' said 'Antara, 'are genuinely Arabic, but he has taken the details from me, though plagiarism is not approved by some people.'<sup>4</sup> 'It is just the borrowed part that is criticized,' retorted the Shaikh with a smile of triumph. 'Borrowing is frequent in the ancient poetry; not, however, such wholesale borrowing as Ḥabīb was guilty of' . . .

Now he saw 'Alqama b. 'Abada and exclaimed: 'How

<sup>1</sup> *Mu'allaka*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> وقد كثرت على الصايد الخساب وعرفت مكان الجهل الرباب

I take عرفت to be intransitive here = his sense and discernment, is a connoisseur (so *intelligere* and *sapere* in Latin).

<sup>3</sup> The author of the *Hamāsa*. These verses are found in the Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7,538, f. 166, with فبه for مه in the first beyt and فنت for أى ما explained by an interlinear note ما فرت حياصك . آتجلت . قيل فيك وفي سلفك .

<sup>4</sup> أما الأصل فعربى وأما الفرع فنضى به عنى وليس هذا المذهب . It appears from the notice of Abū Tamīm in the *Aghāni* that he gave great offence to Di'bīl b. 'Alī by his habit of 'conveying' or adapting the poetry of others.

your plight grieves me! (أَغْزَى عَلَيَّ بِمَكَانِكَ). Did not your two strings of pearl<sup>1</sup> avail you?—meaning his poems rhymed in *b*<sup>2</sup> and *m*.<sup>3</sup> 'And what is the signification of قَلِيب in your verse?—

[P. 99] وما القلب ام ما ذكرها ربيع  
يخط لها من ثُرُمْدَاء قَلِيب

Has it the traditional sense (هذا الذي يورد), or does it mean "a tomb"? 'Surely,' said 'Alkama, 'you are seeking smiles from one who is sad, and are wishing to double up the dates when they are dry.<sup>4</sup> Mind your business, O saved one!' The Shaikh said: 'If sincere verses containing no praise of God could intercede for any, your verses describing women<sup>5</sup> would have interceded for you. And I am anxious to know what you mean by حَاتِيَةُ حَوْمٍ:<sup>6</sup> for حوم is variously explained as = حَم, i.e. سَوْد, by substitution of *wāw* for one of the *mims*; as حَوْم, i.e. كَثِير, the *wāw* being *ḍamma'd* by poetic license; and as that which is made to circulate (يُحَامُ بِهَا) among the drinkers. And what does مُخْتَبَر signify in your phrase اِمْتَحَنَ مِنَ اِلْجَمَالِ? Some connect it with [P. 100] اخْتَبَارِ الْهَوَائِلِ مِنَ اللّٰوَانِجِ, others with خَبِير in the sense of froth or flesh or soft hair.'

'Alkama gave no heed to the Shaikh's questions, so he passed on to 'Amr b. Kulthūm and said: 'I wish that you had not committed *sinḍ* in your verse' (*Mu'allaka*, 78).

سمطا لؤلؤك. According to Ḥammād al-Rāwīya these poems were called سمطا الدهر (Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 67), but Abū'l-'Alā must have known them as سمطا الذّر.

<sup>1</sup> ii in *The Diwān*.

<sup>2</sup> xiii, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 7, *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> أَنْكَ لَسْعَصِيكَ عَابَسًا وَتَرِيدَ أَنْ تَشْنَى التَّمْرِ يَابَسًا. I read

بَتْنَى for مَس. بَتْنَى.

<sup>5</sup> *The Diwān*, ii, 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> xiii, 38, *ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> xiii, 51, *ibid*.

'Verily,' he answered, 'brothers are three or four, and among them is the lame or the one-eyed, yet they are not blamed on this account.<sup>1</sup> How, then, when they reach a hundred in number?' After the Shaikh had informed 'Amr of the controversies caused by *سميا* (*Mu'allaka*, 2) and *ولا شمطا* (*Mu'allaka*, 20),<sup>2</sup> he saw Hārith al-Yashkurī (Hārith b. al-Hilliza) and said to him. 'Truly, you have made the *rdwis* weary of explaining your verse (*Mu'allaka*, 18)<sup>3</sup> . . . . And you have said excellently'

<sup>1</sup> Abū Tamam made a similar excuse for a bad verse (*Aghāni*, xv 100)

<sup>2</sup> Abū'l-'Ala defends the reading *ولا شمطا* on two grounds (a) it is governed by *ان كعب بن مائة* لا تَسْ or لا اُدْكُر understood as one says *مائة بن مائة* لا تَسْ or لا اُدْكُر, meaning that Hatim's generosity is so well known to require mention, (b) *ولا شمطا* is like *ولا شمطا* اي هدا *ولاد المطر اذا سعاد السعيه الثالثة* اي هدا *الحسين اتقى مع حسى فكانه قد صار له وليا وبجمل ان يكون من ولي تلى وقلت الماء على اللغة الطائفة*.

<sup>3</sup> The Shaikh accuses Hārith of committing in this verse the fault known as *skwa*, on what grounds it is difficult to see. He also cites Hārith's verse

عشا بخير لا يضرَك الوبك ما أعْطِبَ حَدا

remarking that the poet has combined the vocalization of the *shin* with elision of the *wa*, which is rare and bad. In *Christian Arabic Poets* p 417 the reading is

عَمَشِي مَجْدَ لَا يَضْرَكُ نَوَكِي (sic) مَا لَقِيبَ حَدا

which is explained, on the authority of Abu Hilal al-'Askari *عَمَشِي* أراد ان العيش الساعه في طلال الوك اي الجهل حتر من العيش في طلال العقل ("where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise"). Another variant gives

عَمَشَا بخير لا يضرَك الوبك ما أوتيت حَدا. Apparently the Shaikh takes *عشا* = *عَمَشَا*, whereas,

of course, it is *عَشِنَ*, the Energetic form of the Imperative, which is the reading in *Aghāni*, ix, 181. He compares the verse

مَنْ تَشَبَى بِأُمِّ عَثْمَانَ تَصْرَمِي

وَأَوْذَنِكَ إِيدَانُ الْحَلِيطِ الْمُرَايِلِ

making the observation that *تَشَبَى* should be written *تَشَبَى*, because when the *shin* is vocalized the elided *shin* returns

<sup>4</sup> *Christian Arabic Poets*, p 418.

لَا تُكْسَعِ الشَّوْلُ بِأَغْبَارِهَا

[P. 102]

إِنِّكَ لَا تَدْرِي مَنِ الْنَاتِجِ

In the time of the Ignorance they used to tether (يعكسون) the dead man's camel beside his grave, maintaining that on the day of Judgment he would find her raised for him and would mount her. May her shoulder be too weak to bear his weight! But alas! men come to Judgment naked, barefooted, without provision. This is the same cast-off camel that is mentioned in your verse' (*Mu'allaka*, 14).

Then the Shaikh departed to converse with Tarafa, and quoted his verse (*Mu'allaka*, 47), which, said he, is attributed by some to 'Adī b. Zaid, though it is more in your style (وهو بلامك أشبه). 'And the grammarians are at sixes and sevens about your verse (*Mu'allaka*, 56), which, however, is not more anomalous than the verse'—

مَشَائِمُ لَيْسُوا مُصْلِحِينَ قَبِيلُهُ

[P. 103]

وَلَا نَاعِبٍ إِلَّا بَيْنَ غَرَابِهَا

But you have done an extraordinary thing in the verses—

لَوْ كَانَ فِي أَمْلَاكِنَا مَلِكٌ  
يُغْصِرُ فِينَا كَأَلَذَى تُغْصِرُ<sup>2</sup>  
لَا جُنُبَتْ صَحْرَاءُ<sup>3</sup> الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى  
حَرْفِ أَمْوٍ دَفْهًا أَزْوَرُ<sup>4</sup>  
مَتَعْنَى يَوْمِ الرَّحِيلِ بِهَا  
قَرَعٌ تَنْقَادُ الْقِدَاعُ يَسْرُ

<sup>1</sup> *Kāmil*, 221.

<sup>2</sup> This couplet is discussed by Lane under *عصر*. Ahlwardt (*The Dialects*, p. 148) reads (sic) نَغْصِرُ كَأَلَذَى.

<sup>3</sup> MS. مَضْحِي or مَضْحِي, for which a marginal note gives *اجواز*. An unmetrical variant of the second *enjambé* is written on the margin: زَيَانُو دَفْهًا أَزْوَرُ.



though this is in keeping with the Arabic idiom (ولكنك  
(سلكت مسالك العرب). The metre is that of the poem of  
Murakkish<sup>1</sup>—

هل بالدياران حبيب صمم  
لو كان حيا ناطقا كلم

and of al-A'shā's line—

امض فكل طالب سيمل

and he said :

ما ذا علما ان غزا ملك  
من آل جفنة ظالم مرغم

Now this is a departure from the system of al-Khalil . . . .'

And the Shaikh turned his head in expectation and saw  
Aus b. Hajar, and, 'O Aus,' said he, 'your companions are  
dumb to the questioner, but I hope to receive an answer  
from you. I never cease to admire your poem in /, where  
you mention the *jurja* (leathern bag), for after a description  
of the bow you say :

[P. 104] فحيت ببئى مؤلا لأزبد  
عليه بها حتى يؤوب المأخل<sup>2</sup>  
ثلثة اسراو جيانو وجرجه  
وأذكن من أزي الدبور مغل<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Writers on prosody agree that these verses "have no proper metre" See Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 251. Noldeke's *Beiträge*, p. 16. This explains the allusion in Abū'l-'Alā's *Lettere* (ed Margoliouth), p. 84: "And we have observed that many of those who write verse according to rule have tried the metre of al-Murakkish, supposing that people's tastes are not averse to such experiments in these days." The author is al-Murakkish al-Akbar (*Aghani*, v, 189 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> MS. المأجل. I have not found this verse elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> See Fischer's explanation of this verse in ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 112.

'Oh,' exclaimed Aus, 'would that I had been Darim,<sup>1</sup> of whom the proverb speaks! Overpowered by thirst, I behold the semblance of a river before my eyes, but when I draw a draught therefrom, I find it burning fire. Worse men than I have entered Paradise. Mercy is a windfall, like wealth in the transitory world.' 'I only wanted,' said the Shaikh, 'to get these words from you, that I might deliver them to the people of Paradise, saying, "Aus told me," and "Abū Shuraiḥ informed me."'. . . Then after discussing the verse—

[P. 105]      تَوَاهِقُ رِجَالَهَا يَدَاهُ وَرَأْسُهُ  
لَهَا قَتَبٌ خَلَفَ الْحَقِيَّةَ رَادِفٌ<sup>2</sup>

the Shaikh continued: 'I dislike your line—

وَالنَّحِيلَ خَارِجَةً مِنَ الْقِسْطَالِ<sup>3</sup>

for نَفَالٌ does not occur except in words that have a doubled radical, though one says نَافَعٌ أَي ظَلَعَ.

Now he saw in the Fire a man whose features he could not distinguish, and, 'O miserable wretch,' he cried, 'who are you?' He answered: 'I am Abū Kabir<sup>4</sup> of Hudhail, 'Āmir b. al-Ḥulais.' 'Indeed,' said the Shaikh, 'you are one of the chiefs of Hudhail, but I do not commend you for saying in one poem:

أَزْهَيْرُهُلَ عَنْ شَيْبُوَ مِنْ مَعْدَلٍ  
أَمْ لَأَسْبِيلَ إِلَى الشَّبَابِ الْأَوَّلِ

then in another:

أَزْهَيْرُهُلَ عَنْ شَيْبُوَ مِنْ مَصْرَفٍ

and in a third:

أَزْهَيْرُهُلَ عَنْ شَيْبُوَ مِنْ مَعَكُمْ

<sup>1</sup> أَوْدَى دَرِيمٌ (Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 817).

<sup>2</sup> MS. عِنْدَ الْحَقِيَّةِ. See Sibawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), vol. i, p. 121; Fischer in ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 106 seq.

<sup>3</sup> SBWA., vol. cxvii, p. 12 of Geyer's Recension.

<sup>4</sup> MS. أَبُوكَبْرَةَ.

This is a proof of the poverty of your genius. Why did you never show variety in commencing a poem? Al-Asma'ī ascribes to you only those three *ḡaydas*, though it is related that he credits you with the poem rhymed in *r*, which begins:

أزهر هل عن شيء من مقصر

Yet how fine are your verses: <sup>3</sup>

[P. 106] ولقد وَرَيْتُ الْمَاءَ لم يَشْرَبْ به  
بين الشتاء إلى شهورِ الصَّيْفِ  
أَلَا عَوَاسِلُ كَالْمِرَاطِ مُعِيدَةٌ  
سَالِئِلِ مَوْرِدِ أَيْمٍ مُتَعَصِفِ  
رَقَبٍ يَظَلُّ الدُّبُّ يَتَّبِعُ ظِلَّهُ  
فيه فَيَسْتَكِنُ آسِنَانِ الْأُخْلَفِ  
فَصَدَدَتْ عَنْهُ ظَامِيَا وَتَرَكْنَاهُ  
يَهْزُ عِلْقَتُهُ<sup>4</sup> كَأَن لَّمْ يُكْشَفِ

. . . . 'What of Ṣakhrū'l-Ghayy?' asked the Shaikh. [And lo! there was Ṣakhr close at hand, and the Shaikh said:] 'How fares your Dahmā, who though she was young and delicate had no part or lot in your plighted troth, but her love inspired you with dread? <sup>4</sup> Hence you say: <sup>5</sup>

فَهَلْ أَبْتَدَأْتَ قَصْدَهُ بِنِي<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the portion of the Hudhalite poems that has been published by Kosegarten and Wallhausen.

<sup>4</sup> MS. غَلَقَتْ.

<sup>5</sup> The text has:

فيقول ما فعل صخر الغي ما فعلت دهماؤك لا ارضك  
(لا رضى لك) لها ولا سماءوك في عهدك وشبابها رؤد ياخذك من  
حبايبها الزود

<sup>6</sup> Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudhalitarum*, p. 12.

أتى بدهماء عزمًا أجدُّ  
يعتادنى من حبابها زُؤنُ

And what is become of your Talid? <sup>1</sup> Your thoughts are diverted from him by the doom that you shall abide in Hell for ever, and it behoves you to forget him, even as a wild animal heeds not the bleeding of its leg-tendon <sup>2</sup> . . .'

Now he saw a man writhing in anguish, <sup>3</sup> and asked his name. It was al-Akḥṭal, the Taghlibite. 'This,' he cried, 'is the end of your poetry in praise of wine. How the lords were thrilled by your verses : <sup>4</sup>

اناخوا فجزوا شاصيات كائها  
رجال من السودان لم يتسربلوا'

[P. 107] Said the Taghlibite : 'I drew the spear-shaft along and faced the mail-clad warrior, <sup>5</sup> and when I parted from the woeful world I hoped that my devout soul would be summoned to bliss, but Fate ruled otherwise.' 'You made two mistakes,' answered the Shaikh : 'in rejecting Islām and in embracing a life of pleasure under the wing of Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya. You preferred the transitory to the eternal. How, then, can you escape punishment?' (نكيف) (لك بالإباني). Al-Akḥṭal heaved a great sigh that astonished the Zabāniya, and exclaimed : 'Oh for the days of Yazīd, when I inhaled the perfume of ambergris and mint, and jested with him as a friend, and he suffered me with the sufferance of the noble ! How many an embroidered robe did he give me to deck myself withal, and proudly I trailed

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sakhr (*ibid.*, p. 36 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> واين حصل تليدك شغلک عنه تخليدک وحق لك ان تنساه  
كما زهل وحشى دمی نساء

<sup>3</sup> MS. يتضرد. I read يتضرد.

<sup>4</sup> *Diwan*, ed. Salhani, p. 3. Ten more distichs are cited.

<sup>5</sup> جررت الذراع ولقيت الذراع.

its skirt at morn and eve! Methinks I see again the singing-girls lifting up their voices before him and singing to him his own verses:

ولها بالمطرون اذا  
نفد المل الذي جمعا الخ<sup>1</sup>

And one day when I was drunk and confused (ملئخ), I said: <sup>2</sup>

ألا أسلمت سبقت ابا خالد  
وحتاك ركب بالعنقز  
اكلت الدجاج فأنتيتها  
فهل في الحنايص من معز

He did not vouchsafe me a smile, but quivered in his passion like the sword-blade.' 'Hence your banishment from bliss' (من ثم أونيّت), said the Shaikh. 'Did not [P. 108] you know that the man was a recalcitrant and a climber of the mountains of sin? What did you learn of his religion? Was he a Unitarian, or did you find him associating others with God (فى النسك ملجدا)?' 'He used to admire these verses,' <sup>3</sup> said al-Akhtal:

أخالد هاتى خبرينى وأغلىنى  
حديثك إنى لا أثير التناجيا

<sup>1</sup> This distich and two others are in *Kasas*, 218. Abû'l-'Alâ cites a fourth, viz.:

وقعت للبدر ترقبه  
فإذا بالبدر قد طلعا

<sup>2</sup> *Diwan*, ed. Salhani, p. 386. ألا is omitted in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> From the Shaikh's next remark it is plain that al-Akhtal is quoting his own but they are not, I think, in Salhani's edition of the *Diwan*.

حَدِيثُ أَبِي مُفَيَّانَ لَمَّا سَنَى بِهَا<sup>1</sup>  
 إِلَى أَحْمَدَ حَتَّى أَقَامَ الْبَوَاكِيَا  
 وَكَيْفَ بَغَى أَمْرًا عَلَى نَفَاتِهِ  
 وَأَوْرَثَهُ الْجَدُّ السَّمِيدَ مَعَاوِيَا  
 وَقَوْمِي فَعَلَيْنِي عَلَى ذَاكَ تَهْوَةً  
 تَحْتَلِمُهَا<sup>2</sup> الْعَبْسِيُّ كَرَمًا شَامِيَا  
 إِذَا مَا نَظَرْنَا فِي أُمُورٍ قَدِيمَةٍ  
 وَجَدْنَا حَلَالًا شَرَّهَا الْمُتَوَالِيَا  
 فَلَا خُلْفَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا  
 تَبَوَّأَ رِئَاسَتَ الْمَدِينَةِ ثَاوِيَا

‘Be accursed!’ cried the Shaikh. ‘The poets of Paradise and Hell have forgotten their panegyric and love-poetry. You alone cleave to infidelity and mischief.’

Now the Shaikh, after a brief passage of arms with [P. 109] Iblis, wearied of talking to the people of Hell, and departed towards his lofty pavilion,\* but when he had gone a mile or two, it occurred to him that he had not asked for Muhalhil and the Murakḳishān, and that he had neglected al-Shanfarā and Ta’abbata Sharran. So he retraced his steps, and found Muhalhil, and having questioned him about the derivation of his name, ‘Al-Asma’ī,’ he said, ‘rejects the verse ascribed to you:’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. سَمَى or سَى.

<sup>2</sup> MS. تَحْتَلِمُهَا. I cannot explain the allusion.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the verse of al-Mutalammis:

فَاذَا حَلَلْتُ وَدُونَ بَيْتِي غَاوَةٌ  
 فَتَبَرَّنِي بِأَرْصِكَ مَا بَدَا لَكَ وَأَرْغَدُ

أُرْعِدُوا سَاعَةَ الْهَيَاجِ وَابْرُقْ  
مَا كَمَا تُرْمِذُ الْفُحُولُ الْفُحُولَا

asserting that it is modern, though Abū Zaid cites it and defends it as genuine.' 'What is al-Asma's ground of objection?' 'He affirms that ارعد and ابرق are not used in the sense of "threaten," or with reference to clouds.' 'A false criticism,' cried Muhalhil: 'this verse was spoken by one who had a sound knowledge of idiom, either me or another. Hold fast to it and turn your back on foolish sayings.' Then the Shaikh approached al-Murakkiḥ al-[P. 111] Akbar, and said: 'God give you ease, O injured youth! In the past world I always grieved for what befell you at the hands of the Ghafalite,<sup>1</sup> of the Banū Ghufaila b. Kāsiḥ—be he accursed! Some Moslems depreciate your poem in *m*,<sup>2</sup> which in my opinion is a jewel. A certain scholar used to consider it and the poem in *m*<sup>3</sup> composed by al-Murakkiḥ al-Aḡhar inferior to the Mufaddalite poems, but his judgment is unreasonable. These verses are sometimes attributed to you :<sup>4</sup>

"I chose for Hind a piece of arāk-wood ;  
Alas! but who shall give it into her hand ?  
O my friends, take that path (God send you good !),  
Tho' far it lead you from your own dear land.  
Tell her : ' We come not erring and astray,  
But only to salute thee left our way.' "

I do not, however, find them in your divān.' . . . .

قال الاصمعي برق ورعد اذا تهجد واوعد ولا يقال ابرق وارعد وقال  
ابو عمروهما جميعا واحتج بيت الكميت :  
أبرق وأرعد يا يزيد فما وعيدك لي بضائر

<sup>1</sup> According to *Aghani*, v, 189 seq., al-Murakkiḥ loved his cousin Asma', the daughter of 'Auf b. Mālik, who gave her in marriage to a man of Murād. Possibly this Ghafalite represents the husband of Asma'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 707, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Aghani*, v, 194 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Aghani*, x, 128 seq.

Having conversed a little with al-Murakkīsh al-Aḡhar and al-Shanfarā, the Shaikh accosted Ta'abbata Sharran. 'Is there any truth,' he asked, 'in the story of your marriage with the ghouls?' and he quoted the verses:

أنا الذى نكح الغيلان فى بلد  
ما ظلّ فيه بماكى ولا جادا  
فى حيث لا يعمى الغادى عمائته  
ولا الظليم به يبغي تهتادا  
وقد لهوت بمصقول عوارضها  
بكر ثنازعنى كائنا وعقادا  
ثم آنقصى عضرها عنى وأغقبه  
عصر المشيب فقل فى صلحه بادا

[P. 113] 'I infer that you are the author of these verses from your use of تهتاد as the *maḡdar* of الظليم, i.e. ate colocynth-seed. The form is like يفتراق in the verse—

طيف آبنو الحران كئا نواصلها  
ثم آجتنيت بها بعد التفراق

It is regular, though rare in poetry. Abū Zubaid says:

فشار الزاجرون فزاد منهم  
تفترابا ومادفه ضبيس

Ta'abbata Sharran made no reply except 'All men are liars,' and as the Shaikh perceived that little was to be gleaned among the people of Hell, he left them in eternal woe and set off for his abode in Paradise. On the way



he met Adam, and fell into a discussion of some verses,<sup>1</sup> the authorship of which Adam vehemently denied; and, [P. 115] advancing further, he came to a delectable garden where snakes were gambolling and balancing themselves in the water. He marvelled that snakes should exist in Paradise, but God Almighty inspired one of them with knowledge of what was passing through his mind, and it said: 'Did you never hear of Dhūtu'l-Ṣafā, who paid her friend in his own coin?'<sup>2</sup>

[P. 117] After listening to her tale, the Shaikh conversed with another snake who had lived in the house of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and learned the whole Kor'ān from his dictation. He asked her whether the tradition was correct that Ḥasan used to read ذنئ الأسباح (Kor., vi, 96). The snake answered: 'I heard him pronouncing it thus, and imitated him, but on his death I betook myself to the house of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, and conceived an aversion to Ḥasan's reading of اصباح and السجل. When Abū 'Amr died, I went to Kūfa and dwelt with Hamza b. Ḥabīb, and from him I heard several readings<sup>3</sup> abominated by Arabic scholars. . . . This is to lock the door of Arabic idiom (إغلاق لباب العربية). The Farḳān is not subject to

أحسن بنو الأرض وسكانها  
منها خلقتنا واليه نعود  
والسعد لا يبقى لأصحابه  
والخس تنحدر ليلالي السعد

and the first two disticha of the poem cited by Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. i, p. 66.

<sup>1</sup> Here follows the story of the snake and the two brothers (Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 336). The diction is largely drawn from Nābigha's poem (*The Diodes*, xv), part of which is quoted. ذات الصفا, 'dweller in the rock' (*ibid.*, l. 7).

<sup>2</sup> These are وَمَكْرُ السَّيِّئِ (xiv, 27), بِمُضَرِّجِي (iv, 1), وَالْأَرْحَامِ (xxxv, 41).

poetical license. Doubtless poetry affords examples like [P. 118] these. . . . As for the lines of the *rajis*—

اِذَا اَتَوْا جَبْنَ قُلْتُ مَا جَبَ قَوْمٌ  
فِي الدَّوِّ اَمْثَالَ السَّفِينِ الْعَوْمِ

this is an extraordinary case. The original form was *صاح قوم*, which is metrically correct. Those who cite the verse maintain that the author wished to make the ending *جَبَ قَوْمٌ* correspond exactly with *نَلَّ عَوْمٌ*. So in the verse of the Hudhalite<sup>1</sup>—

اَبَيْتُ عَلَى مَعَارِي فَاخْرَايَ  
بِهَيِّ مَلَوْتُ كَدِمَ الْعِبَايَ

the grammarians assert that the author's dislike of *siḥāf* induced him to read *مَعَارِي*; but this theory breaks down, for many verses in the poem admit *siḥāf*, and it occurs in all poems, Arabic and non-Arabic alike. It is said that al-Aṣma'ī never heard the Arabs read this verse except with the pronunciation *مَعَارِ*, a fact which (in itself) does not weaken the position of the grammarians, since they must have derived their reading from persons well acquainted with idiom ' (اهل الفصاحة).

The Shaikh was astounded to hear this snake. 'Will [P. 119] you not stay awhile with me?' she continued. 'I can split my skin whenever I please, and become as lovely a lady as there is in Paradise.' But he moved away at a quick pace, muttering to himself: 'How should one incline to a snake whose excellence is poison and her purpose a sudden attack?' And as he fared on his way he met the [P. 120] damsel who had come forth from the fruit, and they glided through the sand-hills together. She quoted some verses<sup>2</sup> of Imru'u'l-Kais, which reminded the Shaikh of

<sup>1</sup> Mutanakhkhil b. 'Uwaimir. The verse is cited in Sibawaihi, vol. ii, p. 53, *Jamharatu ash'ara 'l-'Arab*, p. 119, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *The Diodes*, xiviii, 26-28.

that poet's adventure at Dāratu Juljul,<sup>1</sup> and God Almighty created black-eyed houris (one of whom surpassed in beauty all her companions, like the mistress of Imru'a'l-Kais), plunging in the cool stream and pelting each other with tharmad of the most exquisite perfume. And the Shaikh slaughtered his camel, and they partook of its flesh with indescribable enjoyment and delight.

[P. 121]. . . . And he came to some tents which had not the height and spaciousness of the tents in Paradise. It was the Garden of the *Rajas*-makers. Here lived Aghlab of the Banū 'Ijl and al-'Ajjāj and Ru'ba and Abū'l-Najm and Humaid al-Arkaṭ and 'Udhūfir b. Aus and Abū Nukhaila<sup>2</sup> and all the makers of *rajas* that had been forgiven. 'Blessed is God,' he exclaimed, 'the Mighty, the Beneficent! The tradition is verified that God loves lofty things and loathes the mean,<sup>3</sup> for *rajas* is a mean sort of verse. O men, scanty was your accomplishment and scanty is your reward!'

Now he met Ru'ba and abused him for rhyming with 'abhorrent letters,' such as ب and ط and ع, adding that he never coined a well-known proverb or a classic phrase. 'Do you tell this to me,' cried Ru'ba angrily, 'who am cited by Khalil and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā? In the past world you would plume yourself on the interpretation of a word which these savants handed down to you as coming from me and my fellows.' Ru'ba's arrogance did not escape the Shaikh, who said: 'If your *rajas* and your father's *rajas* were poured into one mould, it would be impossible to extract therefrom a single poem of excellence. I have heard that Abū Muslim addressed to you a poem containing the words ابن ثارآ, and you had to inquire in the tribe what was meant. And you used to accept presents from kings to which you had no right; indeed, others are better entitled to gifts and salaries . . . . No glory to you

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, xlviii, 8. See *Ibid.*, iii, 425.

<sup>2</sup> MS. مخيلة. See *Risālatu'l-Adab*, i, 79 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Lane under مفضال.

as your expressions are cited, since we find them cited [P. 122] the words of a lame serving-maid that fetches the palm-trunk to the fire'<sup>1</sup> . . . . Finally the Shaikh said, as a parting shot: 'I swear that the speech of you *rajas*-makers is unfit for panegyric, and no finer than liquid pitch. You deafen the ears of the person eulogized with your stones (?), and after finishing the description of a camel, which you commiserate on account of the long journey it has made, you proceed to describe a swift horse or a noisy hunting-dog. Verily, ye are in the wrong way.'<sup>2</sup>

This section of the *Risala* concludes with the following passage:—

ويذكر اذكره الله بالصالحات ما كان يلحق اخا الندام من فتوز  
في الجسد من المدام فيختاران يعرض له ذلك من غير أن يُثَرَّفَ

<sup>1</sup> I give the context as it stands in the MS.:

لا فخر لك ان استشهد بكلامك فقد وجدناهم يستشهدون بكلام  
امو وكعآ تحمل القتل الى النار الموقدة في السرة التي بغض عليها  
السيم ريشه وهدم لها الشيخ عريشه ياخذ خشبة للوفود كما يصل الى  
الرقود واجل ايامها ان تجتنى عساقل المهة لسى الغدير غلظ عن  
القطن والتحدير

افسمت ما يصلح كلامكم للشنا ولا يفضل عن الهاء تكون MS.  
(تصون) مسامع الممتدح بالجنديل واتما يطرب الى المنديل  
ومتى خرجتم عن صفة جمل ترون له من طول العمل [عمدتم] الى  
صفة فرس ساجر او كلب للقنص ناسج فانكم غير الراشدين

I have not translated the words *واتما يطرب الى المنديل*, as I do not understand them. The insertion of *عمدتم* is necessary; it would easily fall out after *العمل*.

له ثوب ولا يعتبر عليه حب فاذا هو يخال في العظام الناعمة دبيب  
نمل اسرى في المقمرة على رمل فيترنم بقول اياس بن الارق<sup>1</sup>

ما ذل او شرت الخمر حتى  
يفتل لكل املية دبيب  
اذا لعدرسى وعلمت انى  
نما اتلعت من مالى مصيب

ويكفى على مفرش من السدس وهو المحور العمن ان يحملن  
ذلك المفرش فصعته على سرير من سرر اهل الجنة [P. 123]  
واتما هو زرجد او عسجد ويكنون العارى فيه حلقا من الذهب  
تطيف به من كل لاشراء حتى تخذ كل واحد من العلمان وكل  
واحدة من الجوارى المشبهة بالعمان واحدة من تلك الحلق  
فيحتمل على تلك الحال الى محله المشد بدار الخلود فكثما متر  
بشجرة نصخته اعصابها بماء الورد قد خلط بماء الكافور وبمسك ما  
يجنى من دماء العور هو يتخذ الله الكريم وتناديه الثمرات  
من كل اوب وهو مستلج على الظهر هل لك يا ابا الحسن هل  
لك فان اراد (اباد MS.) عمودا من العنب او غيره آ نصب من  
الشجرة بمشبة الله وحمله الخدرة الى به واهل الجنة يلقوه  
باصناف الآحية وآخر دعواهم ان الحمد لله رب العالمين لا يزال

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a mistake for الأرق. The verses are cited anonymously in *Hamās*, p. 563 seq., but as they are immediately preceded by four distichs of Iyās b. al-Aʿrābī, it seems likely that Abū'l-ʿAlā's memory has played him false.

كذلك أبدًا سرمدًا ناعمًا في الوقت المتطاوّل مُنعَمًا لا تَجِدُ العين  
فيه مزعمًا

I reserve for another article the more difficult but also, I think, the more characteristic and interesting portion of the *Risālatu'l-G̃hufrān*, which comprises what a marginal note calls بمعرفة الزندقة .

ART. XXVI.—*Biographies of Persian Poets contained in Ch. V, § 6, of the Tārīkh-i-Guzida, or "Select History," of Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī of Qazvin. Translated by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.*

IN pursuance of the plan set forth in my article on the *Sources of Dawlatshāh* (*J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1899, pp. 37-69), I propose in this place to give a translation of that section (the sixth of the fifth chapter) of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* which treats of the Persian poets. On the importance of that excellent historical manual, which I hope to include in my Persian Text Series, I have already insisted in the above-mentioned article (pp. 39, 40, and 53-54); and of this particular section, to which my attention was especially directed by the references made to it by Dawlatshāh, I long ago prepared a text and translation. These I was more than once on the point of publishing, but certain difficulties remained, on each revision, insoluble; and I waited in the hope of obtaining further material or fuller light. Of these difficulties the chief were the so-called "Pahlavī" (i.e. dialect) verses of Abu'l-Mājid Rāyagānī, Ūyānj or Ūtānj, Jūláha of Abhar, 'Izzu'd-Dīn Hamadānī, Kāfi-i-Karajī, and other poets, who, not content with the classical language, chose to employ the dialects of their native places as the vehicle of their thoughts. These dialects have, in most cases, either become extinct, or undergone great changes, since the time when the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* was written (A.H. 730 = A.D. 1330); and since we possess but little knowledge of them, while such fragments as are preserved have generally been hopelessly mutilated and corrupted by a succession of scribes, copying one from another, to whom they were as unintelligible as they are to us, there is but

little hope that we shall ever arrive at a complete understanding of them.

Now it is always humiliating to publish texts which one is unable to understand or explain, and of which one cannot guarantee the correctness; yet since these enigmatical verses constitute but a small proportion of the section of the *Guzida* which I wish to render accessible to other students of Persian literature, and since the existence of so much dialect-poetry in Persia in the Middle Ages is an interesting and important fact, and one deserving further attention, I have finally decided to publish my work, hoping that others may be more fortunate than myself in the explanation of these dark sayings. I have, of course, collated all the older manuscripts to which I had access in these portions, and I owe especial thanks to Baron Rosen, of St. Petersburg, who, with his usual kindness, has copied and transmitted to me the texts of these verses as they occur in the MS. of the *Guzida*, dated A.H. 847, belonging to the Musée Asiatique; and in that of the Institut des Langues Orientales (No. 260: No. 6 of Baron Rosen's *Manuscrits Persans de l'Institut*, p. 52), dated A.H. 855.

My original intention was to publish the entire text of this section with a translation, but on maturer thought it appeared to me that it would be sufficient to include in my English rendering the text of the verses cited, the more so because, as I have said, I intend, if possible, to print the text of the whole book in my Persian Text Series. Some few of the verses cited, apart from the unintelligible dialect-verses of which I have just spoken, are so coarse that I have left the text untranslated; otherwise the translation is as complete as I could make it, and represents the fullest text that I have been able to reconstruct from the manuscripts at my disposal; for in most manuscripts there are some lacunæ, while in some the whole section is unfortunately wanting. At best, however, it bears evident traces of having lacked a final revision by the author; since the gaps after such expressions as "his name was . . . .," "he was a contemporary of . . . .,"



and the like, are common to all the manuscripts, save where, for the sake of concealing these defects, the scribe has suppressed these and similar uncompleted sentences. I should add that some biographies of Persian poets, who were also saints (like Saná'í of Ghazna and Awḥadu'd-Dín of Kirmán) or men of science (like Avicenna and Abu'l-Fath of Bust), are given in the earlier sections of this fifth chapter, which deals with biography in general. These are not included in my translation.

The chief sources of the *Guzida*, enumerated in the Preface, are as follows:—(1) *Siyaru'n-Nabi* (presumably Ibn Hishám); (2) *Qisasu'l-Anbiya* (probably the work of that name by ath-Tha'álibi); (3) the *Rudla* of al-Qushayrī; (4) the *Tadhkiratu'l-Anbiya* (probably Faridu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭār's); (5) the *Ta'licin* (probably the work properly entitled *Rawḍu'r-Riyáhin*) of al-Yáfi'í; (6) the *Tajáribu'l-umam* (probably the work of Ibn Miskawayh); (7) the *Masháribu't-Tajārib* (see Hájí Khalífa, No. 12,043); (8) *Diwánu'n-Nasab*; (9) Ṭabari; (10) Ḥamza of Isfahán; (11) Ibnu'l-Athír; (12) the *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh* of Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán; (13) the *Nidhámu't-Tawárikh* of al-Bayḍáwí; (14) the *Uyúnu't-Tawárikh* of Abú Ṭálib 'Alí al-Kházin al-Baghdádí; (15) Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif*; (16) Juwaynī's *Jahán-Kushá*; (17) Abú Sharaf Jarbádhaqání's translation of al-'Utbi's monograph on Sultán Maḥmúd the Ghaznavid; (18) the *Nidhámu'l-Mulk*'s *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* (that is, the *Siyásat-náma*: see *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1899, p. 41, No. 24); (19) the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí; (20) the *Saljúq-náma* of Dhabíri of Nishápúr; (21) the *Majma'-i-Arbábu'l-Mulk* of Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy; (22) the *Istidhárú'l-akhbár* of Qáḍí Aḥmad of Dámghán; (23) the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* of the author's "martyred master" Rashidu'd-Dín.

The arrangement and contents of the *Guzida* are in brief as follows:—

*Introduction.* On the Creation and Disposition of the Universe.

*Chapter I.* On the Prophets, Religious Leaders and Wise Men who worked for the guidance of mankind before the time of Muḥammad, in two sections: (i) Prophets, ordinary and extraordinary; (ii) Philosophers and Sages.

*Chapter II.* Pre-Islámic Kings, in four sections: (i) Píshdádí; (ii) Kayání; (iii) Tribal Kings (*Mulúku't-Tawá'if*) or Parthians; (iv) Sásánians.

*Chapter III.* Muḥammad and his Companions and Descendants, in an introduction and six sections: (Introduction) His genealogy, pedigree, and kin; (i) his life, wars, wives, relations, and descendants; (ii) the orthodox Caliphs, including al-Ḥasan; (iii) the Twelve Imáms, from al-Ḥusayn to the Imám Mahdí; (iv) some of the "Companions" and "Followers"; (v) the Umayyad "Kings" (the Author refuses them the title of *Khalífa*!); (vi) the 'Abbásid Caliphs.

*Chapter IV.* The Muḥammadan Dynasties, in twelve sections.

- (i) The Šaffáris (A.H. 253-287), 3 in number.
- (ii) The Sámánis (A.H. 287-389), 9 in number.
- (iii) The Ghaznawís (A.H. 390-545), 14 in number.
- (iv) The Ghúris (A.H. 545-609), 5 in number.
- (v) The Daylamís, or House of Buwayh (A.H. 321-448), 17 in number.
- (vi) The Saljúqs (*a*) of Persia (A.H. 429-590), 14 in number; (*b*) of Kirmán (A.H. 433-583), 11 in number; (*c*) of Asia Minor (A.H. 480-679), 14 in number.
- (vii) The Khwárazmsháhs (A.H. 491-628), 9 in number.
- (viii) The Atábeks (*a*) of Diyár Bakr and Syria (A.H. 481-601), 9 in number; (*b*) of Fárs (the Salgharids), A.H. 543-663, 11 in number.
- (ix) The Isma'ílís (*a*) of Egypt and North Africa (the Fátimid Caliphs, A.H. 296-556); (*b*) the Assassins of Persia (A.H. 483-654), 8 in number.
- (x) The Qára-Khiṭá'is of Kirmán (A.H. 621-706), 10 in number.

(xi) The Atábeks of Luristán (*a*) of Lur-i-Buzurg (A.H. 550-730), 10 in number; (*b*) of Lur-i-Kúchak (A.H. 580-730), 11 in number.

(xii) The Monghols (or Mughals) of Persia (A.H. 599-730), 13 in number down to the time of the Author, who says, "let him who will write hereafter the conclusion of their history."

*Chapter V.* Biographies of Eminent Men, in six sections:

- (i) Imáms and Mujtahids; (ii) "Readers" of the Qur'án;
- (iii) Traditionists; (iv) Shaykhs, Saints, and Holy Men;
- (v) Doctors and Divines; (vi) Poets (*a*) of Arabia, (*b*) of Persia.<sup>1</sup>

*Chapter VI.* Account of the town of Qazwín, the Author's native place, in eight sections: (i) Traditions concerning it; (ii) etymology of the name; (iii) its buildings; (iv) its Conquest and Conversion by the Muḥammadans; (v) its aqueducts, rivers, mosques, tombs, and suburbs; (vi) mention of the "Companions," "Followers," Imáms, Caliphs, Shaykhs, Divines, Ministers, Kings, and Amírs who have visited it or resided in it.<sup>2</sup>

*Conclusion.* Synoptical table of the Prophets, Kings, etc.

The following are some of the oldest MSS. of the *Guzída*.<sup>3</sup>

*Cambridge University Library.* \*Dd. 3. 23 (hereinafter called C.<sup>1</sup>), dated A.H. 990; \*Dd. 10. 13 (hereinafter called C.<sup>2</sup>), dated A.H. 964.

*British Museum.* \*Add. 22,693 (L.<sup>1</sup>), dated A.H. 890; \*Add. 7,631 (L.<sup>2</sup>), dated A.H. 924; Add. 7,630, dated A.H. 1009 (L.<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> This is the section of which the translation follows. The old and complete MS. at Shiráz, which my friend Mr. Guy le Strange caused to be collated with another MS. in his possession, contains also biographies of Commentators, Jurisconsults, Philosophers, Astronomers, Physicians, etc. For the kindness with which Mr. le Strange freely placed at my disposal all his materials, I desire here to express my deep gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> A French translation of this chapter of the *Guzída* was published by M. Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1857 (series v, vol. x).

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. which have been utilised for this article are marked with an asterisk.

*Oxford (Bodleian).* No. 26 in Ethé's *Catalogue* (Clarke 8), dated A.H. 847; No. 27 of Ethé (Elliot, 354), dated A.H. 851; No. 28 of Ethé (Elliot, 355), dated A.H. 953; No. 29 of Ethé (Fraser, 156), "a good old copy, not dated."

*St. Petersburg.* \*No. 578<sup>b</sup> of the *Musée Asiatique* (hereinafter called P.<sup>1</sup>), dated A.H. 847; \*No. 260 of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* (P.<sup>2</sup>), dated A.H. 855.

*Munich.* No. 205 (Aumer's *Catalogue*), dated A.H. 823; No. 206, dated A.H. 948.

*King's College, Cambridge.* \*No. 114 of the Pote Collection (K.), not dated.

\**Le Strange's materials*, comprising a MS. collated throughout with the old Shíráz MS., and a transcript of all the additional matter contained in the aforesaid ancient and complete codex. This text is referred to as S.

The MSS. chiefly used by me were C.<sup>1</sup>, C.<sup>2</sup>, K., and S.; for the dialect-verses reference has also been made to L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup>, P.<sup>1</sup>, and P.<sup>2</sup> With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the translation of the section in question.

#### ACCOUNT OF PERSIAN POETS FROM CH. V, § 6, OF THE TÁRÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

The Persian poets who have composed verses in the Persian and Pahlaví languages are so numerous as to surpass computation. We shall, however, mention the names of such as are most famous, citing in some cases a few of their verses.

##### 1. *Anwari.*

*Awḥadu'd-Dín al-Kháwarání* was the contemporary and panegyrist of Sulṭán Sanjar the Saljúq [A.H. 511-552].

He had some knowledge of most branches of science, as is shown by this fragment<sup>1</sup>:—

گرچه در بستم در مدح<sup>2</sup> و غزل یکبارگی  
 ظن مبرکز نظم<sup>3</sup> الفاظ و معانی قاصر  
 بلکه بر هر علم کز امران من داند کسی  
 خواه جزوی گر آرا خواه کلی قادر  
 منطق و موسیقی و هیئت شناسم اندکی  
 راستی باید بگویم با نصبی وافر  
 در الهی آنچه تصدیفش کند عقل شریف<sup>4</sup>  
 گر تو تصدیفش کنی بر شرح و بسطش ماهر  
 وز<sup>5</sup> طبعی رمز چند ارجند<sup>6</sup> بی تشویر نیست  
 کشف دانم کرد اگر حاسد نباشد ناظم<sup>7</sup>  
 نیستم بیگانه از اعمال و احکام مجوم<sup>8</sup>  
 و رهمی باور نداری رجه شو من حاضر<sup>9</sup>

*"Though I have simultaneously closed the doors of panegyric and ode, do not suppose that I am deficient in [the power of] arranging words and ideas.*

*Nay, in every science known to any of my contemporaries, whether pure or applied, I am competent.*

<sup>1</sup> This poem is given in full on pp. 704-5 of the Lakhnāw ed. of Anwarī's *Kulhiyyāt* (A.H. 1297, A.D. 1880).

<sup>2</sup> K. در مدح; L.<sup>1</sup> در مدح.

<sup>3</sup> K. adds, .

<sup>4</sup> S. reads در for بر.

<sup>5</sup> For در C.<sup>1</sup> has در; L.<sup>1</sup> و از; K. و.

<sup>6</sup> For در C.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>1</sup>, and K. read در.

<sup>7</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> و از; S. در; C.<sup>1</sup> و.

<sup>8</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> چند از چند; K. چند از چند.

<sup>9</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> omits these two hemistichs.

*Of Logic, Music, and Astronomy I know something ; to speak truly I have a goodly portion.*

*In Metaphysics, if thou wilt believe it, I can skilfully explain and develop that which noble Reason affirms.*

*Of Natural Science, also, I can reveal sundry enigmas (though it be not without diffidence), though the envious man regard me not.*

*Neither am I a stranger to the effects and influences of the stars. If thou dost not believe me, take the trouble [to come and prove me] : I am ready."*

In later life he repented, and ceased to frequent the Royal Court; and when the King sent for him, he wrote this fragment in reply <sup>1</sup> :—

كلبه<sup>1</sup> كاندرو بروز و بشب<sup>2</sup> ' جای آرام و خورد و خواب منست'  
 حالتی دارم اندرو که از آن<sup>3</sup> ' چرخ در عین رشک و تاب<sup>4</sup> منست'  
 آن سپهرم درو که گوی سپهر<sup>5</sup> ' نذر<sup>6</sup> نور<sup>7</sup> آفتاب منست'  
 و آن جهانم درو که بحر<sup>8</sup> محیط<sup>9</sup> ' والو لمعه<sup>10</sup> سراب منست'  
 هرچه در مجلس ملوک بود<sup>11</sup> ' همه در کلبه<sup>12</sup> خراب منست'  
 رجل جراد و<sup>13</sup> نان خشک برو<sup>14</sup> ' گرد خوان من و کباب منست'  
 شیشه<sup>15</sup> حبر<sup>16</sup> من که بادا پُر<sup>17</sup> ' پیش من شیشه<sup>18</sup> شراب منست'  
 قلم کوتاه و صریر<sup>19</sup> خوشش<sup>20</sup> ' زخمه و نغمه<sup>21</sup> رباب منست<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This poem occurs on pp. 593-4 of the Lakhnaw ed. of Anwarī's *Kulliyāt* (A.H. 1297, A.D. 1880).

<sup>2</sup> K. om. [و]; S. رشک و عین تاب; ed. رشک فی تاب.

<sup>3</sup> For K. has کز.

<sup>4</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has بحر for محیط.

<sup>5</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> رجل اجزاء و; ed., K., L.<sup>1</sup> رجل اجزاء و; S. رجل اجزاء و.

<sup>6</sup> S. has بود for برو; K. درو.

<sup>7</sup> For C.<sup>1</sup> has صبر; S., ed. حبر.

<sup>8</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> باهم امیر.

<sup>9</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> صریر; K. صریر.

<sup>10</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> omits this couplet.

'خسرقه' صوفیانه<sup>۱</sup> ازرق<sup>۲</sup> 'از هزار اطلس انتخاب منست'  
 'هرچه بیرون بود ازین<sup>۱</sup> کم و بیش<sup>۲</sup> 'حاشا للسامعین<sup>۳</sup> عذاب منست'  
 'گنده پیر جهان مجتنب کند<sup>۴</sup> 'همتت را<sup>۵</sup> که در جناب منست<sup>۶</sup>  
 'خدمت پادشه که بانی باد<sup>۷</sup> 'نه ببازوی خاک و آب منست'  
 'زین قدر<sup>۸</sup> راو رجعتم بستست<sup>۹</sup> 'آنکه<sup>۱۰</sup> او مَرَجَع و مآب منست'  
 'وین<sup>۱۱</sup> طریق<sup>۱۲</sup> از بما بستست<sup>۱۳</sup> خطا<sup>۱۴</sup> 'چکنم<sup>۱۵</sup> این خطا صواب منست'  
 'گرچه پیغام روح پرور او<sup>۱۶</sup> 'همه تسکین<sup>۱۷</sup> اضطراب منست'  
 'نیست مر<sup>۱۸</sup> بندهر را زبان جواب<sup>۱۹</sup> 'جامه<sup>۲۰</sup> و جای من جواب<sup>۲۱</sup> منست'

*"In the cottage where, by night and day, is the place of my  
repose and food and sleep*

*I enjoy a state [of happiness] whereby Heaven is actually  
tormented with envy of me.*

*I am that heaven where the sphere of heaven is but [as] a mote  
in the light of my sun,*

*And I am that world where the encircling Ocean is maddened  
by the gleam of my mirage.*

*Whatsoever exists in the audience-halls of Kings is all in my  
ruined cottage.*

*The locust's foot<sup>14</sup> and dry bread withal is the garniture of  
my board and my roast meat.*

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> transposes *بود* and *ازین*.

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>3</sup> *لها معین*; ed. *للسامعین*.

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> *همتت را*.

<sup>4</sup> S. omits this couplet.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. *قدم*.

<sup>6</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> *زانکه*.

<sup>7</sup> S. *این*; ed. *زین*.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. *از نمایی است*.

<sup>9</sup> S. *میکنم*.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. *و*.

<sup>11</sup> C.<sup>1</sup>, C.<sup>2</sup> *این*; S. *می*.

<sup>12</sup> C.<sup>1</sup>, C.<sup>2</sup> *جامه*; K. *خانه*.

<sup>13</sup> For *خورد و خواب* K. has *می جواب*.

<sup>14</sup> "The locust's foot" was the ant's offering to Solomon, and is used metaphorically for any humble present or poor possession.

*My ink-bottle (may it be ever full!) is as my wine-bottle before me.<sup>1</sup>*

*My stumpy pen with its pleasant scratching stands to me for the beating of drums and melody of rebecks.*

*The dark blue Súfi cloak is chosen by me in preference to a thousand satins.*

*Whatever transcends this much is torment to me (God exempt my hearers!).*

*That old lady the World cannot stir the high resolve which sits beside me.*

*The service of the King (may he long endure!) is not to be wrought by my arm of earth and water.<sup>2</sup>*

*He who is my Goal and Refuge hath prevented me from returning so far.<sup>3</sup>*

*And this way [of life], though it be a great error on my part, what can I do? for in this error is my health.*

*Although his spirit-quickenng message is a complete assuagement of my disquietude,*

*I your servant have no tongue to consent: my apparel and abode are my answer."<sup>4</sup>*

## 2. Azraqí.

His name was Afdalu'd-Dín of Herát, and he was the contemporary of Sultán Ibráhím [A.H. 451-492]. He has produced incomparable verses. The book *Alfiyya Shalfiyya*<sup>5</sup> is one of his metrical compositions.

<sup>1</sup> So Násir-i-Khusraw (*Díedn*, ed. Tabriz, A.H. 1280, p. 225):—

تو به پیاله نبید خور که مرا بس 'حبر سیاه و قلم نبید و پیاله'

"Quaff thou the cup of date-wine; for me suffice  
The black ink and the pen as wine and goblet."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. "my material arm." The services which the poet can render are spiritual and intellectual.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., God hath prevented me from going back to the courtier's arts.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the dark blue Súfi cloak and the humble cottage, to which the poet alludes earlier in his poem, sufficiently indicate his renunciation of worldly aims.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning this pornographical work, see Jámi's *Baháristán*, Const. ed. of A.H. 1294, pp. 78-79; the *Journal Asiatique* for 1827, vol. x, p. 255; and my forthcoming edition of Dawlatabáh, p. 72.



3. *Adib Sábir.*

He was the contemporary of Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq, at whose orders he went on an embassy to Khwárazm to Atsiz Khwárazmsháh. Atsiz had him cast into the Oxus one night and drowned.<sup>1</sup> He has some fine verses.

4. *Athiru'd-Din Awmání.*

Awmán is a village in the A'lam suburb of Hamadán. He was the panegyrist of Sulaymán Sháh ابو, the governor of Kurdistán, and has produced some fine verses. He died in the reign of Hulágú Khán. They relate that he composed some satirical verses about Qádí Majdu'd-Dín *Tawíl* ("the Long"), the Qádí of Hamadán, amongst them the following:—

نه ازین داشت قضا<sup>2</sup> مرگت وی اندر تاخیر  
 ' که برید اجلش می ننماید تعجیل  
 لیک در تیو ضلالت نه چنان گم گشتست<sup>3</sup>  
 ' که بصد سال برد ره بسرش عزرائیل

"Not because the messenger of his fate lacked insistence did  
 . . . Destiny delay his death,  
 But he is so utterly lost in the Desert of Error that 'Azrá'il  
 cannot find the way to him in a hundred years."

The Qádí recited the *Súratu'l-an'ám* (ch. vi of the Qur'án) forty times, and laid a curse upon him, by reason of which he shortly afterwards died.

5. *Athiru'd-Din of Akhsíkat.*

Akhsíkat is one of the suburbs of Farghána in Transoxania. He has produced some incomparable verses, amongst them the following:—

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances of this murder are detailed by Dawlatsháh (p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> Q.<sup>1</sup>, C.<sup>2</sup> have قضا for قضا.

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> گمست او.

ای شمع زرد روی که با اشک<sup>۱</sup> دیده<sup>۲</sup>  
 سر خیل عاشقان مصیبت رسیده<sup>۳</sup>  
 فرهاد وقت خویشی و می سوز و می گداز<sup>۴</sup>  
 تا خود چرا ز صحبت شیرین بریده<sup>۵</sup>  
 یاری بباد داده<sup>۶</sup> ارنی<sup>۷</sup> چرا چو من  
 بد رنگت و اشکبار و نزار و خمیده<sup>۸</sup>  
 گر شاهی ز بهر چه رخ زرد کرده<sup>۹</sup>  
 ور عاشقی برای<sup>۱۰</sup> چه قد بر کشیده<sup>۱۱</sup>  
 آن را که نور دیده گمان برده<sup>۱۲</sup> تو خود  
 دایم در آب دیده از آن نور دیده<sup>۱۳</sup>  
 آن خود فرو دویده بساعد نشان چیست<sup>۱۴</sup>  
 زین غبن اگر نه دست بدندان گزیده<sup>۱۵</sup>  
 باله که تا<sup>۱۶</sup> مصاحب<sup>۱۷</sup> شمع تو وصف خویش  
 زین سان که از اثیر گراز کس شنیده<sup>۱۸</sup>

" O pale-faced candle, with tear-filled eyes, thou art the chief of calamity-stricken lovers !

*Thou art the Farhād of thy time : then burn and melt, for why hast thou severed thyself from the company of Shirin ?*

*Thou hast lost a sweetheart, else wherefore, like me, art thou pallid in hue, tear-stained, feeble, and bent ?*

*If thou art an object of love, why hast thou thy cheeks so pale ? And if thou art a lover, why dost thou hold thyself so erect ?*

<sup>۱</sup> L.<sup>۱</sup> آب.

<sup>۲</sup> L.<sup>۱</sup> ارنه ; K. ارنی.

<sup>۳</sup> These three couplets occur in S. only.

<sup>۴</sup> L.<sup>۱</sup> ره.

<sup>۵</sup> Q.<sup>۱</sup>, C.<sup>۲</sup> پا.

<sup>۶</sup> K. مصاف ; C.<sup>۱</sup>, C.<sup>۲</sup> مصاف .

*As for that which thou deemest the Light of thine eyes, by reason of that Light of thine eyes thou art indeed ever dissolved in tears.*

*What, then, is that sign creeping down the arm if thou hast not bitten the hand by reason of this disappointment? <sup>1</sup>*

*I adjure thee by God [to tell me] whether, since thou hast kept company with the candle, thou hast heard thy description from anyone as thou hast from Athir! <sup>2</sup>*

### 6. Imámi of Herát.

His name was Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abú Bakr b. 'Uthmán. He was the panegyrist of the Kings and ministers of Kirmán, and died in the time of Abáqá Khán [A.H. 663-680, A.D. 1265-1281]. He has some fine verses. Here is an acrostic on his own name, which he addressed, as a test [of their skill], to the accountants:—

ثَلَّثَ خُمُسَ زَوْجِ فَرْدِي رَا كِه خُمُسِ سُدْسِ آن  
 بيشكَّتْ از حدِّ عددِ بيرون بود تنصيف <sup>3</sup> كن  
 برقرار خویش بارِ ديگرش در ثَلَّثِ مال  
 ضرب كن چون ضرب كردی آنكهی تضعيف <sup>4</sup> كن  
 سُدْسِ و عَشْرِ ثَلَّثِ اورا باز با اين هر دو قسم  
 جمع كن نى نى كه نصف و ثَلَّثِ ازو تحذيف <sup>5</sup> كن

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the Egyptian women, to each of whom Zulaykhá gave a knife and an orange just as Joseph was about to enter the room, and who, confounded by his beauty, inadvertently cut their hands instead of the fruit. The wax guttering down the candle is here compared to the blood gushing down their arms. Biting the hand indicates remorse; biting the finger, amazement.

<sup>2</sup> The curious idiom in this line (بآله . . گر .) appears to be copied from the Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>1</sup>, K. نصيف; S. نصيف. The full explanation of these difficult verses given below has enabled me to reconstruct the text with considerable certainty, so that I have not thought it necessary to note more than the principal variants.

<sup>4</sup> K. نصيف.

<sup>5</sup> S. has ار for ار; L.<sup>1</sup> نصيف for نصيف.

کعبِ غَیْن<sup>۱</sup> و جذرِ ظارا<sup>۲</sup> گر برون آری بفکر  
 اندرو پیوند و چار و پنج را تالیف کن  
 با محاسب گفتم اندر علم او اسمی بر مرز<sup>۳</sup>  
 گو امامی را بعلم خویشان تعریف کن

*"Halve the third of the fifth of that odd pair whereof the fifth of the sixth is, beyond doubt, outside the pale of numbers.*

*Once again multiply it as it stands by the third of the capital, and when thou hast multiplied it, double it.*

*Again add the sixth and the tenth of the third of it to these two [previous results]: nay, nay, [first] take from it the half and the third.*

*If now thou wilt extract the cube root of 'Ghayn [غ = 1000] and the square root of Dhá [ظ = 900], add this to it [the previous result], and reduce to writing four and five.*

*I have communicated to the accountant a name by an acrostic in his own science: Bid him acknowledge Imámí's skill in his own science! "*

The term "odd pair" (زوج فرد) is applied to a number whereof, when it is halved, the two factors are equal and uneven. That which is "outside the pale of numbers" is *one*, for one results only from the subdivision of real numbers. Now when one is taken as the fifth of the sixth of an amount, that amount must be *thirty*, and a third of the fifth of thirty is *two*, which, when you halve it, gives *one*: that is *alif* (ا).

When you multiply this third of the fifth, which is two, by the third of the "capital" (مال), that is the third of thirty, which is ten, it gives twenty, and this, when you double it, gives forty; that is *mim* (م).

The sixth of that thirty is five, and the tenth of the

<sup>۱</sup> L.<sup>۱</sup>, K. عین.

<sup>۲</sup> L.<sup>۱</sup> ظارا.

<sup>۳</sup> In the text of S. علم اسمی نزد می.

third of it one. The two together are six. When you cast out five-sixths of this [i.e.  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} = \frac{5}{6}$ ], one remains: that is *alif* (ا).

When any number is multiplied by a number like itself, they call the first the "square root" (جذر), and the result of the multiplication "the square" (مجدور). When the square is again multiplied by the square root, that which was before called the square root is called the "cube root" (كعب). Now since the number equivalent to [the letter] *ghayn* (غ) is 1000, the cube root of it must be 10; that is to say  $10 \times 10 = 100$  and  $100 \times 10 = 1000$ . And since the number equivalent to *dhá* (ذ) is 900, the square root of it is 30; that is to say,  $30 \times 30 = 900$ . So 10, which is the cube root of *ghayn* (غ), and 30, which is the square root of *dhá* (ذ), come to 40: that is *mim* (م).

The cypher of four [i.e. the letter which has four as its numerical value] is *dál* (د) and the cypher of five is *há* (ه), and *dál* and *há* in the form of writing are *dah*, ten (ده); and in the *abjad* computation 10 is equivalent to the letter *yá* (ي). In this way the name *Imāmi* [ $1 + 40 + 1 + 40 + 10 = \text{alif, mim, alif, mim, yá} = \text{امامى}$ ] results.

### 7. *Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna.*

Rúna is a village in the district of Kháwarán in Khurásán. He [Abu'l-Faraj] has some good verses, and was the contemporary of Sultán Maliksháh the Suljúq [A.H. 465–485, A.D. 1072–1092] and his sons. It is said that Anwarí was at first his pupil, though finally far surpassing him in the poetic art.

### 8. *Ibn Khaṭīb of Ganja.*

His name is Táju'd-Dín Aḥmad. He was the contemporary of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna [A.H. 388–421, A.D. 998–1030], and has some fine verses; his poetical contests with his

mistress Mahsatī<sup>1</sup> are especially piquant. It is said that before his marriage Ibn Khaṭīb of Ganja invited Mahsatī to a love-tryst, but she refused, and wrote in answer:—

تن با تو بخواری ای صنم در ندهم ' با آنکه ز تو بهست هم در ندهم '  
یکباره<sup>2</sup> سر زلف بجم در ندهم ' بر آب بخسپم خوش و بم در ندهم '

*"O idol mine, I will not suffer abasement at thy hands, nor even at the hands of one who is superior to thee.*

*I will not precipitately entangle my tresses in the noose :  
I will lie at ease on the water and yet not get wet !"*<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khaṭīb of Ganja beguiled her, and got possession of her under another name; and, after he had had his desire of her, said to her :

تن زود بخواری ای جلب در دادی ' ورگفته خویش بیک باز ایستادی '  
گفتی خسپم در آب و نم در ندهم ' بر خاک بخفتی و نم اندر دادی '

#### 9. *Arḥadh.*

He has some fine verses, amongst them these:—

دلبر من رقیم مشک بمه بر رده بود '  
خلق را آتش سوزنده بدل در زده بود '  
مرد را مردمک دیده بخون تر میکرد '  
عنبرین خال<sup>4</sup> که بر برگ گل تر زده بود '

<sup>1</sup> So pointed in S. "Mah-satī" (مهستی). A similar pronunciation is indicated in the Biographies of Celebrated Women entitled *Khaṣratūn Husnān*, lithographed at Tih-rān in A.H. 1307 (vol. iii, pp. 103-104), where the etymology of the name is given as *Māh* "great" and *Satī* "lady," though other derivations (*Mah-astī*, *Mih-astī*) are also discussed.

<sup>2</sup> K. *تار*, which seems a better reading, though not so strongly supported by manuscript authority.

<sup>3</sup> This is equivalent to saying "I will play with fire and not get burned."

<sup>4</sup> جلب بخواری اندر<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> C.<sup>1</sup>, C.<sup>2</sup> در.

<sup>6</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> has *عبرش خاک*.

مژورا پای فرو شد بزمین همچون میخ<sup>۱</sup>  
 پیش بالاش ز بس دست که بر سر زده بود<sup>۲</sup>  
 ناوک غمزه چشمش بمن انداخت ز دور<sup>۳</sup>  
 بردل آمد سر پیکان چو<sup>۱</sup> برابر زده بود<sup>۴</sup>  
 ما خود آن زخم که بر سینه مجروح آمد<sup>۵</sup>  
 بمسلمان ننمودیم که کافر زده بود<sup>۶</sup>  
 چون کبوتر بطییدم که مرا غمزه او<sup>۷</sup>  
 بکمان مهره ابرو چو کبوتر زده بود<sup>۸</sup>  
 هر شکاری که بینداخت بنوعی برداشت<sup>۹</sup>  
 مگر این صید سراسیمه که لاغر زده بود<sup>۱۰</sup>  
 اشک مژخمدی داد بهر وَجْه ارنی<sup>۱۱</sup>  
 غم او چهره زردم همه بر زر زده بود<sup>۱۲</sup>  
 گر بهم بر زده بینی سخنم عیب مکن<sup>۱۳</sup>  
 کاوحدی را غم عشق تو بهم بر زده بود<sup>۱۴</sup>

"My beloved hath imprinted figures of musk on the moon ;<sup>3</sup>  
 hath cast a consuming fire into the hearts of men.

The mole of ambergris which she hath set on the rose-leaf<sup>4</sup>  
 hath dimmed with blood the pupils of men's eyes.

The foot of the cypress-tree hath gone down like a nail into  
 the earth before her figure, so much hath it beaten its  
 hands on its head.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. for که.

<sup>2</sup> The last seven couplets are omitted by S., and the last six by L.

<sup>3</sup> Metaphor for moles or beauty-spots on the cheeks.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the mouth or lip.

<sup>5</sup> The cypress typifies a tall, shapely form ; and the poet, by the rhetorical figure called حسن تعلیل, whereby a real fact is explained by a fanciful and poetical cause, accounts for the cypress being rooted in the ground by its having beaten its head (the sign of lamentation), in despair of emulating such grace, so much as to drive its root "like a nail" into the ground.

*From afar she shot at me the arrow of her eyes' regards; the point of the barb struck me full in the heart, since she fired it point blank.*

*We, indeed, did not show to Musulmáns the wound which was inflicted on our stricken bosom, for it was inflicted by an infidel.*

*I fluttered like a pigeon, because, like a pigeon, her glance has smitten me through the arc of her eyebrow.*

*Every quarry which she overthrew she picked up in some way, save this bewildered victim, whom she deemed too lean.*

*Red [i.e. blood-stained] tears, at all events, came to my assistance, else my passion for her had struck my fallow face into gold.*

*If thou regardest my words as confused, blame me not; for it is thy love which hath confounded Awhadí."*

#### 10. Asadí.

He has produced some fine verses. The book entitled *Karshásp-náma* is one of his compositions.

#### 11. Abu'l-Májid Ráyagání.<sup>1</sup>

Ráyagání<sup>1</sup> is a village in the Qazwín district. He was a contemporary of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281]. Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín of Qazwín was constructing a lofty building. Abu'l-Májid came to see it. Malik said, "What sayest thou concerning this building?" He extemporised as follows:—

#### *Dialect-verses* :<sup>2</sup> 1st couplet.

(C.<sup>1</sup>) ای که کی برست و کهروردی 'شاه و خترم بکه کسی وزی'

(C.<sup>2</sup>) ای کسی چه پرستی کیه ورزی 'شاد و خترم بگیتی تکیه ورزی'

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> has رايگان twice; while رايگان occurs in Add. 7,630 of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> For the reasons already given, I cannot pretend to establish the correct text of these dialect-verses, and therefore simply print the readings of the MSS. to which I have been able to obtain access.



- (L.<sup>1</sup>) ای که کیتی و کیهه و روی ' سا' و خرم بکیه و زی '  
 (L.<sup>2</sup>) ای که کیتی بدست کهنه ورزی ' شاد خرم مکنه کیتی ورزی '  
 (L.<sup>3</sup>) ای که کسی پرست و کینه وری ' شاد و خرم نکیه کتی وری '  
 (P.<sup>1</sup>) ای که کیتی پرست و کهنه ورزی ' شا و خرم بکه و کسی ورزی '  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) ای که کیی پرستی کیه ورزی ' شا و خرم ده کیتی بکه ورزی '

2nd couplet.<sup>2</sup>

- (C.<sup>1</sup>) کیه ادست آوردی دیمه بساجی ' کیانش از سربهی ساهرزی (?) '  
 (C.<sup>2</sup>) کیه دست آوری ویمه بساجی ' کیانش و سرنهی و ایشان بهرزی '  
 (L.<sup>2</sup>) کیه ادست آوردی دیمه بساجی ' وسانش هشته ووسان بهرزی '  
 (L.<sup>3</sup>) که آوست آوردی وپله بساجی ' کسانش از سرنهی بیامرزی (?) '  
 (P.<sup>1</sup>) کنه ادست آوردی ویمه بساجی ' کیانش ار نهی وسان بهرزی '  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) کیه ادست آوری ویمه بساجی ' کیانش اوسرنهی وایشان بهرزی '

12. *Amir Ká' of Qazwín.*

He has some fine verses in the Qazwín dialect.<sup>3</sup>

13. *Úyánj*<sup>4</sup> (or *Útánj*) of *Zanján* (or *Rayhán*).

He was a contemporary of . . . . It is related that his patron caused him to sit below his compeers, whereat he was angered and said :—

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>3</sup> = Add. 7,630 of the British Museum, dated A.D. 1009.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in L.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> adds : " Khayármí (خیارمی) is a village in the Qazwín district."

<sup>4</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> reads اوایچ رسائی ; L.<sup>1</sup> اوایچ رسائی ; P.<sup>2</sup> اوایچ رسائی. C.<sup>2</sup>, L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup>, P.<sup>2</sup>, and other MSS. omit all, or nearly all, of this passage.

*Dialect-verses : (C.<sup>1</sup>)*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ بمن شاها بری شاها گمانی ‘  
 ‘ بآو و آذرو بخا و بوا ‘ هم رمانی میرقدرم بدانی ‘  
 ‘ به انوکم اوایه اش بارهه زیو ‘ که جیرو آسایش بنشانی ‘  
 ‘ به حرا تندینی جه خور سو ‘ به بسره (؟) شو ان مانک حا سمانی ‘  
 ‘ بستم تبه هوناد لباو یان دا ‘ به شکهی کری کیتی توانی ‘  
 ‘ انون بمرز دلیا ویم لو حشک ‘ بشته لومی بوم صاسه (؟) حانی ‘  
 ‘ باین کتی بولیه جون بشی زی ‘ چین چین می شود من بی ان کمانی ‘  
 ‘ سمه (؟) شمشیره بی مرگ نام ‘ محور (؟) بنک و جه تک رلو ندانی ‘

## (K.)

‘ بمن چندان بری شاها کمانی ‘ ندرارم حسه نمده (؟) زمانی ‘  
 ‘ از آن تا کند سپهرم درد جوی ‘ مبرلنگت وریکم بکمانی ‘  
 ‘ بآو اذرو بخا و بوا ‘ هم رسایی میرقدرم برانی ‘  
 ‘ به انوکم ادایش بار همه زیو ‘ جبرو اسایشی پیشانی ‘  
 ‘ بحر انده (؟) چه خوری سو به ‘ سهرت شو ان بانگ جا سمانی ‘  
 ‘ بستم به هوناد لیاو ‘ بان دابه شکمی گر کسی توانی ‘  
 ‘ انون بمیرد لبام بو حشک شینه ‘ بومی یوحی حاسه جانی ‘  
 ‘ باین کسی بوایه چون بشیزی ‘ چین چین می شود من لی ان کمانی ‘  
 ‘ هر (؟) شمشیرده بی مرگ نام ‘ بخورسک و جه مک زیو ندانی ‘

(P.<sup>1</sup>)

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ بادا در بخا و بوا ‘  
 ‘ به اتوکم اوایه اش بارهه اسو ‘ که خسرو اسایش بسانی ‘

نه حرا سدسی جه خور سو<sup>۱</sup> به ستده و سوان ناسک حاسمان  
 بشم مر مرصاد لماوه بان دا<sup>۲</sup> به سسلر کری کیتی توانی<sup>۳</sup>  
 انون بمرز دلیا ویم لو حسک<sup>۴</sup> سه بومی سوم حاسه حامی<sup>۵</sup>  
 نا این کمی بوانه خون بسی رن (؟)<sup>۶</sup> حین حن می سودمی نا ان کمای<sup>۱</sup>  
 کچمر سمسروه بی مرک نام<sup>۷</sup> محورسک وجه بک و بو بدای<sup>۱</sup>

14. *Abu'l-'Alá of Ganja.*

He has some fine verses, and was Kháqání's master.  
 Concerning Kháqání he says:—

شبی گادم از روی مستی<sup>۲</sup> فلان را<sup>۳</sup>  
 فلان کیست صاحب قران جهان را<sup>۴</sup>  
 امیر اجل خواجه خاقانی<sup>۵</sup> ما<sup>۶</sup>  
 که فخرست ازو مرزمین و زمان را<sup>۷</sup>  
 بمستی فتاد اینچنین کار<sup>۸</sup> برمن<sup>۹</sup>  
 بمستی چنین اوفتد<sup>۱۰</sup> مردمان را<sup>۱۱</sup>

When this reached Kháqání's ears, he rose up to take  
 vengeance on him. Abu'l-'Alá couched an apology in this  
 sense:—

از آنگه که از مادر دهر<sup>۲</sup> زادم<sup>۱</sup>  
 بفضصل و هنر در جهان داد دادم<sup>۳</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To these two words Baron Rosen adds in his transcript the following note:

“Plutôt je seul et non pas je.”

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> reads طبیعت for مستی.

<sup>3</sup> C.<sup>2</sup>, L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup> read زمانه را.

<sup>4</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> گاد; C.<sup>2</sup> مهر.

<sup>5</sup> C.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>1</sup> بر نمده; K. بگنوده بی مردمان.

<sup>6</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> reads مقل for دهر.

<sup>7</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> and L.<sup>2</sup> have داد دادم for داد دادم.

مرا شصت سالست و از<sup>1</sup> خاک ایران<sup>2</sup> ،  
 بود قرب چل<sup>3</sup> تا بشروان فتادم ،  
 غریبم ضعیفم ثناگوی خسرو<sup>4</sup> ،  
 نگویم که کیخسرو و<sup>5</sup> کیقبادم ،  
 تو ای<sup>6</sup> قرّة العین که<sup>7</sup> فرزند مائی<sup>8</sup> ،  
 منت هم پدر خوانده هم اوستادم ،  
 چو رغبت نمودی بشاگردی من<sup>9</sup> ،  
 ترا نعمت و صلت و چیز دادم ،  
 میان را بتعلیم تو چست بستم ،  
 زبان تو در شاعری برکشادم ،  
 چو شاعر شدی نزد خاقانیت بردم ،  
 لقب نیز خاقانیت بر نهادم ،  
 بیزدان که نی گفته ام گادم اورا ،  
 و گر گفته ام نیست بالکه یادم ،  
 بجای یکی ره دو صد بار گفتم ،  
 نگادم نگادم نگادم نگادم<sup>10</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup> om. [و]; K. reads کر for از .

<sup>2</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> آری .

<sup>3</sup> C.<sup>2</sup>, L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup> read چل هاتوه for چل .

<sup>4</sup> K. om. [و] .

<sup>5</sup> L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup>, K. بولی .

<sup>6</sup> K., L.<sup>2</sup> omit [که] , for which L.<sup>1</sup> reads و .

<sup>7</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> reads ماهی .

<sup>8</sup> These very coarse verses are given, with a good many variants, by Dawlat-sháh (pp. 70-71 of my forthcoming edition) in his biography of Abu'l-'Alá of Ganja; and also (with French translation) by Khanikof in his excellent monograph on Khâqânî (*Journal Asiatique* for 1864; *Mémoire sur Khâqânî*, pp. 14-16 of the *tirage-à-part*). The text of the second piece here given is so far less offensive than those alluded to in this note that it contains a retraction and an apology, whereas the more usual form is well described by Khanikof as "tout miel au commencement et tout fiel à la fin."

15. *Pindār* (? *Bundār*)<sup>1</sup> of Ray.

He too has some fine verses and unequalled productions in the Pahlavī language.<sup>2</sup> His *diwān* is well known and highly esteemed.

16. *Qāḍī Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zanjānī*.

He was the contemporary and panegyrist of Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Juwaynī, the *Ṣāhib-Diwan*. He skilfully incorporated in his poetry the technical terms employed by the Turks. To this assertion witnesseth the *qaṣida*<sup>3</sup> which begins as follows:—

ای کرده روح با لب لعل تو نوکری ' معشوق از بکی و نگار هجاری ' .

17. *Pūr Bahā-yi-Jāmi*.

He was the panegyrist of Shamsu'd-Dīn the *Ṣāhib-Diwan*, and other notables of that period. He has some fine verses, and his *diwān* is well known.

18. *Bahā'u'd-Dīn Sāwajī*.

He is still alive, and has some good verses. On several occasions he has honoured this humble individual [the author] with *qaṣidas* and fragments.

19. *Jamālu'd-Dīn Abhari*.

He died at Tabrīz in A.H. 600 [A.D. 1203–1204], and was buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkhāb [near Tabrīz]. He has some fine verses.

<sup>1</sup> Since ب and پ are seldom distinguished in the older MSS, and vowel-points are seldom inserted, the form of this name is doubtful to me. From a verse cited by Dawlatshāh (p. 43, l. 4, of my forthcoming edition) it would appear that he adopted the first form.

<sup>2</sup> So L.<sup>1</sup> Other MSS. have "in that language" or "dialect."

<sup>3</sup> The whole of this poem is given by Dawlatshāh (pp. 182–184 of my edition), who ascribes it to Pūr Bahā-yi-Jāmi. This poet is the subject of the next notice (No. 17), and a transposition of these two articles in some MSS. of the *Gusida* (e.g. L.<sup>1</sup> and L.<sup>2</sup>) would lead anyone using them to arrive at the same conclusion as Dawlatshāh.

<sup>4</sup> For هجاری C.<sup>1</sup> has هجاری; C.<sup>2</sup> and S. هر جاری; L.<sup>1</sup> و بهار هجاری; K. موخاری.

20. *Jamálu'd-Din 'Abdu'r-Razzáq.*

The father of Kamálu'd-Dín of Isfahán. He has some good verses.

21. *Jamálu'd-Din Rustuqu'l-Quṭn*.<sup>1</sup>

Rustuqu'l-Quṭn is a quarter in the city of Qazwín. In the dialect of that place he has some incomparable verses, into which he has introduced very fine ideas. He died in the reign of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281], being about 90 years of age. Some few of his verses also are in the Persian language, amongst them the following:—

ای زر توئی آنکه جامع لذاتی<sup>2</sup> 'محبوب خلائق بهمه اوقاتی<sup>3</sup>  
بیشک نه خدائی تو ولیکن چو خدا<sup>4</sup> 'ستار عیوب وقاضی الحاجاتی

"O gold, thou art that which compasseth all pleasures: thou art the Beloved of mankind at all times:

Without doubt thou art not God, yet, like God, thou art the Concealer of Faults and the Fulfiller of Needs."

22. *Jalálu'd-Din*<sup>4</sup> *'Atiqi*.

He is still alive, and has some fine verses, especially *ghazals*, amongst them this:—

از خاکب کف پایت هرگز که بر خیزد<sup>5</sup>  
جانهاش فرو بار دلهاش فروریزد<sup>6</sup>  
آن برق که سوزد عقل از ابر غمت تابد<sup>5</sup>  
و آن بوی که جان بخشد از خاکب دَرَت خیزد<sup>6</sup>  
سودای توام در خاکب سر مست بخواباند<sup>6</sup>  
بوی تو ز خاکم باز دیوانه بر انگیزد<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> has رهیق العلی .

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has آذانی .

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> has : ' ولیک بخدا .

<sup>4</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> has *Jamálu'd-Din*.

<sup>5</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has باید for تابد .

<sup>6</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> omits these two couplets, and L.<sup>1</sup> the second of them.

از تو نبرم صد ره چون عودم اگر سوزی  
 دود دلم آید باز در دامنست آویزد<sup>1</sup>  
 ای جانِ عتیقی کی با عشق بر آید عقل  
 با شاه کجا نازد هر سفله که بستیزد<sup>1</sup>

*"From every particle of dust which is stirred up by the sole of thy foot souls rain down and hearts pour forth.*

*That lightning which consumes the reason flashes forth from the clouds of thy love, and that fragrance which giveth life arises from the dust of thy door.*

*My passion for thee lays me senseless in the dust; from the dust thy fragrance raiseth me up again a madman.*

*I will not sever myself from thee; even though thou should'st consume me an hundred times like aloe-wood, the smoke of my heart will turn back and cling to thy garment.*

*O soul of 'Atiqí, how can Reason contend with Love? How can any low-born churl vaunt himself before the King?"*

### 23. Júláha ("the Spider") of Abhar.

He has some fine verses in the Pahlaví dialect, amongst them the following:—

*Dialect verses: 1st couplet.<sup>2</sup>*

- (C.) کیله اهر و کمندان تاو می دا<sup>3</sup> کونه من او برش بسود زناو می دا<sup>3</sup>  
 (L.<sup>2</sup>) کیله ابرو کمندان تاو می دا<sup>3</sup> کو ز من وا یرشی ها لاو می دا<sup>3</sup>  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) کیله امرو کمندی تاو میدا<sup>3</sup> کونه من او برش ها لاو میدا<sup>3</sup>  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) کیله امرو کمندان تاو میدا<sup>3</sup> حون<sup>3</sup> من دانرش هالاو میدا<sup>3</sup>  
 (S.) کیله امرو کمندان تاو میدا<sup>3</sup> کونه من وایرش ها لاو میدا<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> omits the first of these couplets, and L.<sup>1</sup> both of them.

<sup>2</sup> This couplet is wanting in L.<sup>1</sup> and L.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Over حون the word کونه is written as a correction or a variant.

*2nd couplet.<sup>1</sup>*

- (C.) سنبلائش ده ول واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جه شبستان او می دا '  
 (L.<sup>2</sup>) سنبلائش دَول واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش حشینان او میدا '  
 (P.<sup>1</sup>) سنبلائش جو ولواری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جو سیان او میدا '  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) سنبلائش ده ول واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جه سیان او میدا '  
 (S.) سنبلائش جه دل واری همی کرد ' نرگسانش جه شینان او میدا '

*3rd couplet.<sup>2</sup>*

- (C.) واش جه برده بد و اشامه اچ سر ' کوناش بسود ددر زناو می دا '  
 (P.<sup>1</sup>) واش برده بد و اشامه اچ سر ' کوناش بسو درما و میدا '  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) واش برده بد و اشامه اچ سر ' کوناش بسو درتا و میدا '

*4th couplet.<sup>2</sup>*

- (C.) حمن حمر ادرش اوی ره‌ای یار ' ورنه حیا منش بوا می دا '  
 (P.<sup>1</sup>) حمن حمن ادرش اوی ره می یار ' ورنه حان منش درنوا میدا '  
 (P.<sup>2</sup>) حمن حمن ادرش اوی ره بی یار ' ورنه حال منش اولو میدا '

24. *Sayyid Jamálu'd-Din<sup>3</sup> Kāshí.*

He was the contemporary of Abaqá Khán. He has some fine verses, both serious and flippant. He has composed a *turjî-band* parodying Shaykh Sa'dí of Shíráz, which begins thus:—

من مستم و رند و لا ابالی ' وین شیوه مراست لا یزالی '  
 با مشغله جهان چه کارم ' منی خواهم و یار و جای خالی '

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is wanting in L.<sup>1</sup> and L.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Wanting in S., L.<sup>1</sup>, L.<sup>2</sup>, and L.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>3</sup> has *Jaldú'd-Din*.



خمخانه و کوی یاریکدل ' هرگز نگذارم آن حوالی '  
 خَشْتِ سِرْخُمِ کنم ببالین ' خاکِ دَرِ آن منم نهالی '  
 عشق است حرام بر توای دوست ' گر هیچ نه در پِی وصالی '  
 از عشقِ بتان خلاصه و صلت ' باقیش و ساوسِ خیالی '  
 سعدی که نشست و صبر میکرد ' بود از سِرِ عجز و سُستِ حالی '  
 من اشرفِ نایم نه صابر ' و اندر سرمِ آن هوس که حالی '  
 بر خیزم و دست یار گبرم '  
 بی یار چرا قرار گیرم '

" *I am a drunkard, a libertine, a spendthrift, and this character remains ever mine.*

*What have I to do with worldly business? I desire wine, a fair companion, and a secluded spot.*

*The tavern and the street of the single-hearted friend—never will I quit these precincts!*

*I will take a brick from the top of the wine-vat for my pillow, and the dust of my idol's door for my couch.*

*Love is forbidden thee, O friend, if thou in no wise seekest after union.*

*The consummation of the love of fair ones is union: all else is but a fanciful illusion.*

*When Sa'di 'sat still and was patient' it was from impotence and slackness.*

*I am a second Ashraf, not a patient man, and in my head is that desire which now possesses me.*

*I will arise and take the hand of my beloved: how can I rest without my beloved?"*

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> omits this and all the remaining verses except the refrain, to which it prefixes the words: *و بعد ترجمش این است*. L.<sup>2</sup> omits this and the next three verses.

25. *Sayyid Hasan of Ghazna.*

He was the contemporary of Sultán Bahrám Sháh the Ghaznavid [A.H. 512-547, A.D. 1118-1152], and is the author of some pretty verses. It is said that when he went to visit the tomb of the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessings of God and His peace), he recited the *tarjī-band* beginning "*Sallamú yá qa'im . . . .*" [Greet, O people . . . .].<sup>1</sup> When he reached this verse—

لاف فرزندی درین حضرت نیارم زد و لیك<sup>2</sup>

خدمتی گفتم ز حضرت خلعتی بیرون فرست

"*I dare not vaunt my sonship in this thy presence, but I have offered my homage : send forth a robe of honour,*"

a hand at once came forth from the vault of that holy tomb and fragrant shrine with a cloak, and said, "Take it, O my son!"

26. *Khayyám.*

His name was 'Umar b. Ibráhím. In most sciences, more particularly astronomy, he was the leading authority of his time. He was attached to the service of Sultán Maliksháh the Suljúq [A.H. 465-485, A.D. 1072-1092], and is the author of some excellent treatises and fine poems. Amongst the latter is this:—

هر ذره که بر روی زمینی بودست<sup>3</sup> خورشید رخی زهره جبینی بودست<sup>3</sup>  
گرد از رخ آستین<sup>3</sup> بازرم فشان<sup>3</sup> کان هم رخ خوب نازنینی بودست<sup>3</sup>

"*Every atom which is on the face of the earth hath been [part of] a beauty with cheeks like the sun and a forehead like Venus ;*

*Brush the dust gently from your sleeve, for it too hath been the fair cheek of some charmer."*

<sup>1</sup> See my forthcoming edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 104-105, where the first verse of the poem, as well as the verse here cited, is given in full.

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> has : 'لاف فرزندی نیارم زد و لیكن بعدرا'. L.<sup>1</sup> has : 'لاف فرزندى نیارم زد و لیكن'.

<sup>3</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> reads 'آستین' for 'تاریس'.

27. *Kháqání.*

His name was Afḍalu'd-Dín Ibráhím, the son of 'Alí the carpenter of Shirwán. He died in the year A.H. 582 [= A.D. 1185], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb [near Tabríz]. He has some incomparable verses and unsurpassed writings, and in the sonorous majesty of his verse no one hath equalled him till the present time.

28. *Khwájú of Kirmán.*

He has some fine verses, and is the author of the *Rawḍatu'l-Anvár*<sup>1</sup> ("Garden of Bright Flowers"), *Gul u Khusrav*, *Humáy u Humáyún*, *Kamá'-náma*, and many other treatises and graceful odes, amongst them the following:—

نی زدود<sup>2</sup> دل پُر آنش ما می نالد<sup>3</sup>  
 تو مپندار که از باد هوا می نالد<sup>4</sup>  
 عندلیبیست که ارباد نوا<sup>5</sup> می سازد<sup>4</sup>  
 خوش سرائیست که در پرده سرا می نالد<sup>4</sup>  
 می دلخسته اگر ز آنکه زد دل می نالم<sup>4</sup>  
 باری آن خسته بیدل ز کجا می نالد<sup>4</sup>  
 می زندش نتواند که ننالد چه کند<sup>5</sup>  
 زخم دارد نه بتزویرویا می نالد<sup>5</sup>  
 بس که راه دل ارباب حقیقت زده است<sup>5</sup>  
 ظاهر آست که از ترس خدا می نالد<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Dawlatsháh (p. 251, l. 15, of my forthcoming edition) the proper title of this work is the *Rawḍatu'l-Azhár*, but Hájí Khalifa (No. 6,629) confirms the *Gurida*.

<sup>2</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> has درد for زدود.

<sup>3</sup> For نوا C.<sup>4</sup> reads هوا.

<sup>4</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> omits all the following verses, and L.<sup>2</sup> all except the last.

<sup>5</sup> For نالی C.<sup>2</sup> reads نلی.

ناله و زاری خواجو همه از بی برگیست  
 اوچه دیدست که هردم<sup>1</sup> ز نوا می نالد<sup>2</sup>

"The flute laments with the smoke of our fire-filled heart :<sup>2</sup> do not suppose that its sighs are [mere] breath.

It is a nightingale which makes its song of air ; it is a tuneful singer which wails in the pavilion.

If so be that I, being sick at heart, lament by reason of my heart, wherefore, then, does that sick one lament, since it hath lost its heart ?<sup>3</sup>

They sound it, and it can do naught but wail ; what else can it do ? It is wounded ; its wailing is not from deceit or hypocrisy.

So often hath it robbed on the highway the hearts of seekers after truth, that evidently it wails for fear of God.

The wailings and lamentations of Khwájú are all for lack of substance : what has he suffered that every moment he cries out in song ?"

## 29. Daqíqí.

He was the contemporary of Amír Núh the Sámánid [A.H. 366-387, A.D. 976-997], and composed a thousand couplets of the *Sháhnáma*, of the story of Gushtásp. Hákím Firdawsí included these in the *Sháhnáma* in order to make apparent the worth of his own verse, and in reprobation of Daqíqí's verses speaks as follows :—

دهان گر بماند ز خوردن تهی<sup>1</sup> ' از آن به که ناساز خوانی نهی<sup>2</sup>

"It is better that the mouth should want for food than that thou should'st lay an unappetising table."

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> reads *دهم* for *دهم*.

<sup>2</sup> "Smoke of the heart" is a common metaphor for sighs.

<sup>3</sup> Because the "heart" or pith of the reed is removed to make it into a flute.

30. *Raff'ū'd-Dīn Bīkrānī.*<sup>1</sup>

He was from Abhar, but lived in Kirmān, and died in the reign of Ghāzān Khān [A.H. 694–703, A.D. 1295–1304]. He has composed some incomparable verses in Arabic and Persian. This quatrain is his:—

با چرخ ستیز و با<sup>2</sup> فلک جنگ مکن  
 وز زخمِ زمانه ناله چون جنگ مکن  
 در خاک زرو در آبِ دریا گوهر  
 عایع نگارند تو دل تنگ مکن

*"Do not fight with heaven or with adverse fate; do not cry out like the harp at the stroke of destiny.*

*They will not suffer gold to be wasted in the earth, or pearls in the waters of the ocean; let not then thy heart be vexed."*

31. *Ruknu'd-Dīn Bīkrānī.*

He was the son of the above, and was a pious and learned man, and has some fine verses. This humble writer has a very high opinion of him. When I asked him for a copy of his *Diwān*, I sent him this fragment:—

جهانِ فضل و هنر حانِ نطق<sup>3</sup> رکنِ الدین  
 زهی نضیرِ تو چشمِ زمانه نا دیده  
 معالیءِ سخنانِ تو در لباسِ بیان  
 چو جانِ نماید در جسم و نور در دیده  
 قوایِ باطنه در بَدْوِ فطرتِ ارسی  
 ز ذوقِ نظمِ تو گفتم<sup>4</sup> بطبعِ بگزیده<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> بکردانی ; C.<sup>2</sup> بکردانی ; L.<sup>1</sup> بکردانی ; L.<sup>2</sup> بکردانی . Cf. n. 4 on next page.

<sup>2</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> با .

<sup>3</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has نطق for نطق ; L.<sup>2</sup> and S. نطق .

<sup>4</sup> S., L.<sup>1</sup> گفتی .

<sup>5</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> omits this and the next five verses.

خرد عزیز بمصر هنراز آن گشته ،  
 که بذکرِ خرمینِ فضلِ تو خوشه ها چیده <sup>1</sup> ،  
 ز علمِ اول و آخر به پیشِ خاطرِ تو ،  
 نبوده هیچ نکتِ هیچ وقت پوشیده ،  
 بعمرِ خویش در اخبار و آیت و امثال ،  
 ز لفظِ عَذَبِ <sup>2</sup> توگوشی خلاف نشنیده ،  
 شده <sup>3</sup> ز فرطِ هنر خسرو سریرِ مقال ،  
 خرد ز جان و ز دل بندگیت ورزیده ،  
 توئی سلالهٔ بکران <sup>4</sup> و طمعِ سازگِ تو ،  
 بخوبِ روئی <sup>5</sup> بکرانِ نظمِ کوشیده ،  
 ز بوستانِ ضمیر <sup>6</sup> تو نسخهٔ بودم ،  
 کنون ز بنده کسی هست آن <sup>6</sup> بدزیده ،  
 اگر تو لطف کنی دیگری فرسنی باز ،  
 سزا بود بسزاوارِ خویش بخشیده ،  
 بمان همیشه سزاوار در جهان هنر ،  
 ز جامِ <sup>7</sup> فصل و هنر آب لطف نوشیده <sup>8</sup> ،

" O World of worth and talent, Soul of speech, Ruknu'd-Din,  
 hail, O thou whose peer the eyes of time have not seen !  
 The ideas of thy verses in the garment of utterance seems like  
 the life in the body, or the light in the eyes !

<sup>1</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> omits this and the next four verses. The MSS., except S, read *تا* for *ها*.

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> and C.<sup>2</sup> have *عمر* for *عذب*.

<sup>3</sup> For *خرد* C.<sup>1</sup> and C.<sup>2</sup> have *مری*.

<sup>4</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> *کران*. The word-play in this line confirms the reading *Bikrani*.

<sup>5</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> has *کمال* for *ضمیر*. L.<sup>2</sup> *فضائل*.

<sup>6</sup> L.<sup>2</sup> transposes *کمی* and *هست آن*.

<sup>7</sup> S. has *آب* for *جام*.

<sup>8</sup> L.<sup>1</sup> omits this line. C.<sup>1</sup> reads : ' *زمانِ فصلِ اهل علم و عقل پوشیده* '.

*The powers of speech, one would say, in the beginning of the Eternal Creation, instinctively selected thee, through pleasure in thy verse.*

*For this cause hath wisdom become Prince<sup>1</sup> in the realms of genius, that it had gathered gleanings from the seeds of the harvest of thy merit.*

*At no time was any subtlety of ancient or modern knowledge veiled before thy mind.*

*No ear in its lifetime hath ever heard from thy sweet utterance any mistake in history, scripture, or proverb.*

*By virtue of superabundant merit thou art Prince of the throne of speech; wisdom with heart and soul does thee service.*

*Thou art the noblest product of Bikrán, and therefore thy fine genius strives to beautify the faces of the virgins [bikrán] of verse.*

*I had a copy of the Garden of thy Fancies<sup>2</sup>; now someone has stolen it from thy servant.*

*If thou wilt be gracious and send me again another copy, it will be a worthy gift to one who is deserving of it.*

*Remain ever richly rewarded in the world of talent, drinking the water of grace from the cup of merit and talent !”*

### 32. Rúdagí.

He was the pioneer of Persian poets, since before his time the Persians too composed poetry in Arabic. He was the contemporary of Amír Naṣr the Sámánid [A.H. 301-331, A.D. 913-942]. He has composed many poems, but only a few are generally known. I have read in some history that he composed 700,000 couplets of poetry, and in that history many of his verses are cited. The metrical Persian [version of] *Kalila and Dimna* is one of his works.

<sup>1</sup> Or “powerful” or “precious,” for the word مرد has both meanings.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. “of thy poems.”

33. *Raḥ'ū'd-Dīn of Lunbān.*

Lunbān is a village in the Iṣfahān district. He [i.e. Raḥ'ū'd-Dīn] has some fine verses. His *Diwān* is well known.

34. *Malik Raḍ'ū'd-Dīn Bābā of Qazwīn.*

He was the governor of Diyār Bakr in the reign of Abaqá Khān [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281]. When he was dismissed from Diyār Bakr, and surrendered to Amír Jalálu'd-Dīn, the palace eunuch, he wrote these two verses to Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn the *Ṣāhib-Diwan* :—

شاهاستدی کشورت از همچو منی ' دادی بْمُخَنِّی نه مردی نه زنی  
زین کار چو آفتاب روشنی گشتم ' پیش تو چه د ف زنی چه شمشیر زنی

" O King, thou hast taken thy realm from one like me, and  
hast bestowed it on a hermaphrodite, neither man nor  
woman.

*By this deed it hath been made plain to me that in thine eyes  
one who wields the sword and one who yields the cymbals  
are of equal account."*

35. *Suzani.*

His name was Abú Bakr ibnu's-Salmānī<sup>1</sup> of Kalásh, one of the dependencies of Samarqand. He was the contemporary of Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq [A.H. 511–552, A.D. 1117–1157]. He carried ribaldry to excess [in his verses], amongst which are the following :—

ای سوزنیک ای پسر خواجه کلاش  
با زرق لباسات فسون در دوزی  
سال تو به پنجاه و یک آمد که یکی روز  
مرکیر ترا ننگ نیامد در روزی

<sup>1</sup> This name is doubtful ; the reading *ابن الالائی* also occurs.



داماد و خُشْرگای بُدی پیش بدده سال  
' و امسالِ خُشْرِ خواجهٔ داماد سپوزی

But he also has some serious verses which are incomparable. They say that God Almighty forgave him for this verse:—

چار چیز آورده ام یا رب که در گنجِ تو نیست  
' نیستی و حاجت و جُرم و گناه آورده ام

*"I bring four things, O Lord, which are not in Thy treasury :  
I bring nothingness, need, shortcoming, and sin."*

### 36. Sa'di of Shíráz.

His name was Muṣliḥu'd-Dín b. Musharraḥ.<sup>1</sup> He is associated with the Atábak Sa'd b. Abú Bakr Salgharí. He died at Shíráz on the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 690 [Dec. 19, A.D. 1291]. He was a mystic, and has written finely both in prose and verse, in both of which he enjoys a wide celebrity. The art of writing odes reached its consummation in him. I give two couplets of his poetry for luck—

غازی ز پئی شهادت در تگ و پوست  
' عاشق که قتیلِ عشقِ فاضلتر ازوست  
فردای قیامت آن بدین کی ماند  
' کآن گُشتهٔ دشمن است و این گُشتهٔ دوست

*"The Gházi [champion of the faith] runs after martyrdom :  
the lover, who is slain by love, is more excellent than he ;  
How should the former be like the latter on the morrow of the  
Resurrection, since that one was slain by the foe and this  
one by the friend ?"*

<sup>1</sup> Or Mushrif, or Musharraf, or Sharaf.

37. Sirájí.<sup>1</sup>

He has some fine verses. I here set down in writing three couplets which I have in mind of a *qasida* throughout which he has obliged himself to introduce the names of the four elements in each verse :—

آتشی دارم بدل در زآن دو لعلِ آبدار  
 باد تا زلفش پریشان کرد گشتم خاکسار  
 خاکِ ره گِل میشود از آبِ چشمم تا چرا  
 آتش اندر من زد و رفت از بر من بادوار  
 گر بر آرم بادِ سرد آتش زخم در آسمان  
 گر ببارم آبِ گرم از خاک سازم لاله زار

*"I have a fire in my heart [kindled] by those two luscious [lips like] rubies : since the wind stirred her tresses I am become as dust.*

*The dust of the road is turned to mud by my tears, [as I wonder] why she set me on fire and then departed from me like the wind.*

*If I heare a deep sigh, I will set fire to heaven : if I rain down hot tears, I will turn the ground into a garden of anemones."*

## 38. Siráju'd-Din Qumrí.

He excelled in verses celebrating the vices. In this sense he says :—

من مئی خورم و هر که چو من اهل بود، مئی خوردن من بنزد اوسهل بود  
 مئی خوردنم ایزد بازل می دانست، گر من مخورم علم خدا جهل بود

*"I drink wine, and my wine-drinking will easily be condoned by anyone who is, like myself, a man of sense.*

<sup>1</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> reads مکی.

*In eternity past God knew that I should be a wine-bibber :  
if I did not drink, then God's foreknowledge would be  
stultified."*<sup>1</sup>

39. Saná'í.

He was named Abu'l-Majd Majdú'd b. Ádam of Ghazna, and lived till the time of King Bahá'm Sháh [A.H. 512-547, A.D. 1118-1152]. He has been already mentioned in the section treating of Shaykhs. The *Hadiqa* is one of his compositions.

40. Sa'd-i-Bahá.

He was the contemporary of Uljáytú Sultán [A.H. 703-716, A.D. 1304-1316]. He has some fine verses, amongst them the following:—

حاش لئه که مرا مهر تو از دل برود  
یا خود از خاطر من آن شکل و شمایل برود  
کیست کز جان نشود مایل آن دم که بناز  
قدت از غایت مستی متمایل برود  
حسن تو شاهِ فلک را چو نهاد اسپ و رخی  
مه که باشد که بروی تو مقابله برود  
از دلم عشق تو اندوه جهان بردارد  
نور حق چون برسد ظلمت باطل برود  
دل بخوبان مده ای سعد بها کسان نیست  
مشکل است آنکه کسی را بکسی دل برود

*"God forbid that love for thee should quit my heart, or that  
that form and those qualities should fade from my  
memory !*

<sup>1</sup> This quatrain is ascribed by Whinfield (No. 195 of his edition, p. 133) to 'Umar Khayyám, as also is the answer to it (No. 144, p. 99), which is here (No. 50, *infra*) attributed to 'Izzu'd-Din Karají.

*Who is there who does not with his whole soul love that moment when thy stature passes by, swaying [like one] in the extreme of intoxication?*

*Since thy beauty hath given points<sup>1</sup> to the King of Heaven, who is the Moon that it should seek to rival thy face?*

*Thy love lifts from my heart the grief of the world: 'when the Light of Truth comes, the Darkness of Error departs.'*<sup>2</sup>

*Give not thy heart to the beautiful, O Sa'd-i-Bahá, for it is not an easy task; it is a hard thing to lose one's heart to anyone."*

#### 41. *Shams-i-Sajásí.*

He died at Tabriz in A.H. 602 [A.D. 1205-6], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb. He has some fine verses. The *Diván* of Dhahír of Fáryáb was collected by him.

#### 42. *Sharafu'd-Dín Shufurrah of Isfahán.*<sup>3</sup>

He was the contemporary of Sultán Arslán b. Tughril the Saljúq [A.H. 556-573, A.D. 1161-1177]. He has some excellent verses, and, particularly in his odes, has originated some fine ideas:—

گرتوانی ای صبا بگذر شبی در کوی او  
 و در دلت خواهد ببراز من پیامی سوی او  
 آن زمان کآنجای رسی آهسته<sup>4</sup> باش و دم مزین  
 تا نشود خواب خوش بر نرگس جادوی او  
 حلقه زلفش مجتبان مجز بانگشت ادب  
 هان وهان تُرکی مکن با طره هندی او

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "hath given a horse (knight) and a rook (castle)." The metaphor applies to the game of chess. Cf. *Bústán*, ed. Graf, p. 145, l. 70: "A beggar [so truly] that he could put a saddle on a male lion, or give a knight and a queen to Abú Zayd." (Abú Zayd is the Persian Zukertort.)

<sup>2</sup> A paraphrase of Qur'án xvii, 83.

<sup>3</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Suppl.*, pp. 161-2.

<sup>4</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> reads پاهش for آهسته.

نرم نرم آن بُرُقعِ رنگین بر انداز از رُخش  
 و رگمانی بد نداری بوسه زن بر روی او  
 نی غلط گفتم من این طاقت ندارم زبهار  
 گر رسولِ خاصِ مائی نیز منگر سوی او  
 چون دلم بینی در آجا گو حرامت باد وصل  
 من چنین محروم و تو پیوسته هم زانوی او

"If thou can'st, O Zephyr, pass one night by her abode, and,  
 if thy heart be willing, bear to her a message from me.  
 When thou arrivest there, go quietly and breathe not, that  
 the sweet sleep be not troubled in her bewitching  
 narcissus[-like eyes].  
 Do not stir the curls of her tresses save with the finger of  
 courtesy; take care, take care that thou play not the  
 Turk with her Hindû locks!  
 Very gently throw aside that coloured veil from her face,  
 and, if thou hast no evil thought, imprint a kiss upon  
 her cheek.  
 Nay! I spoke wrongly; beware, for so much I cannot  
 endure: even though thou art our special envoy, yet do  
 not thou even glance towards her!  
 When thou seest my heart there, say, 'May union be  
 forbidden thee! [For while] I am thus parted, thou  
 art her constant companion.'"

#### 43. Shamsu'd-Din-i-Tabast.<sup>1</sup>

There were two [poets of this name]. One has some fine verses, and his *Dicân* is well known. The other is still alive, and has produced some incomparable verse and prose. This humble writer enjoys his friendship, and has repeatedly been honoured with communications from him both in verse and prose.

<sup>1</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> omits this life.

44. *Shamsu'd-Din of Káshán.*

He died within the last two years. The *Tárikh-i-Ghazání* ("History of Gházán Khán") was versified by him; but he has done the fullest justice to his poetical talents in a *qaṣída*, embellished with most of the poetical artifices, which he composed in honour of Khwája Bahá'u'd-Din, the *Ṣáhib-Diwán*, of Juwayn.

45. *Dhahíru'd-Din-Fáryáb.*

His name was Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad. He died at Tabriz in [the month of] Rabí' I, A.H. 598 [Dec., A.D. 1201], and is buried in the Poets' Corner at Surkháb. He has some delicate verses. This is a verse which he composed in Arabic to indicate the distinction between the letters *dál* (د) and *dhál* (ذ) in the Persian language:—

اعرف الفرق بين دال و ذال ' وهى اصل<sup>1</sup> فى الفارسى معظم  
كل ما قبل سكون بلا واو ' فذال فما سواه معجم

"Know the difference between *dál* and *dhál*, for this is an essential principle in Persian;

Wherever it comes before a quiescent letter, except *wáw*, it is *dál*; but otherwise dotted [*dhál*]."

## 46. 'Iráqí.

His name was Fakhru'd-Din Ibráhím b. Buzurjmíhr b. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár al-Jawáliqí, of the village of Maḥáll in the A'lam district of Hamadán. He died in A.H. 686 [A.D. 1287], in the *Jabal'uṣ-Ṣálihín* ("Mountain of the Just"), in Syria. He has composed some philosophical verses. His *Diwán* is well known.

## 47. 'Unṣurí.

He was Prince of Poets<sup>2</sup> (Poet-laureate) at the Court of Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuktagin [A.H. 388–421, A.D. 998–1030].

<sup>1</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has اسم for اصل.

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> ملك الشعراء; C.<sup>2</sup> امير الشعراء.

When Firdawsí fled from Tús and came to Ghazua,<sup>1</sup> 'Unṣurí, Farrukhí, and 'Asjadí had gone for an excursion into the country, and were sitting by the side of a stream. When they saw Firdawsí approaching them from afar off, each one composed a hemistich such that there was [as they supposed] no fourth rhyme [to them], and demanded that Firdawsí should supply the fourth [hemistich], so that, when he should be unable to give it, he might cease to trouble them.

'Unṣurí said:— 'چون روی تو خورشید نباشد روشن  
*"The sun is not so bright as thy face"*—

Farrukhí said:— 'هم رنگِ رخت گل نبود در گلشن  
*"No rose in the garden can compare in colour with thy cheek"*—

'Asjadí said:— 'مرگانت گذرهمی کند از جوشن  
*"Thine eyelashes pierce through the breastplate"*—

Firdawsí said:— 'مانندِ سَنانِ گِیو در جَنگِ پِشن  
*"Like Giv's spear in combat with Pushan."*

This anecdote is well known, and how, in consequence of this, they strove to prevent Firdawsí from obtaining access to the Court, until fortune favoured him, so that he obtained admission to the King's presence, and the business of turning the *Sháhnáma* into verse was entrusted to him. The following are some of 'Unṣurí's verses:—

ای دریغا کزین منور جای ' زیرِ خاک<sup>2</sup> مغاک باید شد  
 پاک نا کرده تن ز گزندِ گناه ' پیشِ یزدانِ پاک باید شد  
 با چنین خاطری چو آتش و آب ' بادِ پیمود و خاک باید شد  
*"Oh alas! that from this bright place we must go beneath the hollow ground ;*

<sup>1</sup> For بَزْزِش C.<sup>2</sup> has بَزْزِش .

<sup>2</sup> C.<sup>1</sup> has بار for خاک .

*That, with bodies uncleansed from the dust of sin, we must go  
before the Pure God !*

*[That] with such a mind [flashing] like fire and [mobile]  
as water, one must weigh the wind and become dust."*

48. 'Asjadi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> None of the MSS. contain any notice of this poet, but some of them (e.g. C.), by omitting the next title, make it appear that what is said of Fakhru'd-Din applies to 'Asjadi.

(To be continued.)

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ART. XXVII.—*Notes on Malayalam Literature.* By T. K. KRISHNA MENON, P.A., M.R.A.S.

MALAYALAM is the language of the south-west of the Madras Presidency. It is the third most important language of the Presidency, the first and the second being Tamil and Telugu respectively. It is spoken in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. Out of a total of 5,932,207 inhabitants of these parts, 5,409,350 persons are those who speak Malayalam. These countries, taken as a whole, are bounded on the north by South Canara, on the east by the far-famed Malaya range of mountains, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Arabian Sea.

The earliest Malayalam writing of which we have any knowledge was in *Vatteluthu* characters. This was subsequently modified into *Kōleluthu*. The present script is called *Malayalam Grantha*.

No sketch of Malayalam literature can be complete which does not make mention of the Malayalees who have won renown by their works in Sanskrit.

Kerala claims among her sons VAKARUCI, the great progenitor of astronomical science in Malabar, and BHARTRUHARI, the renowned author of the three Śatakams. The early literary history of the Malayalam language contains so many stories about them that it would be impossible for any one to believe that they were not Malayalees. They may be placed in the seventh century. The great theologian and philosopher, SANKARĀCĀRYA, was born in the eighth century, at Kalati, on the banks of the Ālwaye river, in Travancore territory. *Yudhishtira Vijaya*, a *Kāya* of a peculiar structure, is the work of VĀSU BHATTATHIRI. He was, like Sankarācārya, a Namburi, which means a Malayalee Vedic Brahman. The *Kāyamālā* Editors have done an injustice to Malabar

by ascribing the authorship of this poem to a native of Kashmīr. Karingampillī Namburi, the author of *Suka Sandēsam*, lived about A.D. 1480. He gives us vivid sketches of many parts of Malabar which are dear to every Malayalee. VILVAMANGALATH SWĀMIĀR has written a *Kāvya* of singular interest. It is in Prākṛit, and every verse serves as an example of a separate rule on grammar. Kākkassēri Bhattathiri, Mānavikrama the Strong, and Eḷaya Rāja 'the learned' of Kodungallore, were also natives of Malayalam. MĒPPUTHUR NĀRAYANA BHATTATHIRI, a poet, grammarian and scholar of unquestioned ability, wrote, in 1587, *Nārāyaṇīyam*, which treats of the life and teachings of Śrī Kṛishṇa, and is, more or less, an abridgement of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. His grammatical work *Prakriyā Sarvasva* is much more lucid than Bhaṭṭōjā Dīkshita's *Sidhānta Kaumudī*.

MĀNAVĒDAN RĀJA composed the *Mānavēda Campu*, which treats of Mahā-Bhārata legends not treated of in the *Bhārata Campu* by Ānanta-kavi. MALAMANGALAM NAMBŪRI was the author of the famous *Bhānom* called after his name.

ARŪR BHATTATHIRI produced *Uttaraṇaishadham*, a complement to the work of Śrī Harsha. K. Rāma Warriar, who may be appropriately styled the Mallinātha of modern times, has written various commentaries. The *Viśākha Vijayam* and *Thulābhāra Satakam* of H.H. Kerala Varma, Valia Koil Tampuran of Travancore, are interesting examples of Sanskrit as it is now written in the Malayalam country, and his nephew and pupil Mr. A. R. Rajaraja Varma, M.A., bids fair to become a good second to his uncle. Mr. Kochunni Tampuran of Kodungallor's *Vipra Sandēsam* and *Bhānam* should be mentioned in this connection. Mr. Mānavikraman Ētan Rāja, of Calicut, is a good scholar and poet. Mr. Punnaseeri Neelakandha Sarma edits a Sanskrit journal which reflects great credit on his Sanskrit scholarship and philanthropy. The Sanskrit College and the Text-book Committee of Travancore show the profound interest which the Sovereigns of the Model State take in the cause of Sanskrit and Malayalam.

It is a matter for congratulation to the Malayalees that we see the beginnings of Malayalam prose literature as early as A.D. 200. Deeds then granted to the Jews and Syrian Christians by contemporary kings are written in prose, and there are court chronicles which claim to go back to those days. Many songs, too, are supposed to have been composed at this period for the people to sing when they worship, when they plant, and when they reap. Some of them, and also certain early ballads, are very popular even in these days. Of these the most popular are those that sing of the deeds of Thatchōli Kunhi Othēnan. Kunhi Othēnan was a Nāyar, which is the common appellation of the ordinary middle-class Hindu of Malabar. Nāyars, it may be said parenthetically, form the major portion of the population of Keralam. Othēnan, according to the ballad, was a man of fine physique and skilled in the use of arms. He went about redressing wrongs and helping fallen humanity, and is said to have met with his death by a treacherous shot.

The history of the Malayalam language really commences, however, with *Ramācaritam*, the oldest Malayalam poem still in existence. This is the work of a Mahā Rāja of Travancore, who lived in the thirteenth century. Another work of possibly the same period is KANNASSA PANIKER's *Rāmāyaṇam*. And we hear of many Nambūries who then wrote works on astrology, architecture, ethics, grammar, and other subjects. But little is known of them now save their names and the names of their works.

The Nambūries, at that time, certainly held a practical monopoly over learning, and created all sorts of obstacles in the way of the education of the commonalty.

Cherussēri Nambūri, the morning-star of Malayalam song, wrote his *Krishna Gātha* in the fifteenth century. This work, like almost all the poetical pieces of Malayalam, is written in what is called *Mani-pravaḍam*, which means a string of gems. It receives its name from being composed in a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit. The addition, here and there, of common Sanskrit words only gives grace and majesty to Malayalam, which otherwise would be bald.

The metres of Malayalam *ślokas* are the same as those of Sanskrit ones; and those that are peculiar to the language, as in the case of the famous works of Thujan and Kunjan, are determined by the number of *ṇātrās*.

*Kathakalī*, or the Malayalam play, is one of the most intensely national departments of our literature. These are written in mixed verse and prose, and are founded on episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The verses simply connect the incidents of the story, while the prose portions represent the words of the characters of the play. The actors, representing the several personages, generally, have all sorts of paints on their faces and are gaudily dressed. By means of certain signs made by their hands and by the expressions on their face, they convey to the audience the meaning of the prose portions when they are sung to the accompaniment of drums and other instruments.

The poet who invented this sort of dramatic composition is one Rūja of the Kottarakara family in Travancore. The subjects of his dramas are episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa. There is a tradition connected with the origin of *Kathakalī*. The then Zamorin of Calicut, for one reason or another, refused to send his troupe of artistes to the southern parts to enact *Krishnāttam*. The inventor of *Kathakalī* produced his first work to make light of the decision of his northern compeer.

The most famous writer of Malayalam is perhaps THUNJATHU RĀMĀNUJAN ELUTHACHAN, a man of the Nāyar caste, who opposed himself openly to the prejudices and intolerance of the Brahmans. He is said to have declared it his intention to raise Malayalam to an equality with the sacred language of the priests. In the prosecution of this purpose, he made, in the native tongue, adaptations from the Rāmāyaṇam, the Mahābhārata, and the Bhagavatham. These are called the *Kīlippāttūs* (parrot-songs) of Eluthachan, who was the first to introduce this sort of composition into the Malayalam language. They receive this name, perhaps, from the introductory invocation, which is to the bird of the goddess of learning.

He wrote many other works besides those already referred to. He had several disciples, too, who carried on his work. In this connection, reference must be made to the name of ELUVATHU NĀNUKUTTI MENON of Chittur, who, by his translation of *Ēkadasa*, has shown how much he has caught of the literary spirit and religious fervour of his great fore-runner, Eluthachan.

KĒRALA VARMA RĀJA, of North Kottayam, is the author of a *Rāmāyaṇa* and of a *Vairāgya Candrodaya*. The brother of this Rāja was also a gifted man, and wrote four Malayalam dramas, called *Kathakalis*, some poems, and a grammar.

The name of MALAMANGALAM NAMBŪRI was previously mentioned in connection with his Sanskrit work. He deserves this second reference for his great work in Malayalam called *Bhāshānaishadha Campu*. In the world of literature he is a great man indeed. His description of the wailings and wanderings of Damayanti after she was deserted by Nala is much admired. But he is very monotonous in his verse and prose, and is not free from the prevailing defect of many Malayalee poets of using an unnecessarily large number of Sanskrit words in their Malayalam works.

*Thullals* (literally dances) are sung to the accompaniment of music, pantomime, and dancing. There are three classes of *Thullals*: *Ōattam*, *Sithankan*, and *Parayan*; but, as the poems of the first class predominate, poems of the other classes are also termed *Ōattams*. They are based on the episodes of *Bhāratam* and *Rāmāyaṇam* mostly. *Ōattam Thullal*, as the name indicates (*Ōattam* = 'running'), consists of a variety of rapid metres well suited for amusing narratives. *Ōattams* are vigorous, *Sithankans* narrative, and *Parayans* pathetic in style. *Nalacarita* and *Kirātha* are instances of the first class, *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* is an example of the second set, while *Gajēndramōksha* and *Sabhāprarēsa* form instances of the third sort of *Thullals*. All these *Thullals* referred to are the works of Kalakkath Kuñjan Nambār, who invented this sort of composition. Besides fifty or sixty *Thullals*, he

has composed nine Malayalam dramas, a *Pañcatantra*, a *Srikrishnacarita*, and parrot-songs and poems in different kinds of metres.

Kuñjan Nambyār is, by the unanimous verdict of his countrymen, second only to Thunjath Eluthachan. Patricians and plebeians united in honouring him. He was under the special patronage of the Mahā Rāja, who began to reign in Travancore in the year A.D. 1758, and who, besides being a man of letters himself, encouraged literary men in all parts of Malabar.

Another writer of the same period is UNNĀYI WARRIER, who wrote the *Nalacarita Kathakali*.

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ART. XXVIII.—*Addenda to the Series of Pathán Coins.*

II. By H. NELSON WRIGHT, I.C.S.

*(Continued from page 499.)*

SINCE writing my last paper on the coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli I have had the opportunity of examining with some minuteness the rich collections of the British Museum and Dr. L. White King, U.S.I. In the former are to be found the choicest specimens of General Cunningham's Muhammadan coins, of which many have already been brought to notice by Mr. Gibbs and Mr. C. J. Rodgers, but others are now, through the courtesy of the Museum authorities, described for the first time.

Of the forty-one coins now published, fourteen come from the British Museum, ten from the collection of Dr. White King, and three from the Bodleian Museum, Oxford, while one belongs to Major Vost, and thirteen are from my own cabinet. The majority are coins of the Suri Sultáns, a period which, apart from the important change in the character of the currency on Sher Shah's accession, and the beauty and variety of the coins themselves, is of peculiar interest to the numismatist by reason of the expansion of the mint system, through which the collector is enabled both to direct the interest of the antiquary towards deserted and forgotten cities of erstwhile importance, and also to help the historian in fixing the limits and extent of these sovereigns' dominions by confirming and supplementing the scanty materials on which he has to rely. The account of the coins of the Suri period given by Mr. Thomas in the "Chronicles" has perhaps left more to be added to it than any other part of that work, and though a considerable quantity of fresh information has been published by Mr. Rodgers and Dr. Hoernle, I hope to

have shown by these two papers that there is still much to be done in bringing to light the mint towns used by Sher Shah and his son and in identifying their locality.

I wish here to gratefully acknowledge the constant help given to me by Mr. E. J. Rapson and the other members of the British Museum Numismatic staff during the preparation of these papers.

*Note.*—L. W. K. = Cabinet of Dr. L. White King; B.M. = Cabinet of the British Museum; H. N. W. = Cabinet of H. Nelson Wright.

### 1. *Tāj-ud-din Yalduz.*

Gold. Weight 140·4 grs. L. W. K.

Date ? 607. Mint ? Pl. I. 1.

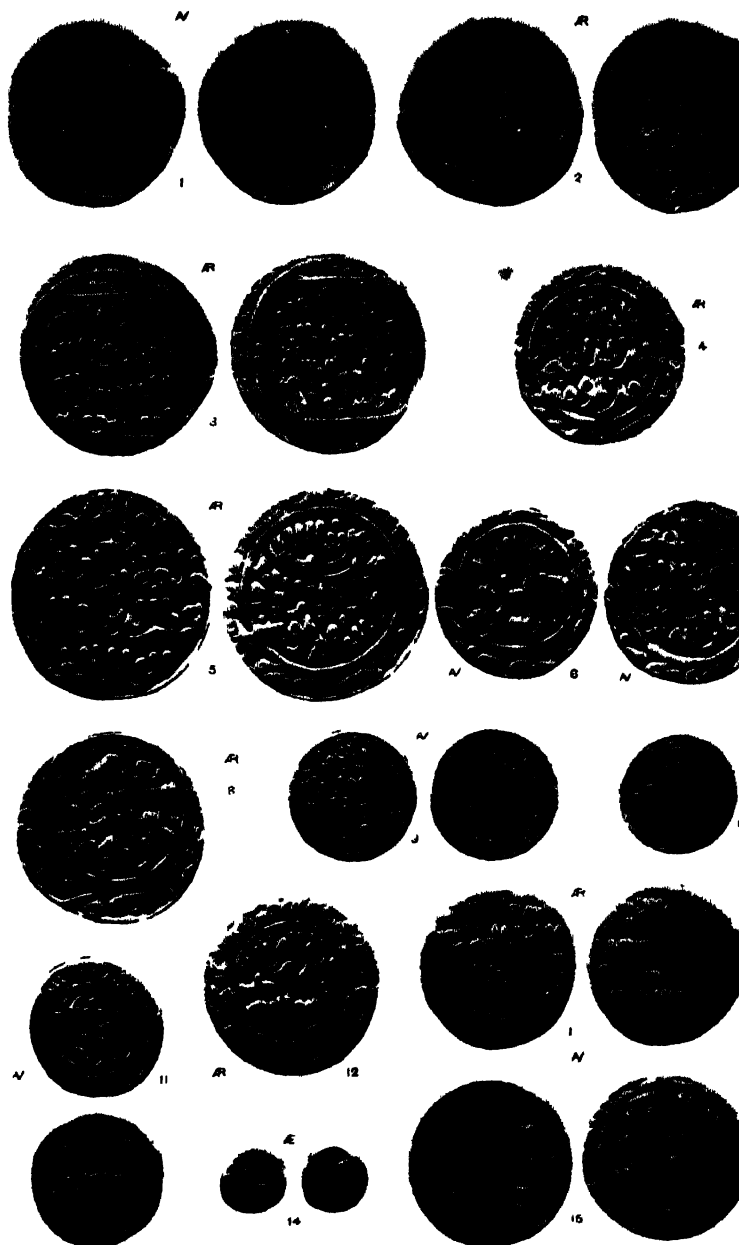
Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle	Area in circle
الله	الله .
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
معز الدسا و	محمد رسول الله
الدين ابو المظفر	الناصر لدين الله
محمد بن سام	امير المؤمنين
Margin عده و] مولا * الملك	Margin
المعظم تاج . . . . .	صرب هذه الدينار . . . . . سح

### 2. Silver. Weight 142 grs. L. W. K.

Date 610. Mint, Ghazni.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in double-lined square.	Area in double-lined square.
As on No. 1 (omitting the initial الله).	As on No. 1 (omitting the initial الله).
Margin	Margin
عده ومولا - [تاج الدسا] -	صرب هذه الدر - هم ببلده غده -
والدين يلدز - السلطاني	في شهر سنة - عشر وستمائة







These two new specimens of Taj-ud-din Yalduz's coinage are from the cabinet of Dr. L. White King, O.S.I. They were struck after the death but in the name of Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam. No. 2 is similar in character to the coin figured in the "Chronicles," Pl. I (3); its peculiarity is its weight. Táj-ud-din's connection with India was intermittent. From the Minhaj-us-siraj we learn that Yalduz, who had been governor of Karmán, on his sovereign's death disputed with Kutbuddin Aibek the possession of Lahore. In a battle, however, which ensued, victory remained with the latter, and Yalduz fled to Ghazni. After Kutbuddin's death in 607 A.H. Lahore was again a bone of contention, and was held sometimes by Yalduz, sometimes by Nasiruddin Kubacha, and sometimes by Shamshuddin Altamsh. Till A.H. 612 Yalduz was supreme in Ghazni. In that year he was driven out by Alauddin Khwarizm and went to Lahore, but not satisfied with the extent of his possession, he picked a quarrel with Shamshuddin Altamsh, only, however, to be defeated and end his life as a prisoner.

### 3. *Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs. L. W. K.

Date . . 5. Mint? Pl. I, 2.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in double-lined square within a circle, dots in segments	Area in double-lined square within a circle, dots in segments
السلطان الاعظم شمش الدنيا والدين ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين	في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين
Margin . . . . . ضرب هذه الفضة	Margin شهر سنه . . . . . . . . . . خمس

This coin is a variety of No. 31 in Thomas's "Chronicles" (figured in the British Museum Catalogue), from which it differs in its obverse area legend.

4. *Rukn-ud-din Firoz.*

Silver. Weight 167 grs. L. W. K.

Date? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 3.

Obv.

Area in double-lined square  
within circle, 2 dots in each  
segment

السلطان الاعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر فيروز شاه  
بن سلطان

Margin

.... هذه بحضرت دهلى ....

Rev.

Area in double-lined square  
within circle, 2 dots in each  
segment

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
المستنصر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

Margin illegible.

As far as I know, this rupee is unique. Mr. Rodgers, in his fifth Supplement to Thomas's "Chronicles" (J.A.S.B., 1894), published a rupee of the year 633, struck in the joint name of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and his father Altamsh. Imagining his throne secure, the former presumably ceased to trade on the influence of his father's name.

5. *Alá-ud-din Muhammad.*

Gold. Weight 170 grs. B.M.

Date 715. Mint, Fort Deogir. Pl. I, 4.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم  
علا الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر محمد شاه  
السلطان

Rev.

Area in circle

سكندر الثانى  
يمين الخلفه ناصر  
امير المؤمنين

Margin

ضرب هذه السكه بقلعه ديوكير  
في سنه خمس عشر وسبعمايه

This is a very rare, though not an unpublished coin. It is figured (somewhat poorly) in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and Thomas, in noticing the silver coins

of this mint, refers, parenthetically, to a gold coin of the year 711 A.H. in the British Museum. I cannot, however, trace in that collection the coin to which he alludes, and the present coin was obtained by the Museum from General Cunningham since the publication of the catalogue.

6. *Kutb-ud-din Mubarak.*

Silver. Weight 169 grs. B.M. Pl. I, 5.

Date 717. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli.

Obv.

الامام الاعظم  
خليفه رب العالمين  
نظب الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر

Rev.

Area in circle

مبارك شاه السلطان  
ابن السلطان الواثق  
بالله امير المؤمنين

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بدار الاسلام  
في سنة سبع و عشرو سبعمائيه

This coin combines, with one slight variation, the obverse legend on No. 145 and the reverse legend on No. 146 of the coins noticed in Thomas's "Chronicles." Dr. White King possesses a specimen, and a third existed in the collection of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, so that it is a little surprising not to find the coin noticed in the "Chronicles." Nor, so far as I am aware, does it find mention in any later publication.

7. *Ghiyás-ud-din Tughlak.*

Gold. Weight 165·5 grs. L. W. K.

Date 725. Mint: The Town of Daulatabad. Pl. I, 6.

Obv.

السلطان  
السعيد الشهيد  
العازى غياث الدنيا  
والدين

Rev.

Area in circle

ابو المظفر  
تغلق شاه السلطان  
انار الله برهانه

Margin ضرب هذه السكه في

بلده د[ولت] اباد سنة خمس  
وعشرين وسبعمائيه

8. Gold. Weight 169·2 grs. B.M. Pl. I, 7.

Date 727. Mint: The Town of Daulatabad.

Legends similar to those on No. 7, but mint name more legible.

These coins, as struck in the name of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak and bearing in the reverse area what is not unlike the date 721, have always been classified as coins of that Sultán. They were, however, undoubtedly struck after his death. In the J.A.S.B. 1886, Mr. C. J. Rodgers published a coin of this type bearing a marginal date of 726, and he consequently interpreted the characters immediately following **تغلق شاه** in the reverse area, which in the "Chronicles" (p. 190) are read as 721, to be 726. On coin No. 8 above, however, the same characters appear in conjunction with a clear marginal date of 727, and Dr. White King's coin finally settles the point by leaving no doubt that the characters are not figures, but a badly formed **السلطان**. The crudeness of these Daulatabad coins is also shown by the omission, in all the coins of the type which I have seen, of the initial **و** of the mint name.

In his second Supplement to the "Chronicles" Mr. C. J. Rodgers edited a coin of this type (No. 8) on which he read "Mulk-i-talang" as the mint place. I have seen no other coin of this type struck at Telingana, and, judging merely from Mr. Rodgers's drawing of the coin, I am inclined to think that the word which he read as **ملك** was really the first part of **بلده**, the rest of the mint name being too indistinct to be legible.

The small silver or billon posthumous pieces noticed by Mr. Thomas, pp. 212 and 213 (notes), and also by Mr. Rodgers in his Supplements, were also probably struck in the Deccan.

9. Silver. Weight 168·4 grs. B.M.

Date 724. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli. Pl. I, 8.

Obv.	Rev.
In double-lined square	Area in circle
السلطان الغارى	تغلق شاه
غياث الدنيا والدين	السلطان ناصر
ابو المظفر	امير المومنين
	Margin بدار الاسلام . . . .
	في سنة اربع . . . . .

From the British Museum Collection. I know of no duplicate.

10. *Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

Gold. Weight 142 grs. B.M.

Date 729. Mint: Sultanpur (Warangol). Pl. I, 9.

Obv.	Rev.
ضرب في زمن	Area in circle.
العبد الراجي رحمته	The Kalima.
الله محمد تغلق	Margin هذه السكه بدار الملك
	سلطانپور ۷۲۹

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 173.

11. Gold. Weight 141 grs. B.M.

Date 728. Mint: Daulatabad (Deogir). Pl. I, 10.

Obv.	Rev.
As in No. 10.	Area in circle.
	The Kalima.
	Margin
	هذه السكه في قبه بن اسلام اعنى
	دار الملك دولت آباد ۷۲۸

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 174.

12. Gold. Weight 170·5 grs. B.M.

Date 737. Mint: Dar ul Islam, Dehli. Pl. I, 11.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle	والله
في عهد	الغنى وانتم
محمد بن	الفقر
تغلق	
Margin	
بدار الاسلام سنة سبع	
وثلاثين وسبعماية	

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 176.

13. Silver. Weight 168·8 grs. B.M.

Date 725. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 12.

Obv.	Rev.
ابو بكر	Area in circle.
المجاهد في	The Kalima.
سبيل الله	Margin
محمد بن تغلق	عسرب هذه السكه
٧٢٥	بحضرت دهلي في سنة خمس
	وعشرين وسبعماية

Cf. Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 184.

The above four coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak are from the British Museum Collection. I have a specimen of No. 12 in my own cabinet, of date 734 H. I have heard of no duplicates of the other three.

It will be noticed that my reading of the designation of Daulatabad on No. 11, which is a variety of the coin noticed in Thomas's "Chronicles," No. 174, differs slightly from that given by Mr. Gibbs in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, viz. قبه الاسلام, which in its turn was a correction of the reading given in the "Chronicles," قبه دين اسلام, and the



alternative suggested by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, فی قندل اسلام. I can trace no *alif* after قبه on the coin I have figured, and I am doubtful whether any exists in the variety quoted by Thomas, and figured by Mr. Gibbs. I can find none in my own specimen of that variety, nor in the specimen belonging to the British Museum.

The silver coin is of the first year of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign. The weights of Nos. 10 and 11 are remarkable.

14. Silver. Weight 161·7 grs. L. W. K.

Date 742. Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 13.

Obv.	Rev.
<p>ضرب هذه الدينار (?)  الخلايفتى الدهلى فى شهر  ٨٨٨ سنة اثنى واربعين وسبعمايه</p>	<p>فى ٨٨ زمان الامام  المستكفى بالله امير المومنين ابو  الربيع سليمان خلد الله خلافته</p>

This rupee seems to have been struck from a gold die (cf. No. 212, p. 259, Thomas's "Chronicles"), the word after هذه, though indistinct, being probably دينار, as on the gold coins. No other Khalifate rupee has, I believe, been found.

15. *Mahmud bin Muhammad Shah.*

Copper. Weight 17 grs. L. W. K.

Date ? Mint, Dehli. Pl. I, 14.

Obv.	Rev.
<p>شاه  محمود  .....</p>	<p>بحضرت  دهلى</p>

This is the smallest coin known of this Sultan.

16. *Sher Shah.*

Gold. Weight 166·7 gra. W. V.

Date 951 ? Mint not specified. Pl. I, 15.

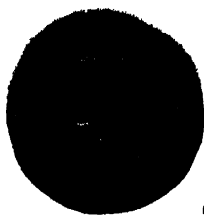
Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle	Area in circle.
شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	The Kalima.
Margin much cut	Margin illegible.
فريد الدنيا والدين . . . . ۱۵۱ شيرشاہ	

This coin belongs to Major Vost, I.M.S. Gold coins of Sher Shah are uncommon, though forgeries are frequently met with in the bazárs. I was disposed myself to doubt the genuineness of this coin, but both Dr. Codrington and Major Vost accept it. The crudeness of the characters may be due to its having been struck in Bengal. The die bears considerable resemblance to that of the silver coin published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers as No. 8 of plate i in the *Indian Antiquary* for March, 1888.

17. Silver. Weight 166·2 gra. H. N. W.

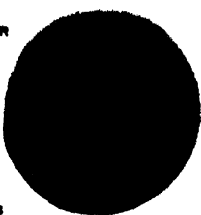
Date 949. Mint not specified. Pl. II, 16.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle	Area in circle.
* شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ۱۴۹	The Kalima.
Margin	with * after the و of رسول
فريد الدنيا والدين شیرشاہی مظفر ابو	Margin السلطان العادل ابوبکر عمر عثمان علی



R

16



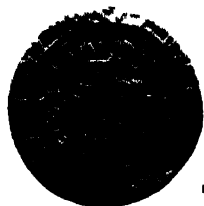
R

17



R

18



R

19



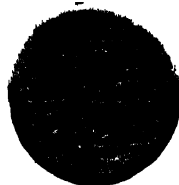
R

20



R

21



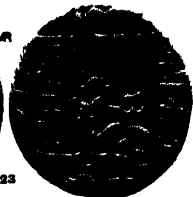
R

22



R

23



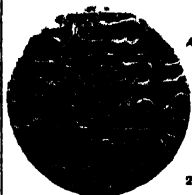
R

24



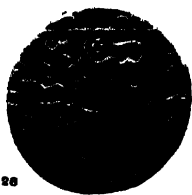
R

25



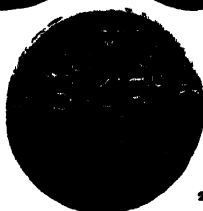
R

26



R

27





This is an unfigured and uncommon variety. It is not unlike in general appearance to the type figured as No. 10 in the *Indian Antiquary*, March, 1888, pl. i, and probably was struck at the same place (Dehli-Jahānpanāh). The mint-mark—an eight-pointed star—on the obverse, is noticeable. There are two specimens of this type in the Bodleian Museum, and one in the collection of Mr. Wilmot Lane. I know of no others.

18. Silver. Weight 87·5 grs. L. W. K.

Date 948. Mint ? Pl. II, 17.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in circle as on No. 17, but no date.	Area in circle.
Margin as on No. 17, but after مظفر.	The Kalima with ✱.
سنه ٩٤٨	Margin as on No. 17.
	N B عثمان is spelt with a س.

Thomas, in the "Chronicles," mentions a half-rupee, but does not describe it in detail. He probably referred to the type with square areas, of which two or three are known. I believe the present half-rupee with its circular areas to be unique. To the left of the Nāgri on the obverse margin are characters which look as if they were remnants of the mint name.

19. Silver. Weight 173·3 grs. L. W. K.

Date 951. Mint ? Pl. II, 18.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in double circle	Area in double circle.
السلطان	The Kalima, but الرسول
شاء	instead of رسول.
شبر	Margin
خلد الله ملكه	ابابكر عمر عثمان
	على ضرب ....
Margin	
السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر	
فرید الدین والدین ٩٥١	

Though in every other respect a fine specimen, this coin lacks, through fault of the striker, the most interesting part of the obverse marginal legend, viz., that which should contain the name of the mint town. Too little of the characters remains to admit of any conjecture. The use of الرسول for رسول is unusual, and suggests a mint distant from headquarters, possibly in Bengal.

20. Copper. Weight 303·7 grs. H. N. W.

Date 950. Mint, Chunár. Pl. II, 19.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square
شاه سلطان	في عهد
شیر *	الامير
ضرب چنار	الحکامی
Margins: top ابوالمظفر	Margins: top العدل
bottom خلد الله	bottom الدين
left ملکہ ۵۵	left الدنان
right وسلطانه	right ۱۵۰ ۵۵

This coin is, so far as I know, unique. Major Vost, in the J.A.S.B., 1895, Pt. i, published a coin of this mint, but of a different type, now represented by several specimens.

21. Copper. Weight 313·9 grs. H. N. W.

Date 951. Mint, Chunár.

This coin is similar to No. 20 except that the mint name is in the right obverse margin, its place in the obverse area being taken by the words خلد الله. The peculiarity of the coin, as distinct from that published by Dr. Vost and referred to above, is that the areas are enclosed in double-lined squares.

22. Copper. Weight 300 gra. B.M.

Date 947. Mint not given. Pl. II, 20.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square.
سلطان*	The Kalima.
شیر شاه	
الله	
خلد ملکه	
Margins :	Margins. The names and
bottom السلطان العادل	titles of the four companions.
left ابو المظفر	
top فرید الدنان	
right والدين	

This coin looks like an attempt to assimilate the legends on the copper coinage to those on the silver coins. I had a duplicate in my own collection, but it has got mislaid. I do not remember seeing any others. This specimen is unfortunately rather worn.

23. Copper. Weight 306·7 grs. B.M.

Date? Mint? Pl. II, 21.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square
شیر شاه سلطان	السلطان العادل
خلد الله ملکه	الاُمیر الحاکمی
Margins: left . . . . علی	Margins illegible.
others illegible.	

A new type, not included in Dr. Hoernle's list in the J.A.S.B. 1890.

24. *Islám Shah.*

Gold. Weight ? (the coin is ringed). H. N. W.

Date 954[?9]. Mint [Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar]. Pl. II, 22.

Obv.

Area in square

اسلام شاه ابن ٩٥٢  
شاه سلطان  
شير  
خلد الله ملكه

Margins illegible.

Rev.

Area in square.

The Kalima.

Margins illegible.

This is, I believe, the only circular gold coin of Islam Shah hitherto found. None has at any rate been published. I know of only one square gold piece. I obtained this in the Cawnpore bázár. The coin may be safely assumed to have been struck at Bhakkar, if a comparison is made with the silver coins Nos. 25 and 26 figured below. It is unfortunately not a very perfect specimen, and has been worn as an ornament.

## 25. Silver. Weight 173 grs. H. N. W.

Date 955. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar. Pl. II, 23.

Obv.

Legend in square area as on  
No. 24 ante, but ٩٥٥ (inverted)  
and below square श्रीसबमसाह

Margins :

right            شیرکرده  
bottom    شق عرف بكر  
left            ?  
top            ?

Obv.

Area in square.

The Kalima.

Margins :

right    علي المرتضى  
bottom    ابا بكر الصديق  
left    عمر الفاروق ?  
top    عثمان العفان



26. Silver. Weight 168 gra. Bodleian.

Date 960. Mint: Shergarh, *alias* Bhakkar. Pl. II, 24.

Obv.	Rev.
Legend in square area as on No. 24 ante, but ۱۲۰ ( <i>sic</i> ), and mint-mark ✕.	Area in square. The Kalima.
Margins as on No 25.	Margins as on No. 25.

Coins of this mint have not, so far as I am aware, been figured hitherto. Thomas, on p. 412 of the "Chronicles," mentions coins struck at Shakk-i-Bakar, but as he does not describe in detail or figure any specimen, and merely notices them along with a coin of Satgáon, from which they differ so materially as to deserve a separate description, I think it is possible that none actually passed through his hands. Mr. C. J. Rodgers also omitted them from his list of Suri coins published in the *Indian Antiquary* for March, 1888, and I know of only one other specimen (bearing date 954) besides those now described. They seem, therefore, to merit publication.

27. Silver. Weight 174 gra. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint, Biána. Pl. II, 25.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square.
اسلام شاه بن سلطان شاه شیر ۹۵۳ خدا الله ملکہ ओहसबैनसहे	The Kalima.
Margins: right ابو المظفر bottom ضرب بيانه left and top illegible.	Margins : bottom ابابكر الصديق left عمر الفاروق right and top illegible.

28. Silver. Weight 170 grs. Bodleian. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint, Biána. Pl. II, 26.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square as on No. 27, but no date.	Area in square. The Kalima.
Margins :	Margins as on No. 27.
right      ابو المظفر	
bottom    ضرب بيانه ٩٥٣	
left      جلال الدنيا	
top        والدين	

Biána was a copper mint in Sher Shah's time. In Islam Shah's reign the jagir of Biána was given to the Sultán's unfortunate elder brother when he renounced his claims to the throne. The town was also the headquarters of one Sheikh Alái, who created considerable disturbance by professing Mahdiism.

29. Silver. Weight 170·5 grs. Bodleian.

Date 955. Mint, Kálpi. Pl. II, 27.

Obv.	Rev.
Legend in square area as on No. 27, but ٩٥٥ in left bottom corner.	Area in square. The Kalima and X in the left bottom corner.
Margins : right    السلطان العادل	Margins. Names and titles of the four companions.
top            جلال الدنيا	
left          والدين ابو المظفر	
bottom       ضرب كالپی	

This coin comes from the Bodleian Collection, but the mint name is not given in the catalogue. A similar coin is also described and figured in the British Museum Catalogue without any mention of mint name, No. 597, Pl. ix. There can, I think, be no doubt that it is a coin of Kálpi. The first three letters of the mint name on the Bodleian

coin are, in my opinion, unmistakeably كال, and this conclusion is strengthened by the mint-mark on the reverse—a six-rayed star—a mark which is borne on all the silver coins of Kálpi struck by Sher Shah, and which is very prominent on a copper coin of that mint figured by me in the July number of this Journal.

30. Silver. Weight 177 grs. B.M.

Date 952. Mint: ? Fort Ráisín. Pl. II, 28.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square.
اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه آسیں	The Kalima.
Margins :	Margins :
left سلطان العادل	left ابابكر و عمر
top ابو المظفر [جلال]	top و عثمان
right الدين والدنيا	right و على ضرب
bottom ١٥٢ سه	bottom قلع راسين ?

This coin is No. 612 in the British Museum Catalogue, but is not figured. Mr. Lane-Poole thought the mint might be Gwalior. I do not think this is possible, judging from the formation of the letters and the fact that the coins of Gwalior mint are of quite a different type, but my own reading is also tentative. The coin is, I believe, unique, and I feel justified in drawing special attention to it by reason of the interest which accrues to a new mint town. Ráisín is in the Native State of Bhopal, 10 miles from the Sánchi topes on the road from Hoshangábád to Ságor. As a fort it played a fairly conspicuous part in the attempt of the Hindu chiefs to escape from subjection to Sher Shah and his Afgháns. In 950 A.H. Sher Shah, hearing that Puran Mal, who was acting as deputy to the minor raja of that district, had insulted the Mahommedan

families in Chanderi, spent six months in the siege of Ráisin, and after enticing Puran Mal and his followers out with promises of safety, perfidiously had them massacred on a pretence of obeying a decision of his 'ulama.

There is also a Rásan in Tahsil Badausa, Banda District, Bundelkhand, which was the headquarters of a pargana in the reign of Akbar.

31. Silver. Weight 175·7 grs. H. N. W.

Date 956. Mint: Jahanpanáh (Dehli). Pl. III, 29.

Obv.	Rev.
Area in square	Area in square. ,
اسلام شاه سلطان	The Kalima.
شهر شاه	۹۵۶ in lower left-hand corner.
خلد الله ملكه	
श्रीरसचामसहे	Margins. Probably the names
Margins: bottom ابوالمظفر	of the four companions.
left حهاباه	
top and right illegible.	

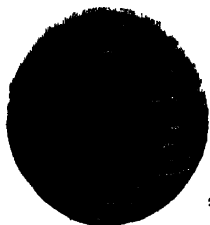
The mint name is to some extent conjectural, parts only of the letters being visible. The characters resemble somewhat in style those found on Dehli-struck coins. The British Museum possesses a duplicate, but without any traces of a left obverse margin.

32. Silver. Weight 162·5 grs. H. N. W.

Date 956. Mint ? Pl. III, 30.

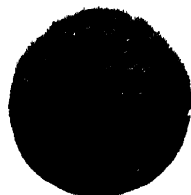
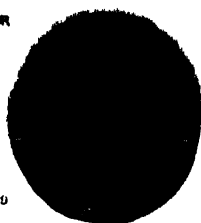
Obv.	Rev.
Legend in square area as on	Area in square.
No. 31, श्रीरसचामसहे	The Kalima.
Margins: right ابوالمظفر	۹۵۶ in lower left-hand corner.
top ? جلال الدنيا	Margins illegible. Probably
left والدين	the names and titles of the four
bottom deleted.	companions.

Another uncommon variety of Islam Shah's coins.



AR

29

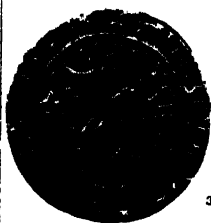


AR

31

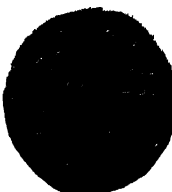
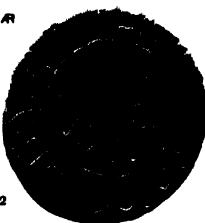


30



AR

32



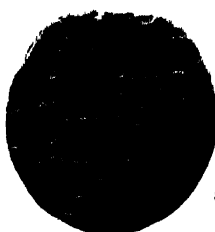
AR

33



AR

34



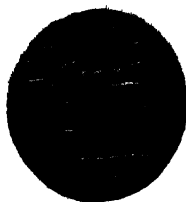
AR

37



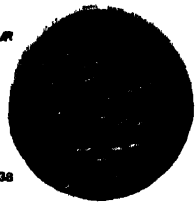
AR

35



AR

36



AR

38





33. Silver. Weight 175·1 grs. B.M.

Date 956; Mint? Pl. III, 31.

The areas read as in No. 31 above. The marginal legends are much cut. The coin, which is from the British Museum, is similar in type to No. 32, but is of a different die and probably not from the same mint.

34. Silver. Weight 170 grs. B.M. H. N. W.

Date 952. Mint, Satgáon. Pl. III, 32.

Obv.

Area in circle

اسلام شاه ابن  
شهر شاه سلطان خلد  
الله ملكه و سلطانه  
واعلى . . . . .

Margin

حلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر  
١٥٢ ستر ستر ستر ستر ستر

Rev.

Area in circle.

The Kalima.

Margin

ابابكر صديق عمر خطاب عثمان  
عنان على مرتضى السلطان العادل

A coin of this mint, with square areas, was published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1888. This coin, with circular areas, has not, I believe, been figured previously.

35. Silver. Weight 172·5 grs. H. N. W.

Date 953. Mint? Pl. III, 33.

Obv.

Area in square

شاه سلطان  
اسلام  
شير شاه  
خلد الله ملكه  
سار سار سار سار سار

Margins: bottom جلال الدنيا  
left والدين  
top and right deleted.

Rev.

Area in square.

The Kalima.

١٥٦ (sic) in lower left-hand corner.

X over the ١ of رسول.

Margins: top ابوبكر  
left عثمان

bottom and right deleted.

This is a rare variety; I do not remember to have seen any other like it. Judging from the characters, I think

it possible that it may be found to be a coin of Chunar. I describe below a half-dám of Islam Shah, which gives a clue to the mint of the rupee. That coin, however, is worn and does not photograph well enough to be figured.

36. Copper. Weight 144·4 grs. H. N. W.  
Date 953. Mint, Chunar.

Obv.

اسلام . . . .  
شهر شاه  
خلد الله ملكه  
ضرب بچار

Rev.

في عهد  
الامير الخامس  
الدين و  
الدين

The form of the terminal م of اسلام, the mint-mark, the inverted 3 of the date, and the general style of the characters are the same in this coin as in the rupee described above. The mint I take to be Chunar, though it is not usual to see the ب of ضرب joined to the following word. It is possible, however, that what I read as the ر of ضرب may be its terminal ب, in which case the reading would be ضرب بچار, which would be unobjectionable.

37. Copper. Weight 152·4 grs. H. N. W.  
Date 960. Mint, Shahgarh. Pl. III, 34.

Obv.

Parts of  
أبو المظفر  
اسلام شاه  
سلطان  
شير شاه  
خلد الله

Rev.

Parts of  
في عهد  
الامير الخامس  
الدين الدبان  
سنة ٩٦٠

38. Copper. Weight 156·3 grs. H. N. W.  
Date 959. Mint, Shahgarh. Pl. III, 35.

Similar to No. 37, but without the six-rayed star on obverse, and date 959.

These half-dáms of Shahgarh have not, I believe, been previously figured or described. The Indian Museum,



Calcutta, and the Lahore Museum each possess a dām of this mint, and in July last I published a heavy coin of 460 grs. similar in character and mint-mark to No. 37.

39. Copper. Weight 28·3 grs. L. W. K.

Date ? Mint ? Pl. III, 36.

Obv.

ابو المظفر  
اسلام شاه

Rev.

فی عهد  
امیر الحاکم

I have heard of no other coin of Islam Shah of this weight. The legends also differ from those usually found on the smaller copper pieces. What its denomination may have been I am not prepared to say. To call it a twelfth of a dām would make the dām 340 grs. The coin is scarcely heavy enough to be a tenth of a dām, and it does not appear to have lost weight to any appreciable extent by wear and tear. In my last paper I endeavoured to show, on the evidence of certain coins, that Sher Shah coined decimal fractions of the dām. It is possible, therefore, that Islam Shah continued the practice, and that the present coin must be taken as a short-weight tenth of a dām.

40. *Muhammad Adil Shah.*

Silver. Weight ? (The coin is ringed.) H. N. W.

Date 961. Mint ? Pl. III, 37.

Obv.

Area in square

سلطان محمد  
عادل خلد الله  
ملكه و سلطانه

below which is श्रीसुवतानम

हमदशाह

Margins : top illegible.

left ابو المظفر

right ١٦١  
سنه

Rev.

Area in square.


The Kalima.

Margins. Names and titles  
of the four companions.

This is an unfigured rupee of Muhammad Adil. It is peculiar in that it has a very full Nágri legend.

41. Silver. Weight 177·4 gra. B.M.

Date? Mint: Shergadh urf Shakk-i-Bakar. Pl. III, 38.

Obv.  
Area in square  
شاه  سلطان  
محمد  
خلد الله ملكه  
अमिरहमदसाह

Margins:

right    شیر [گده]  
bottom   عرف سق بكر  
left and top cut.

Rev.  
Area in square.  
The Kalima.  
  
Margins. The names and  
titles of the four companions.

This coin belonged to Marsden, and is now in the British Museum, but is not noticed in the printed catalogue. It is figured as No. 727 in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, but is there assigned to the Muhammad Shah (son of Farid Shah) who reigned in 837. The mint, too, was not read. The coin has not been described by Thomas, and I have never seen any correction of Marsden's mistake elsewhere. The type of the coin shows that it was struck by Muhammad Adil. It is, I believe, unique. All rupees of this Sultan are rare, particularly those giving the name of their mint town.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### 1. THE AŚOKĀṢṬAMI FESTIVAL.

SIR,—Captain Gurdon, in his interesting account of the Aśwagrānta shrine near Gauhati (not Gunhati, as printed), writes of the Aśokāṣṭami festival as if it were peculiar to that shrine, and indeed attributes the origin of the festival to the legend that it was there that Rukminī bathed. But on the Aśokāṣṭami day (the day before the Rāmnavami) people bathe in the Brahmāputra all along the north bank. The correct procedure is to stand up to your waist in the water, holding in your hand eight buds (why eight, I know not) of the Aśoka. You recite the following mantra :—

“Yam açokaṃ harabhīṣṭam madhu māmśam samudbhavet  
Pibāmi çokasantāptam mām açokaṃ sadā kuru.”

You then swallow the buds, and obtain all the benefits you might have got by bathing in the sacred Ganges itself.

The legend of the festival's origin told me differs from Captain Gurdon's version, and is interesting as an instance of a Hindu story growing out of a pre-Hindu belief. The name Brahmāputra is no doubt a translation of the primitive Assamese name of the river, just as the Khyendwin in Burma is said to mean “Son of God.” Given the name Brahmāputra, required to find an etymological explanation. The explanation is found in a local variant of the Paraśurām mythus. The sons of Brahmā figure largely in Assamese mythology. The fire sacrifice of Dakṣha, for instance, is thought to be reproduced every year in the cressets of jungle fire which create pillars of smoke by day and of fire

by night along the summits of the northern hills. I do not remember who it was that bore Brahmāputra to Brahmā, but

" His daughter she : in Saturn's reign  
Such mixture was not held a stain."

For long years she bore her son in her womb, and only obtained delivery by visiting the sacred spring of Brahma Kunda far in the Mishmi hills. But Brahmāputra was still only a pool, and not yet one of the mightiest of Indian rivers. Here comes in the Paraśurām legend. The Mahābhārata tells how Paraśurām alone of his brothers obeyed the command of his father and cut off the head of his mother Reṇukā. The epic says that his obedience so pleased his father that he was told to ask a boon. He begged that his mother might be restored pure to life, and that he himself might be invincible in single combat and enjoy length of days. The Assamese version is that he received the curse that his great axe should cleave to his hand till he should set free the son of Brahmā by cleaving the Brahma Kunda gorge. This reminds one (as Assamese versions of Hindu stories frequently do) of the Madras story, that Paraśurām "drove back the ocean, and cut fissures in the Ghāts with blows of his axe." Doubtless the Aṣokāṣṭami is the survival of some primitive prehistoric bathing festival, adopted in the usual catholic fashion of Hinduism, and explained at Gauhati, as Captain Gurdon suggests, by the legend of the fair Rukmini's bathing. It is sad to think that we shall never know the real, the primeval reason why the bathing is confined to the north bank.

Even more interesting than the Aśwagrānta shrine are the wonderful ruins at Singri parvat and at Tezpur in the Darrang district, to which I hope the Assam Director of Ethnography may be able to turn his attention. At both these places are heaped vast blocks of carved granite, volutes, pilasters, and images, some of the blocks covered with a curious conventional ornament which the modern Assamese calls "Daffla writing." The Singri ruins are visited in the cold weather by pilgrims from the Daffla

hills, who maintain that they are relics of the Daffla rule in the plains in bygone days. They have doubtless been wrecked by some tremendous earthquake, though there is a story that they were blown up with gunpowder by "Kālā pahār," the Mahomedan general. But assuredly no Mahomedan gunpowder could work such havoc in buildings constructed solely of huge square blocks of granite such as modern engineers would find it hard to move with all their appliances. I know of no Hindu legend which has attached itself to the Singri ruins, which lie in dense forests and far from human habitation. The Tezpur ruins, however, are in the heart of the modern civil station, and (I shudder to tell it) the plinth of the Deputy Commissioner's cutcherry is largely composed of carved granite blocks. About these ruins has grown the pretty story of the princess Ūshū and her handmaiden Chitrālekhā, and the Assamese believe that Tezpur was once Mahābalipura, the capital of her grandfather. This is another instance of a legend borrowed from Southern India, as are many of those connected with the great Tantric shrine of Kāmākshī at Gauhati, of which Captain Gurdon has probably much that is interesting to tell. The chief interest of these borrowed legends lies in their adaptation to local conditions, and especially to the primitive local beliefs. We shall soon have from the pen of Mr. E. A. Gait a History of Hindu Assam, and, as far as can be gathered from scanty records, of the Assam of pre-Hindu days. It is a pity that so much of ancient belief and history has been obliterated by Hindu legend, so that, for instance, it is only due to the comparatively recent conversion of Manipur to Hinduism that we happen to know by how quaint a fiction the Manipuris, the Nāga folk of Imphal, became "sons of Arjun." The local legends of Assam, as containing traces of prehistoric belief, are well worth studying, and we must hope that Captain Gurdon's paper in the Journal is a foretaste of further investigations into shrines even more interesting.—Yours faithfully,

J. D. ANDERSON.

P.S.—Professor Barnett has been so good as to write the following note on the *çloka* quoted above :—“ This mantra is apparently to be spoken in drinking the sacred waters. The text may be rendered : ‘ May that which (men call) the Açoka, sweetmeat, agreeable to Hara (Çiva), grow up ! I drink. Make thou me, who am oppressed with grief, to be ever griefless.’ The difficulty is in the first half of the stanza. There is a play on the word *açoka*, which signifies both ‘ sorrowless ’ and the tree *Jonesia Açoka*, branches of the latter being used in this ceremony ; and, further, *madhu* may also mean this tree, though usually signifying nectareous liquid (butter, honey, etc.), or simply ‘ sweet.’ Thus, we might take *madhu māmśam* as a compound adjective qualifying *açokan*, and meaning ‘ sweet of flesh,’ or as a compound noun, ‘ butter and meat.’ In any case, the prayer means that food is to rise to the worshipper, as the Açoka grows, in some causal connection with the latter. I strongly suspect that the masculine *yam* should be altered to the neuter *yad*. In that case it would be best to take *açokam* as adjective, rendering ‘ I drink that which (I pray) may rise as sorrowless food (or the like),’ etc. Water is the source of vegetable and other life.”

July 14, 1900.

## 2. END OF THE WORLD.

24, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

Aug. 4th, 1900.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—A very widely spread belief that the end of the world would take place on the night of the 13th November prevailed last year in Egypt. This was no doubt connected with the shower of Leonids which was expected by the European papers to be especially brilliant about then, and the native newspapers started reports which were the cause of the idea referred to.

I have heard that in some of the balads of Gizeh the inhabitants camped out in the desert, I suppose with a vague,

idea of escaping, leaving their balads deserted and giving thieves an opportunity that they did not lose.

Perhaps this and similar stories of people eating up their stores and beasts, thinking it useless to keep them, are exaggerated, but I can vouch for the belief having been held to a considerable extent in the provinces of Girgeh and Assyut, where I happened to be at the time. The enclosed copy of a telegram from some cultivators of a small town is therefore rather interesting, and I forward it to you in case you should care to give it a place in your Journal.

I note a similar event having taken place in 1735 A.D. recorded by El Jabarti, vol. i, p. 147 (Cairo ed.).—Yours sincerely,

A. R. GUEST.

تاريخ ١٩/١١/١٤

ساعة دقيقة  
١

محطة اسيوط

١٢٢

مر

عدد الكلمات ٩٥

من - الى ابو تيج

لسعادة جست بيك مفتش الد اخلية

باسيوط و صورة لسعادة وكيل مديريه اسيوط باسيوط بعد ان امرتنا الهندسة باخضير ما ينكشف بحوض بنى سميح شرقى السكه الحديد و خضرناه سدوا هويس ابو تيج محكم و فاضت المياه على المنزرع و غرقت اقلبه و باقى الحوض غربى السكه الذى ينوف عن ستة الاف فد ان مبعاد اخضيره مضى و صار لا ينتفع زراعته و كنا ما ملين انتهى الدنيا يوم ١٣ الجارى كما اشاعت الجرايد و لكوننا فاضلين لان فى الوجود فنلتهمس اسعافنا بمعائنه ذلك و الاسراع بفتح المصرف و الايصير معا فاتنا من اخضير الاطيان ورفع اموالها لئله نعدم التقاوى و مال الميرى بدون ثمراندم

عن مزارعين النخيله

*Translation.*

"To one of the Government officials at Assyut, etc.

"(A telegram dated 14th November, 1899.)

"Having been directed by the Irrigation to sow any land uncovering in the basin of Bani Sami, and we having done so, they have shut fast the lock at Abu Tij. The water has overflowed the cultivation and drowned most of it, and the time for sowing the rest of the basin, which lies to the west of the railway, upwards of 6,000 acres, is past, so that it has become profitless for cultivation. And we were expecting the end of the world on the 13th inst., according to the newspaper reports, but as we still remain alive we beg that we may be assisted by having the above viewed, and that the drain may be opened at once Or else that we may be excused from cultivating the land, and that its taxes may be remitted, lest we lose both the seeds and the Government impost without fruit.

"From the cultivators of Nukhailah" (a small village near Assyut).

### 3. A NĪTĪMAÑJARĪ QUOTATION IDENTIFIED.

DEAR SIR,—While looking over the MSS. of the Hultzsch Collection, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, I came across what is probably the original of a quotation made by Dyā Dviveda in his Nītimañjarī. No. 247 of the Hultzsch Collection (see ZDMG., xl, 19), whose shelf-mark in the Bodleian is d. 165, contains a Vedānta work, the *Saptasūtra*. In the colophon on f. 12b it is attributed to Śaṃkara: *śrīmac-chaṅkarācāryarīracitam Saptasūtram samāptam*. It is apparently a somewhat rare work, as Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 696a, only cites besides this MS. three others, one in Oudh and two in Benares. What claim it has to be Śaṃkara's I do not know. Its style seems too simple, though its philosophy is pure Vedāntism, and as Aufrecht says (op. cit., p. 626b), of the treatises attributed to



him hardly the third part is his own. If it be not his, its date is quite uncertain. The MS. is not dated, but is probably, to judge from the paper, writing, etc., fully 100 years old.

The pertinent quotation occurs on f. 1b at verse 4. It runs: *anātmabhūte dehādāv ātmabuddhis tu dehīnām, avidyā tatkrto bandhas tannyaśo mokṣa ucyate*. With the first half of this stanza is identical the quotation in the *nītimañjarī* cited in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 135. There the work is called the *Ātmavṛtti*, a very curious title, not elsewhere known. It is most probably merely a careless mistake on Dyā's part.—Yours truly,

A. B. KEITH.

P.S.—Professor Macdonell has pointed out to me, on the authority of Colonel Jacob, that this verse also occurs in the last chapter of *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*, p. 167 (ed 1858), or p. 188 (ed. 1872), in this form :

*tad uktam ; anātmanī ca dehādār ātmabuddhis-tu dehīnām,  
avidyā tatkrto bandhas tannuśe mokṣa ucyate.*

This is the reading not only of these two editions but also of an undated edition in my possession, and of the MS. in the Bodleian. But it is distinctly inferior to that of the *Saptasūtra*, so it still is most probable that the latter was Dyā's source.

I have just discovered that Professor Peterson gave up his view of Dyā's date. In his Report for 1888–92, p. lx, he writes: "The date assigned by me to Dyā *Dvivedin* is wrong. The commentary shows that the line, in which the date is given, is to be read

*binduśaraśaraikena mite samvati durdabhe,  
vatsare māghasuklādāv akarot Dyā tithāṁ imām.*

Dyā Dvivedin, therefore, wrote in samvat 1550, and Professor Kielhorn was right in pointing out that he often used Sāyaṇa. See Ulwar Catal., No. 37."

The date thus given, corresponding to A.D. 1493, is in itself quite acceptable. But the Ulwar MS., to judge from the specimens in Peterson, contains quite a different recension of the text from that in the MSS. used by me, and gives Dyā's ancestry differently, besides assigning to him Ānandapura (perhaps Vāḍanagar, in Upper Gujerat) as his place of abode. So I hesitate to put much confidence in this date, unless further confirmation is forthcoming.

*Oxford, July, 1900.*

#### 4. THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF VAN : LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

*Queen's College, Oxford.*

*August 27, 1900.*

SIR,—In my Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Pt. IV, lxxvii, 9 (J.R.A.S., January, 1893), I arrived at the conclusion that the word (GIS) *uldi* signified "a post." An inscription of Argistis II, recently discovered and published by Drs. Belck & Lehmann (Nos. 130 and 131 of their collection) makes it the equivalent of the ideographs GIS KARANU, and thus shows that it was a particular kind of post, a "vine-stock" namely. Indeed, as *udulis* was "a vine," it is possible that it is sometimes used in the sense of "vineyard"; in this case we should have to translate xxiii (*Menuainei bilaye Taririai ini uldi Tariria-khi-ni-li tt-ni*), "In honour of Taririas, the mother of Menuas, this has been called the vineyard of Taririas."

Now, the discovery of the exact meaning of *uldis* clears up that of another word, *zaris*, which I had supposed to mean "door." *Zaris*, however, has nothing to do with *saies*, "a gate." In lxxvii, 9, 10, we read, (GIS) *ulde* (GIS) *sare* *terubi sadubi arnisi-ni-li istini*; in lxiv, 1, 2, ALU (GIS) *uldi* (GIS) *sari* [*teruni u SE-KAL-*]MES *arniusi-ni-li is-*[*tini du-li P*]; and in lxxix, 18–21, *terubi ikuka-khi-ni kigu* GIS-KARANU GIS-TIR-GAN *u SE-KAL-*[MES] *arniusi-ni-li isti[ni] duli inani*. Here (GIS) *sari* or *sare* is made the equivalent of the ideographs

GIS-TIR-GAN, "grove of the garden" (*kistu as meristi*), and *zaris* accordingly must mean "a garden grove" or "plantation" consisting of peaches and pomegranates and similar trees. In W.A.I., ii, 23, 57e, it is said that *šarme*, or rather *šarwe*, signified "a forest" or "grove" (*kistu*) in the language of Šu (i.e. Šuri or Northern Mesopotamia), and by the language of Šu, as I first pointed out in the *Academy* (Jan., 1890, p. 64), the Assyrian scribes meant the language of Mitanni.

A. H. SAYCE.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

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**THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL.** By  
C. R. WILSON, M.A., Bengal Educational Service.  
Volume II, part 1. (London: W. Thacker & Co.,  
Creed Lane, 1900.)

This is a continuation of the excellent work, the first volume of which has been already noticed on pp. 178-183 of this Journal for January, 1897. The present instalment covers the years 1711 to 1717. As in the former volume, there is a very good introduction; it gives an account of Calcutta under the rule of Weltden, Russell, and Robert Hedges. The Addenda include notes on the family history of these governors and other subjects of interest. The Letters and Diaries of the Surman Embassy to the Great Mogul will, we understand, appear as Part 2 of the present issue. We have several entries in this volume relating to that mission, and incidentally, on p. 155, we have a graphic and hardly overcharged picture of the way audience was accorded by the Dihli emperor in the days of his glory.

"Whoever the Great Mogull is pleased to Honour with leave to appear in his presence will after he is disarmed be admitted into a Court Yard where he must stand exposed to the weather, (whatever it happens to be) at the appointed distance which will be out of hearing a word the King shall speak, who looking out at a window a Story high in his Pallace every man in sight of him must stand with his Arms

a little crossing on his Stomack and his Toes close together without presuming to look up, when the King goes from his Window a Curtain is lett fall and every man in the Court Yard Shuffles away without observing any order this is a Short account of the reception the King will give, but his Ministers generally admit Foreigners to sett Cross Legged in their Presence and talk to them but scarcely of their business for that must be treated by means of their under officers."

There are a great number of strange words scattered up and down these old records; and, even after Mr. Wilson has worked hard at them, there are still many left without explanation. One or two instances may be given. The odd word *Botard* on p. 175, evidently the title of some Mogul official, is, we would suggest, meant for *Buyûtât*, formed by a double plural from *Bait* (Arabic), a house, *Buyût*, houses. The proper form for the holder of the office is *Buyûtâtî*; but it is generally contracted into *Buyûtât*, of which *Botard* is an easy corruption. The duties of the office were connected with the enforcement of escheats to the Crown, and the collection of the hated Poll Tax or *Jizyâ*.

The *swanagur* of the same page is for *Sicâniḥ-nigâr*, news-writer, an official who must be distinguished from the *Wâqâ'h-navis*, the official journal-keeper or recorder. The latter prepared a gazette or record of official acts, changes of officials, and so forth; the former, the *Sicâniḥ-nigâr*, was a sort of spy or retailer of gossip and complaints. Both of these officials were in direct communication with the *Dâroghah-i-dâk* (Superintendent of the Post) at the emperor's court, and they sent in weekly or fortnightly reports. On p. 289, under the date of 25th November, 1717, we see that when the mace-bearer (*Gurz-bardâr*), a very important personage, arrived from Court with the imperial *farmâns* granted to the East India Company by Farrukhsiyar, the *Wâqâ'h-navis* and the *Sicâniḥ-nigâr* both came down with other officials from Hügli, "to take notice of Ceremonys and Respect we mett and received the King's favours with," and both received a present of broadcloth for their pains.

**DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA.** Translated from the Pāli [of the Dīgha Nikāya] by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Being Sacred Books of the Buddhists, volume ii. (London, 1899.)

One is sometimes tempted to wish that there might grow up a body of international law for scholars—*pañḍicca-dhamma*, so to say—which should provide, among other things, a pillory for those sinners against all the economics of scientific advance who edit texts and do not also translate them. The comprehending of a hard text and the editing thereof must proceed *pari passu*. When the editing is done, and well done, who in all the world is so well qualified to say what it means as the editor? His peculiar qualifications are the fruit of long and special study, and are often simply thrown away—so far as his colleagues are concerned—by his neglect to use them for the construction of what is, after all, the most convenient, the briefest, and the best of all comments, a good translation. I am convinced that Indian studies would have been a more important factor in the intellectual life of our day, and even that they would have made better progress, had the masters of Indology devoted more of their time to the work of translation and popular exposition. This work is too often left to second-rate men, and with results that are lamentable. “What is the use of your erudition?” “What rapport can you establish between your department of science and the material, intellectual, and spiritual needs of to-day?” Such are some of the blunt questions that confront the scholar of the English-speaking world, and that may not be ignored with top-lofty indifference.

The Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893 awakened great interest in the Eastern systems; and ever since that time there has been here in New England a steady succession of expositors and teachers of the religious life and

beliefs of India. There has come into vogue a dabbling with the 'isms' of the Land of the Rose-apple, which has often been directed or misdirected by worse than half-knowledge of what those 'isms' really signify. And its mischievous outgrowth has been a flabby mongrel eclecticism.

Very timely, therefore, is the appearance in English form of such ancient and authoritative texts of Buddhism as are these Dialogues of the Dīgha Nikāya, and withal from so masterly a hand as that of Professor Rhys Davids. He, at any rate, has not shirked the work of translation, as no less than six volumes of the Sacred Books of the East attest. Thirteen suttas, or considerably over a third of the Pāli original of the Dīgha, were edited by him, with the collaboration of Professor Estlin Carpenter, about ten years ago; and a little earlier appeared Buddhaghosa's comment on the first seven of these suttas from the same hands. The translation before us just covers those first thirteen suttas. And it is most pleasant to learn from an incidental note on p. 239 that Davids has definitively planned to give us more (let us hope, the whole) of the Dīgha in English.

Some of the suttas have an especial interest for us, in that they were among the very first Buddhist texts to become known in the West. The "Perfect Net" was translated by Gogerly over fifty years ago; and the "Fruits of the Life of a Recluse," a little later by the great Burnouf, the version being hidden away as a kind of excursus to his note on the technical term *kleśa*, which forms the second appendix to his "Lotus"! Marvellous as are the erudition and breadth of grasp displayed in Burnouf's big quarto, it does seem as if a few compact octavos like the one before us, each laying before students of the Occident a distinct and important text, were much more likely to be of practical service.

The intrinsic interest of the Dīgha, however, seems to me, if I may venture so comprehensive a statement, to transcend that of almost any other scripture of the Buddhist canon. It is the last forty-five years of Gotama's life that

made it what it has been for humanity. Barren indeed they are of such striking incidents as form the themes of the beautiful and touching legends of his childhood and young manhood; but he was, above all, a great teacher; and it is his teachings, that is to say, the very essence of his life-work, that we find presented, with great directness, in the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima*.

The translation premises some interesting general considerations concerning the Sacred Books. The *Piṭakas* were known and regarded as authoritative at the time of the *Milinda*, say the beginning of our era. It is to the Five *Nikāyas* that Tissa, in the *Kathā-Vatthu*, which he wrote about 250 B.C., regularly appeals. In the inscriptions of the same date already adduced by Bühler and Hultzsch (*Epigr. Ind.*, ii, 93), the "followers *or* reciters of the Five *Nikāyas*" are clearly mentioned; and Aśoka's Bhabra edict recommends to the Order as especially edifying some seven passages, no less than five of which have been identified in the *Nikāyas*. The method of Buddha's teaching has much that reminds us of the Socratic; and the essence of his doctrine was, in accordance with the usage of his day, couched in set forms or *sūtras*, which served as the themes to the endless variations which constitute the most striking stylistic peculiarity of the Buddhist literature. At Buddha's death, his *lóγια* were collected by his disciples and form the substance of the Four Great *Nikāyas* (although hardly put into final shape till half a century later), and were so handed down for a couple of generations by oral tradition.

Most illuminating is Davids's exposition (pp. 206-8, 232-3) of the attitude of mind in which Gotama conducted his religious disputations. He truly puts himself in his opponent's place; refrains from disturbing his prejudices harshly; makes the most of such points as are common to both; and thus, with marvellous patience and dignity, he leads the questioner on, until at last he has shown him "a more excellent way." In the *Kassapa*-dialogue (p. 232, note) "*Kassapa* uses the word *Brāhmaṇa* in his own sense; that is, not in the ordinary sense, but of the ideal *religious*."



Gotama, in his answer, keeps the word; but he means something quite different, he means an Arahāt." Just such *aperçus* as these are most helpful; they do more than any dictionary or minute comment to effect for the young student of Buddhism in his new and strange environment what I may call his mental acclimatization.

As for the actual substance of the dialogues, although it cannot well be summarized, some notion of it may yet be given. Davids renders the title of the first as "The Perfect Net," a happy version of a happy title: for in this dialogue the holders of the sixty-two "views" are completely enmeshed, as might be the fishes of a little pool which some fisher should drag with a fine-meshed net. The speculators whom Gotama here confutes are those who proceed from the traditional theory that there is such a thing as "a soul," an individual entity, continuous, and separate from the body. The denial of this theory is (with the assertions that all things are transitory and that all things are misery) one of the three fundamental elements of Buddhist doctrine. The "Net," therefore, very properly comes first; and, no less appropriately, the dialogue that aims to justify the establishment of an Order comes immediately after it, as second. That these two dialogues held a very important place in the oldest tradition is highly probable (p. 59). Ostensibly, the subsequent dialogues deal with less fundamental matters: the third is a question of caste; the fourth asks what is the true Brahman? the fifth, what the true sacrifice? the seventh, is the soul the same as the body? Others treat of the mystic trance, the miraculous powers, and so on; while the last is of surpassing interest in itself and as indicating that the flower of Indian mysticism was as full blown as the blossom of the monism of the Upanishads in Buddha's own day.

The lofty morality and noble thought of these dialogues constitute of course their best claim upon our interest, but not their sole claim. Incidentally they abound in matter of the deepest significance for the student of Indian history and antiquities. We have here a passage about the great

heretics or Tittthiyas, among them the famous Jaina,<sup>1</sup> Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, p. 66. At p. 220, the translator discusses a curious list of ten classes of *religieux* from the Aṅguttara; and in the Kassapa-sutta, p. 227, we have details of the strange vagaries to which the practice of asceticism led. The opening sections of the Sāmañña-phala (which, by the way, have much of uncommon interest and beauty) yield a valuable datum as to the calendar and the beginning of the year in Çrāvaṇa, p. 66. Here, too, we see how the "Three Refuges" and the "Five Precepts" (p. 182) and the "Noble Eightfold Way" (p. 226) are represented as the immediate teachings of Gotama himself.

The translator fails not to bring out in a striking manner how much there is, commonly credited to Buddhism, which is in fact pre-Buddhistic: so, for example, the Four Raptures or Ecstatic Trances, p. 51. It is well that this truth should be recognized in its wider applications. Thus the tales of the Jātakas are not specifically Buddhistic nor Jaina nor Brahmanical. The old motifs are simply *Indian*. It is only their setting that is essentially Buddhistic.

A glance at the Index reveals the wealth of these texts in the most various data. The list of games, p. 9, is especially curious, and includes "games on boards with eight or ten rows of squares," dicing, jackstraws, tip-cat, and so on. An attractive collection of the "Similes" of the text is made under that heading in the Index, p. 325. The excursus on names and nicknames, p. 193, makes all the more earnest our wish that the translator's Onomastikon may not be long deferred.

The annotations contain many valuable items supplementary to Childers. Meantime, pending the elaboration and publication of the extensive lexicographical material to which Mrs. Rhys Davids alludes on p. xcv of her Dhamma-

<sup>1</sup> My friend Mr. A. J. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, kindly calls my attention to two most important Buddhist texts on Jainism, accounts of the death of Mahāvīra, the one at Dīgha 29, the other at Majjhima 104. These, not accessible to Jacobi in 1894, may be added to the texts given by him, S.B.E., 45, p. xv f.

sangani, it would be a meritorious work if some young scholar should render useable these explanations of hard words now scattered through the Sacred Books of the East and various periodicals, by means of a simple and easily constructed index.

Many questions concerning the history of Pāli literature<sup>1</sup> almost settle themselves with the help of good translations<sup>2</sup>; their *Uebersichtlichkeit* is so great a convenience that I could not be persuaded to the contrary by the most solemn assurances or contemptuous gibes of the best Pāli scholar living. That the value of the discoveries thus made is in no wise impaired by their obviousness is well illustrated by the *Kūṭadanta*, p. 173. This is essentially a *Jātaka*, with *paccuppanna*- and *atīta-vatthu* and *samodhāna* complete, albeit with important diversities of form; and it is especially noteworthy, p. 164, as not having been incorporated into the *Jātaka* book.

Moreover, any extensive and efficient comparative study of these texts in other versions such as the Chinese or Tibetan is of course impracticable save with the help of abundant translations. I have before me in MS. an English translation from the Tibetan of the *Brahmajāla* by my friend the Hon. W. W. Rockhill. It would be most useful to institute a thorough and careful comparison. Thus the Tibetan cuts short at the outset the interesting *Cūla-* and *Mahā-sīla*, in order apparently to proceed at once to the first *Bhāṇa-vāra*, about the Eternalists; there are differences in the sequence of the doctrines confuted; and both the Pāli and the Tibetan have the same picturesque ending. But space forbids further discussion.

As I attach much importance to a due regard for the convenience and the eyesight of the users of a book, I cannot forbear thanking Professor Davids publicly for the pains he has taken to facilitate reference from the translation to the original and from the original to the translation.

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Used, when they are used, of course, with the originals at hand.

His management of the repetitions, whether by references looking backward or by skilful condensations, is marked by practical good sense. I refer to p. xxi for his theory of their origin and significance, and regret that I cannot here report its substance.

If, as in duty bound, I must spice this notice with the mention of a flaw or two, I will say that the book is in places underpunctuated. Perhaps a pound of pica commas might have been put in to advantage. Doubtless some of Professor Davids's friends have already chaffed him on the over-frequency of his pet locution "set out." On the whole, I like "The Exalted One" for Bhagavant, whether it is the Chāndogya Upanishad or a Buddhist sutta that I am Englishing. Where capitals are used in rendering names like "Great Wood" or "Gabled Hall," p. 197, I think the omission of the definite article would be a distinct improvement. As for an occasional misprint (concensus, p. 211; nīvāra, p. 233; "398" for "389," p. 199), I remember that Böhtlingk once told me that he believed in leaving a few any way—for the critics, I think he said, or (to put it in Vedic phrase) as a sop to the Dogs of Yama. Besides, Davids will retort, "The better is the foe of the good!" and who am I that I should answer him on that point?

But enough. Let me end by calling attention once more to the lofty antithesis of religion and dogma which informs the argumentations of the Dīgha; to the gentleness and dignity of the Teacher's spirit; and to the *metta* which is naught else than St. Paul's *ἀγάπη*, "that suffereth long and is kind, seeketh not her own, thinketh no evil." Truly, much of the book may be read with profit as a guide of life. Would that our modern Jingoës might take a lesson from it!

C. R. LAKMAN.

*Harvard University.*

*July, 1900.*

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1900)

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### I. NOTES AND NEWS.

MR. A. B. KEITH, who has taken his degree in Sanskrit and Pali at Oxford, is now engaged there in preparing a catalogue of the Hultsch Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

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### THE GOLD MEDAL.

On July 11th His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales presented the Jubilee Gold Medal for 1900 to Dr. E. W. West. The presentation took place at Marlborough House. There were present—Lord Reay, President; Sir Charles Lyall, Sir F. Goldsmid, and Sir W. Lee Warner, Vice-Presidents; and the following Members of Council: Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Brandreth, Dr. Cust, Mr. Fleet, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kay, Mr. Lyon, Professor Macdonell, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Wollaston, and the Secretary, Professor Rhys Davida.

His Royal Highness said :

The Royal Asiatic Society has founded a Gold Medal for Oriental scholarship, and has chosen as the medallist for this year Dr. E. W. West, who, born in 1824, was employed as civil engineer in the Bombay Presidency from 1844 to 1866. His duties taking him near the Buddhist cave

temples of which there are so many near the Western capital, Mr. West became interested in the inscriptions. In order to understand them he studied Pali; and his first scholarly work was a glossary of words in the great chronicle, The Mahā Vamsa of Ceylon, written in Pali: this was never published. But Mr. West published in 1861 and 1862, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, facsimiles of the inscriptions he had copied at the Kanheri and Nāsik Caves.

Shortly after this, however, Mr. West's attention was attracted to the records of the Zoroastrian religion in the Avesta and Pahlavi dialects of ancient Persia. On his retirement from active service, in 1866, he spent three years at München—there was no provision in England for the purpose—in studying with Professor Haug these ancient records. In 1870 he published, at his own expense, the Mainyo-i-Khard (or "Spirit of Wisdom"), and in 1872, in conjunction with Professor Haug, three other old Persian texts.

He then began to work at translations, and from 1880 to 1897 published five volumes in the Oxford series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East, all these being from the Pahlavi. Dr. West is acknowledged to be the greatest living authority on Pahlavi literature; and the elaborate introductions and notes to the texts he had thus been the first to render into English are a mine of information on the history of the Zoroastrian faith and on the very difficult literature in which the remains of its ancient records are preserved. No one else could have done the work he has done so well — work distinguished not only by unique knowledge, but by a sobriety of judgment most important for a solution of the historical problems involved.

Dr. E. W. West is an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy in the University of München, an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences. Besides the above works, Dr. West has published a History of Pahlavi literature in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*

and numerous articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I have very much pleasure in handing to you, Dr. West, this Medal, awarded to you by the Society in consideration of your distinguished services to the objects the Society was founded to promote.

His Royal Highness then handed the Medal to Dr. E. W. West; and the President, on behalf of the Council, gave expression to its most respectful and grateful thanks for the honour thus conferred by His Royal Highness upon the Royal Asiatic Society.

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#### AN INTERESTING CEREMONY AT JUNAGADH.<sup>1</sup>

ON Monday, the 4th inst., Colonel C. W. H. Sealy, Alienation Settlement Officer, Junagadh State, laid the foundation-stone of the building to be erected over the ancient rock-inscriptions of Asoka, Rudradāma, and Skandagupta, on the way to the Girnar Hills.

H.H. the late Nawab Saheb, Mahabatkanji, K.C.S.I., the father of the present Nawab Saheb, had erected a small building over the rock to save the inscriptions from the ravages of time. This was done twenty years back; but H.H., moved by the reverence-inspiring suggestions of the Sanskrit scholars and other eminent personages who visited this place, decided some time ago to get a more suitable building put up over the rock in keeping with its world-wide renown and historic importance.

There was a pretty large gathering in the pandal of Amirs, officials of the State, and several Shethias, who had commenced to arrive from 5 p.m., and by the time H.H. Nawab Saheb Sir Rasulkhanji, accompanied by the Heir Apparent, Vali-e-hed Sher Zumakhanji, Madar-ul-Maham

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from *The Kathiawar Times* of June 9th, 1900.

Vizier Baha-ud-deen-bhai, C.I.E., and Diwan Rao Bahadur Chunilal, arrived, the Shamiana was filled with audience and spectators. His Highness and suite were shortly followed by Colonel Sealy, accompanied by the Naib Diwan Khasusiat Dastagah Purushottamrai Jhala.

The Diwan Saheb Khasusiat Dastagah, Rao Bahadur Chunilal Sarabhai, addressed Colonel Sealy on behalf of His Highness as under :—

COLONEL SEALY,—I am desired by His Highness the Nawab Saheb to express to you the great pleasure it has given him to see that you have, in compliance with His Highness' wishes, kindly consented to lay the foundation-stone of a more suitable building which His Highness intends to erect over the world-renowned rock-inscriptions of Asoka, Rudradāma, and Skandagupta, which have from times immemorial graced this city, and which form an object of unabated interest to visitors and men of letters in all quarters of the globe.

The edicts of Asoka, preaching as they do unreserved toleration, universal benevolence, moral obligation, etc., have justly been held in veneration by successive generations; and many of the distinguished savants who have from time to time visited this place expressed a desire to have these precious relics of antiquity housed in an elegant building. His Highness' eminent friend and well-wisher, Sir Charles Ollivant, who has been Political Agent of this Province, and is now a Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, was also desirous, with his wonted well-known keen interest in matters of history, ancient and modern, of Gujarat and Kathiawad, to see that a befitting building was erected over this rare treasure.

The idea of such a building was uppermost in the mind of His Highness, and enquiries were therefore at once instituted by the administration as to the nature of the building and the style of architecture that would best suit the purpose.

The design has just been settled, and now as your labours as Alienation Settlement Officer in this State have been completed, and you are about to rejoin your appointment in the British Service, His Highness considers it most fitting in the nature of things that the laying of the first stone of the proposed building over these old rock-inscriptions should be performed by you, and that your esteemed name should be connected with the edifice that is to be the future receptacle of this glorious relic of the past,



particularly because in the course of your duties as Alienation Settlement Officer of the State you have often had to come across, decipher, consider, and form opinion on many ancient writings and learn in detail the past history of Saurashtra, because your services in this direction have been found to be very valuable and meritorious, and, above all, because you have always taken a warm interest in rare monuments of ancient history like the one we now see before us.

That the Junagadh State is keenly alive to the high value attached to these rock-carved inscriptions, which have withstood the ravages of time, will be amply testified by the fact that with a view to provide against future contingencies, and to leave to generations yet to come another memento (should the present one perchance give way in course of ages) of the past greatness of the Empire of which Saurashtra formed a not unobscured portion, arrangement has been made and the work is commenced to have these inscriptions copied on a rock of equal solidity which has fortunately been found in its vicinity, and to add to these inscriptions a short account of the present period.

During the dire calamity and distress of the severe famine that we are on this side passing through, all that human aid can do to afford relief to the persons requiring it has been and is being done, and numerous works of public utility, varying in magnitude and importance to the ryots, have been started in different parts of this State; and it may be hoped that the advent of the monsoon, which we all look forward to so eagerly, and indications of whose near approach are already visible, will reopen the usual resources and avocation of those now labouring in distant lands for want of the same, and establish them once more in peace and prosperity in their homes.

I cannot help adding that the pleasure of this occasion would have been much augmented by the presence of Mrs. Sealy, who is now in England, and who has with her genial and obliging disposition, her kind-heartedness and courtesy, willingly joined you in all social functions of the State during your stay here. His Highness regrets her absence, and hopes you will kindly convey to her his best thanks for the trouble she has taken on His Highness' behalf.

With these brief remarks, I request, on behalf of His Highness, that you will oblige us by laying the foundation-stone of the building.

The same having been translated into Gujarati for the behalf of the non-English-knowing members of the audience

by Rao Bahadur Gulabdas Laldas Nanavati, our State Judicial Councillor, Colonel Sealy spoke as follows:—

YOUR HIGHNESS, WAZIR BAHAUDDINBHAI SAHEB, DIWAN CHUNILAL,  
AMIRS, AND OFFICIALS OF THE STATE—

GENTLEMEN,—Before proceeding to the ceremonial part of the function for which we are assembled to-day, it will not be out of place for me to say a few words. And first I must thank Your Highness for the very appreciative terms in which you have deemed fit to refer to Mrs. Sealy and to myself, as well as for the very kind thought which has prompted Your Highness to assign this pleasant task to myself. I am quite sure that Sir Charles Ollivant will be gratified to hear of this day's proceedings, than whom the State of Junagadh possesses no truer friend and well-wisher.

It is not for me to bring to your notice the terms of the various edicts which are engraved on this rock before us. Those edicts have been translated and commented on by numbers of distinguished archæologists and savants, and there are, no doubt, many among you who know a good deal more about them than I can profess to do.

But perhaps I shall not be far out in saying that those edicts, ancient though they be, preach a code of morality and civilization which is for all ages. The sword having been laid down, the ruler of a vast kingdom has here indicated the direction in which his efforts were then directed, viz., in the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, the observance of charity and kindness to men as well as to animals, and the encouragement to be given to philosophy and morals.

That monuments of this kind deserve all the care that can be bestowed upon them is a self-evident fact, and when such an authority as His Excellency the Viceroy has spoken on the subject, it is unnecessary for me to add anything.

But I think it is a happy coincidence that this day's ceremony should be synchronous with what we all hope will be the termination of a famine than which none sorer has afflicted this province within the memory of living men. If the grievous affliction, which has visited Kathiawad in common with Gujarat and other even larger tracts of country, has taught both rulers and ruled one lesson more than another, it is, perhaps, the entire mutual interdependence of the one upon the other. Without his patient ryots the chief cannot obtain the sinews of war or the means to advance

the arts of peace, and without the application of such means to useful public works the condition of the ryot can never be ameliorated.

I therefore look upon this day's ceremony as an indication that Your Highness intends to carry on the beneficent ideas of the famous Asoka, of which good intention so many examples already exist in this State, and more especially in its capital. The famine has necessitated the undertaking of numerous works of improvement, all tending more or less to the benefit of the poorer classes of the community, and if it has opened the eyes of the cultivating class to the necessity of making the utmost use of the means in their power and the desirability of laying up something in times of prosperity for days of adversity, the visitation will be a blessing in disguise.

In conclusion, I will take this opportunity of declaring the regret with which I see my connection with this State severed. It is a State of peculiar interest to all connected with Kathiawad, and I need hardly say that during our stay therein Mrs. Sealy and I have received every attention and consideration from Your Highness and all your officers with whom it has been our fortune to come in contact, and we shall always look back to our stay in Junagadh with particular satisfaction.

And now, Your Highness, I am entirely at your disposal to carry out what is required of me.

The above having been explained to the audience in Gujarati by Rao Bahadur Gulab Das, His Highness took Colonel Sealy to the place where the foundation-stone was to be laid, which, on being done, the band struck up a few notes of joy, as the usual declaration of the foundation-stone being well and truly laid was made, and on their return to the Shamiana bouquets and garlands of flowers, attar and pan supari, were distributed.

Colonel Sealy then drove back to his bungalow, accompanied by the Naib Dewan, while His Highness the Nawab Saheb, the Vizier Saheb, and the Divan drove to the Bhavnath Relief Camp and works at the foot of the Girnar, where there have been a poor-house having about one thousand inmates and about six thousand relief-seekers, working for nearly eight months past.



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